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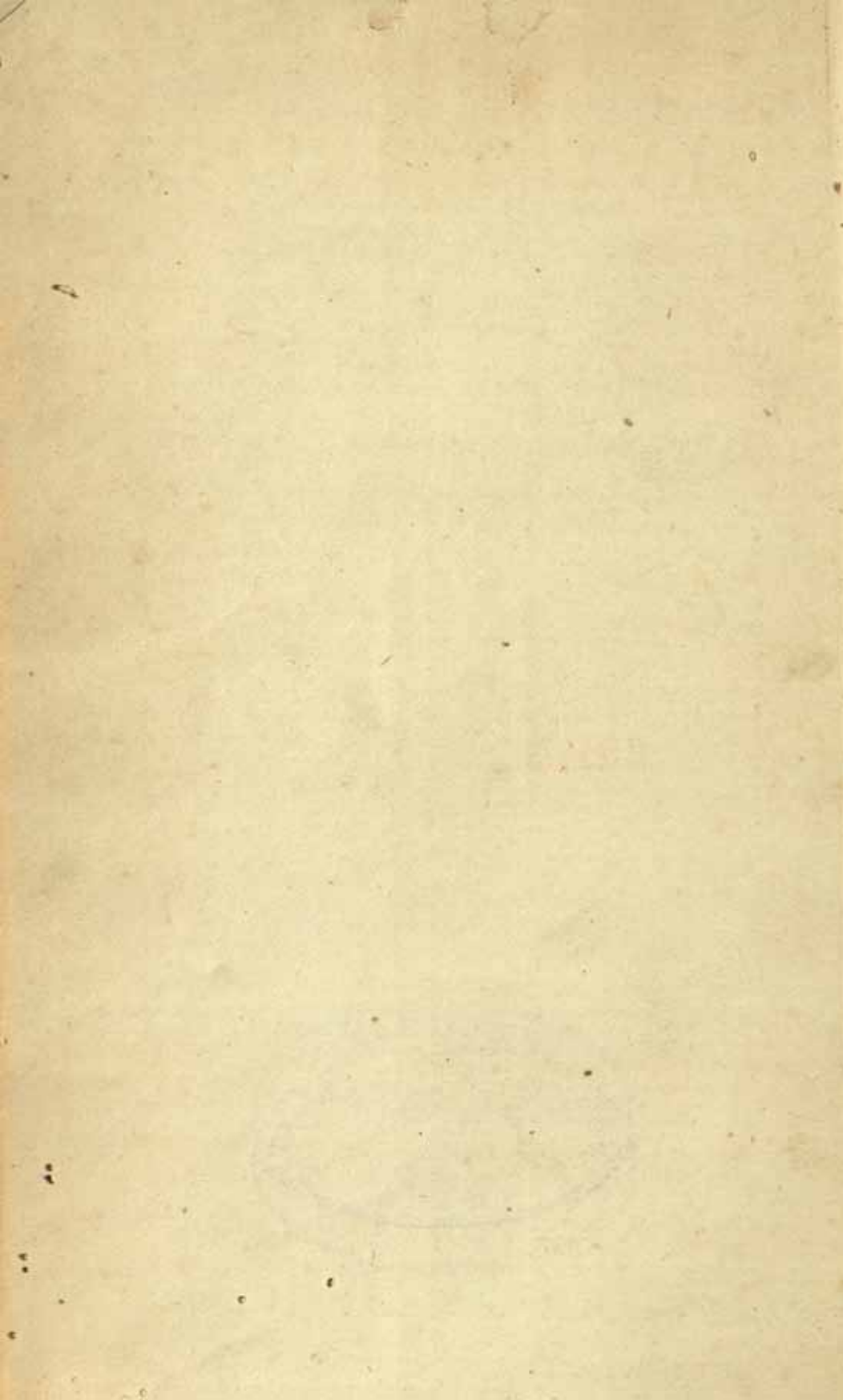
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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

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SIKHISM AND THE SIKHS

BY "LAICUS"

SIKHS comprise somewhat less than one-eighth of the twenty-five millions which form the population of the Punjab. Recent events have drawn a good deal of attention to their community, the importance of which depends, not so much on its numbers, as on the prestige attaching to its religious and political history. Some light may be thrown on the present situation by a consideration of that history, which cannot, however, within the limits of an article, be detailed, but must confine itself to salient features. The history falls into two fairly distinct portions: a period of purely religious reform; followed by one in which the Sikh community, as a militant and theocratic body, obtained political ascendancy throughout the region now known, geographically and administratively, as the Punjáb.

Nának, the founder of Sikhism, was born in A.D. 1469, of a Hindu Khatri family of the Punjab, at Talwandí, now known, in his honour, as Nankána—the scene of a horrible massacre, in the early part of 1921—near Lahore. He came under theistic religious influence, traceable to southern India, the home of orthodox Hindu pantheism and dualism, whence it was carried northwards by the Hindu saint Ramanand, who settled at Benares about the year 1400. Among his followers was a Muhammadan weaver, named Kabir, who combined the Vedantist-Hindu views of Ramanand with more robust elements derived from his own Islamic creed. Rejecting caste, the authority of orthodox Hindu philosophy, and the idea of incarnation,

he condemned idolatry, while emphasizing the need for worship and a personal devotion to the Deity, and insisting on the Unity of God and the equality of men. Purity of life, he maintained, was of greater value than ceremonial. Kabir died in 1518, twenty years before Nának, who was his contemporary. Nának's mind had been broadened by distant travel, which is said to have extended beyond the confines of modern India. His teaching contained much the same elements as that of Kabir, who may be regarded as his spiritual forerunner. While Muhammadan influence, especially of the mystic and pantheistic type to be found in Sufism, is recognizable in Nának's utterances, it is less in evidence than in those of Kabir; but his system, though infected by Hindu pantheism, is clearly monotheistic while devoid of formal theology. Caste he discarded, as well as Brahmanical supremacy and the domestic usages of Brahmanism: prohibiting idolatry and pilgrimages, but accepting the doctrine of transmigration. He laid stress on the function of the *guru*, or spiritual preceptor, and, as such, himself claimed to be an incarnation of the Deity. His teaching was entirely devoid of all political content, nor did he aspire to found a new religion: he was, rather, a critic and a reformer of existing religions. Nevertheless, an ascetic circle, subsequently known as the order of *Udises*—the *sad ones* or those *indifferent to the world*—arose among his followers, in his lifetime or shortly after. Its object was the maintenance of his teaching in its pristine purity; but it has, in fact, developed into a link between Sikhism and orthodox Hinduism, recruits from all Hindu castes being received into it. It presents the usual features of a Hindu order, but combines these with a profession of adherence to the reformed tenets of Nának; while ascetic celibacy, though an ideal, is not by any means uniformly practised. The order furnishes most of the managers, or *mahants*, of the Sikh shrines, which have been the subject of recent trouble.

Nának died in 1539; and between that date and 1708

there followed a line of nine gurus. It is not possible to notice here more than the salient points of this period of Sikh history. The first event of importance was the excavation, in 1577, of the Sacred Tank—*Amrit-sar*, the Pool of Immortality—and the erection of the Golden Temple by the fourth guru, Ram Das, on a spot round which subsequently grew the city of Amritsar, with a population of 160,000. The site was originally a piece of waste land granted to the guru by the Emperor Akbar. The Tank and the Temple constitute the religious centre of Sikhism. The first germs of the future political and military importance of the Sikh community appear with the fifth Guru, Arjan; but his chief title to fame is his compilation of the *Adi-Granth*, the Holy Bible of Sikhism. It contains compositions by Nānak and his successors, and also hymns by many famous Hindu, and a few Muhammadan saints, including Kabir. The language is mainly old Punjabi and Hindi, though Persian and various Indian dialects also appear; while it is written in a special character, *Gurumukhi*—the utterance of the guru—which is an adaptation from the Sanskrit. There is a second volume, known as the *Granth of the Tenth Guru*, Gobind Singh, consisting mainly of his compositions together with some other material; but, though the object of reverence, it has not the same authority and prestige as the *Adi-Granth*. Guru Arjan appears to have taken some more or less indirect part in the politics of his time; for we learn that in consequence of assistance rendered to Prince Khusrú in a rebellion against his father, the Mogul Emperor Jahangir, Arjan was imprisoned, and died under torture; though not before he had warned his son and successor, Har Gobind (1606-1645), to provide himself with a military force.

The advice was followed, and the new guru was soon surrounded by a formidable body of armed men, recruited from the stalwart and virile peasantry of the Punjab. Needless to say, there followed frequent collisions with the Mogul authorities, culminating in a systematic persecution

of the Sikh community by the Emperor Aurangizeb, and the martyrdom of the ninth guru, Tegh Bahadur, at Delhi in 1675. *Sanguis martyrurum, semen ecclesia*; though in this case the martyrs were usually not of the unresisting type. Tegh Bahadur had travelled extensively in southern and eastern India, and had spread the tenets of Nának in those countries.

The martyr was succeeded by his son, Gobind Singh, born at Patna in 1666, the tenth, the last, and the most famous of the line of gurus; under whom the definitely militant character of Sikhism was assumed. The young guru was only ten years of age at the time of his father's death. For a period of nearly twenty years the town of Anandpur, founded by his predecessor in the hilly tract at the south-eastern corner of the present Hoshiarpur district, afforded him a secluded retreat. Close to it, on the summit of a high hill, stands a shrine of the Hindu goddess Káli, to which Gobind Singh often resorted as a worshipping pilgrim. During his retirement the Tenth Guru matured his plans for a reformation of the Sikh community, which should transform it from a body merely following a religious rule of life into a military brotherhood, and should secure the establishment of an independent and theocratic Sikh power upon the ruins of Mogul rule. In an assembly at Anandpur, held about the year 1700, he proclaimed his mission, and at the same time took the momentous and pregnant step of instituting the *Khálsa* (the pure), or Church of the Elect, with an initiatory baptismal rite of *páhul* and a sacramental communion of holy food (*kará prasád*)—both perhaps suggested by Christian practice. Initiates took, and still take, the appellation of Singh (*Sanskrit: Sinha*, or lion). The scene of the baptism of the first five disciples at the hands of the Guru himself, and of his own, is still marked by the Kesgarh shrine at Anandpur, the birthplace of the Khálsa. It was not the Guru's purpose to abrogate the teachings of Nának, but rather to inaugurate further reform, within an existing reformation,

in the direction of more pronounced differentiation between Sikh and Hindu, while imbuing the first with a definitely separatist communal spirit. Like Nának, he did not insist on asceticism; and with him he inculcated purity of life: but in place of quietism he preached the value of military prowess, brave deeds of arms, and loyal devotion to the new fraternity. Caste he not merely condemned, but prohibited entirely, and instituted full social equality among the followers of the Khálsa. The practice of widow-burning (*satt*), female infanticide, the consumption of tobacco, and the cutting of hair were forbidden, while the use of alcohol was disapproved—a matter in which his modern followers do not obey the injunctions of their founder. The eating of flesh, provided that the animal is killed with a single blow or jerk, is not prohibited, though to some extent Hindu usage in this matter has been adopted. To the more purely religious content of Sikhism Gobind Singh made no notable contribution. The monotheistic theology of Nának and of his successors was maintained and, if anything, emphasized. All Singhs were enjoined to wear on their persons five badges, the Punjābī terms for which all began with the letter *k*: they are the *kés*, or uncut hair of the body; the *kára*, or iron bangle; the *kachh*, or short drawers; the *khanda*, or miniature dagger; and the *khanga*, or comb. Most of them have some martial significance.

By no means all the followers of Nának enrolled themselves in the young Khálsa. Abstentions among their leaders, caused by apprehension regarding the radical social equality inculcated by the Guru, were numerous. The result has been that the term Sikh has suffered, and still suffers, from a good deal of ambiguity. In common parlance it covers both the Singhs of the Khálsa as well as those non-initiates who still follow the precepts of Nának: but at various periods the latter have shown a tendency to coalesce, in greater or less degree, with the ordinary Hindu; retaining, on the one hand, the religious ideas of Nának

and, on the other, reverting to the practice of Hindu usages. Within the Khálsa Gobind Singh collected, perhaps by way of a personal bodyguard, and as a part of the regal state which he affected, an inner circle of more zealous disciples who received the title of Akális, or those specially devoted to the service of the Deity (*Akál*, or the Timeless One). The word has since, and especially at the present time, come to be applied to those members of the Khálsa who are conspicuous for devotion, and, it may be added, for fanaticism. In the recent troubles it has been freely utilized in the latter sense. The proclamation of the new dispensation, though it did not appeal to many of the pre-existing Sikh community, rapidly gained a large body of recruits among the sturdy Jat peasantry of the Mánjhá and Doába tracts of the central Punjáb; and it was not long before the young Khálsa came into conflict with the neighbouring highland Hindu chiefs, as well as with the military power of the Mogul. After heavy fighting the Guru was forced to abandon Anandpur, and, with the loss of his two sons, who were barbarously buried alive by the Governor of the fortress of Sinhind, to retreat across the Satlaj to the desert fastnesses bordering on Rajputana, which are now included in the Patiála, Nábha, and Jind States, and contain large numbers of a virile peasantry who are followers of the Khálsa. There, after further severe fighting, the Guru succeeded in securing a safe refuge, where for a time he installed himself with some degree of regal state. After the death of Aurangzeb a reconciliation was effected with his successor, Bahadur Shah, and the Guru appears to have accepted, for some rather obscure reason, a post under the Mogul in the Deccan, where he met his death at the hands of a Pathán assassin in 1708. His last injunction was that he should have no successor in the sacred office; but it was coupled with the promise that he and his predecessors would thenceforth dwell spiritually in the holy Granth and in the Khálsa, which for this purpose should mean the presence of five disciples.

The limits of this article render it impossible to give more than the barest *résumé* of the long and interesting history of the fortunes of the Khálsa between 1708 and the British annexation of the Punjáb in 1849. Its outstanding feature is that the Khálsa grew in military and political power, and ultimately to complete domination in North-Western India, amid the progressive dissolution and dismemberment of the Mogul Empire—a process largely caused by repeated Afghan invasions, beginning with that of Nadir Shah in 1739, and ending with the eighth irruption of his successor, Ahmad Shah Abdali, in 1768. During that period the Punjáb was the scene of a fairly continuous triangular duel between the invading Afghan, the marauding and turbulent Sikh, and the feebly defensive Mogul; though for all practical purposes of government the province was torn from the Empire about 1755. Amid this perennial chaos the fortunes of the Khálsa fluctuated. Twice was Amritsar sacked, and twice was the Golden Temple, its Holy of Holies, desecrated and destroyed by the soldiery of Ahmad Shah. On the other hand, Sirhind, a provincial centre of Mogul administration, was twice sacked by the Sikhs, who on the second occasion, in 1761, utterly destroyed the town, accursed in their eyes as the scene of the martyrdom of their Guru's sons. The grip of the Afghan was relaxed after 1767, and in the position which then emerged we find the Sikh Khálsa forming a loose confederacy of twelve more or less definitely localized associations, centring round Amritsar as its headquarters. These associations—the famous Sikh *misk*s—carved the province into spheres of influence for the levy of tribute as well as for general purposes of rapine and loot, and, incidentally, into quasi-private estates for the stronger characters who were able to assert themselves as leaders (*sirdárs*). Small wonder that the word *Sikhásháht* (Sikh rule) should still be a synonym in the Punjáb for political and social chaos.

In 1780 was born Ranjit Singh, a member of the

Sukarchakia misl, which was located in the neighbourhood of Lahore. By birth a Jat, between 1798 and 1810 he secured political domination over all the territories occupied by the *misl*s of the Khálsa north of the Sutlaj. He was proceeding to carry out a similar process in the country to the south of that river, but was foiled by the firm attitude of the British Government, which, on application for protection from the southern *misl*s, forbade the Maharaja, as he had by that time become, from any attempt to consolidate his power over them. The prohibition was definitely and finally accepted by him in the Treaty of Amritsar, concluded in 1810; and the territories of the southern *misl*s remained under British protection, which was followed later on by annexation, except in the case of certain states, including Patiala, Nabha, and Jind, which were granted independence under British suzerainty. Foiled in attempted aggression towards the south by a treaty to which he loyally adhered as the firm friend and ally of the British Government, the Maharaja turned his attention to the northern and western parts of the Punjáb, including the trans-Indus frontier. By 1820 he had brought all these under political subjection by means of a regular army, organized and disciplined on European lines with the help of French officers. Under the social and economic conditions of the time, the scope for regular civil administration was, of course, small, and Ranjit's government was naturally of a primitive type, mainly confined to the collection of revenue, with the maintenance of some semblance of law and order, to a degree which depended on the efficiency of his local governors. Such was the political state in which the spirit of the Khálsa embodied itself.

On the death of the Maharaja in 1839, disorder and dissolution rapidly set in, culminating in 1845 in the unsuccessful attack by the army, or *dal*, as it was termed, of the Khálsa, on British territory across the Sutlaj, which is known as the First Sikh War. The British, though victorious, abstained from annexation of the whole of

the Khálsa territories, contenting themselves with that portion only, known as the Doába, which lay between the rivers Sutlaj and Biás. For the rest a Sikh regency, aided by a British resident, was set up on behalf of Ranjit Singh's young heir, Dhulip Singh ; but the arrangement did not last long. It was terminated by active dissatisfaction, on the part of several of the former Khálsa leaders, with the novel régime of law and order—an attitude which took the overt form of a rising, resulting in the Second Sikh War of 1848-49. The story of that momentous and hard-fought struggle cannot be told here: it ended in the definite annexation of the Punjáb to the British dominions in March, 1849. Thus was the militant Khálsa at last united in one political system, but under the ægis and the rule of an alien Power.

In the early years following the British conquest the spirit of the Khálsa, under the shadow of defeat, declined in vitality ; but the memorable part played by Sikh troops, recruited in the Punjáb, in helping to retain India for the Crown in the great Mutiny of 1857, led to a period of resuscitation. The era of peaceful progress, social and economic, which followed was not an environment which was favourable to a vigorous survival of martial traditions, and a reaction towards Hinduism set in. Sikhs remained not less numerous than before, but the tendency was to be content with the reformed faith of Nának, while the number of initiates into the more strenuous path, marked out by Guru Gobind Singh for his Khálsa, began to diminish ; though the rule requiring all Sikh recruits for the Indian army to take the *páhul* was a powerful factor in keeping alive Sikhism of the Khálsa type. But since the opening years of the present century the tide has again begun to flow. On this occasion, however, movement has originated, not in a period of militancy or of social and political dissolution, but as the result of contact with an alien culture. Throughout India that contact has provoked many, if not most, religious communities to a process of self-criticism,

not, perhaps, fully admitted nor recognized as such ; or, if so recognized, then with a certain feeling of resentment against the alien standard which has thus obtruded its provocative presence. The self-criticism has led to revision and reframing of ideals ; to a desire to set the religious, social, and economic house of the community concerned in order, in the light of alien standards of culture, without, however, adopting those standards *en bloc*. A more or less dim insight into the meaning and end of education has played a prominent part in the process. To a community, such as that of the Sikhs, endowed with a fairly definite communal consciousness, as the result of its peculiar history and traditions and its more or less pronounced separation from other surrounding communities, the process has appealed with special force. Since the closing years of the last century a cult of the Sikh community, as such, has arisen, and in it the traditions of the Khálsa, unsuited though some of them may be to an era of established government, have played a prominent part. The community has been striving to come to the front ; to take a place in the province worthy of its political and religious history and traditions ; to avoid being left behind in the path of Indian nationalization. The spirit of revival has been shown in the establishment of a council for the general direction of the religious affairs of the community, or *panth*, as it is termed, which is known as the Chief Khálsa Dewán—*Dewán* meaning assembly—and has its headquarters at Amritsar. It is, in some sort, a resuscitation of the *gurumatṭa*, or general assembly of the early days of the Khálsa, and is on an elective basis. To it are affiliated local committees of the same general nature, which are called Khálsa Dewáns in the important towns and Singh Sabhas (associations) in villages. The general aim of the organization is to promote the cultural, material, and political interests of the Sikh Khálsa community ; but during the recent troubles it has lost much of its influence and authority, which have passed into the hands of the

more extreme progressive politicians. The chief educational institutions of the community is the Khálsa College at Amritsar, while it has many schools in the province. Another indication of the growth of a communal consciousness was afforded by the promotion by the representatives of the community in the provincial legislature of a Bill to legitimize a special form of Sikh marriage. The measure passed into law as the Anand Marriage Act in 1909. Another Sikh measure, prompted by similar motives, was an Act for the prevention of juvenile smoking, which was passed a few years ago. The community, again, pressed strongly for specially liberal representation in the reformed councils, on the strength of the prestige attaching to its historical and traditional position in the province; a demand which was partially satisfied. The more enthusiastic and zealous adherents of the Neo-Sikhism of the Khálsa append to the latter term the epithet *Tat*—that is, pure—the *Tat Khálsa* thus signifying the pure or original Khálsa of Guru Gobind Singh.

As regards social composition, the Sikh community is mainly recruited from the agricultural Jat tribes of the Punjab; though Khattris, Aroras, and Ramgharias form minor but still important elements. The Jat is a peasant, and generally a sturdy, frugal, and industrious cultivator; slow-witted, but withal acquisitive; fond of money, and enterprising in the pursuit of it. He makes a brave and hardy soldier, as may be inferred from the history of the Khálsa; but in order to bring out his sterling qualities he needs to be under a kindly but masterful discipline. Under a régime lacking in vigour or decision, or in a novel social environment, to which he is not accustomed, he is prone to lose his moral and intellectual bearings, and to indulge in extravagances of thought, of speech, and of action, which his somewhat narrow and limited mentality is unable to restrain. The Aroras and Khattris are mainly urban classes, and are chiefly engaged in trade and in the professions. They are of a considerably higher order of

intelligence and general mental ability than the Jat, and, as might be expected, have been caught up into the existing currents of Indian political thought and aspiration. Not so the Jat, whose innate tastes do not lie in the direction of political idealism. The Ramgharias are chiefly artisans and mechanics, urban and rural, who have some political leanings.

Amid the general striving for communal advance, which I have endeavoured to describe briefly, religious progress has naturally occupied a high position in the eyes of many devoutly minded Sikhs, who were not stirred by any particularly ardent political aspirations. In any reformation of institutional religion in India, the question of the due management of religious establishments necessarily takes an important place, since the ascetic life stands in the forefront of that religion, while such a life demands institutions professedly monastic. In India, as, indeed, has been the case in other countries, these institutions are commonly characterized, on the part of those who are charged with their direct management, by more or less grave abuses of a quasi-fiduciary position. The precise legal nature of that position is a question of considerable intricacy; but whatever it may be, it is doubtless true of the Punjáb that in many, though by no means in all cases, the use of property gifted by pious donors for the support of religious establishments is not directed to the objects for which it was primarily intended. Sikh monastic institutions are generally attached to a shrine—termed *gurudwára* (the guru's door)—which commemorates some notable act or experience of a guru, or perhaps covers the cenotaph which contains his ashes, or those of some other famous religious personality. Such institutions are managed in many, if not in most, cases by members of the Udási order, to which I have already referred as occupying a position intermediate between orthodox Hinduism and the Sikhism of the Khálsa. As regards some at least of its members, the Neo-Sikh movement originally included among its aims the

reform and purification of the management of these institutions. But this development, perfectly defensible in itself, has been captured by the more extreme politically-minded members of the Sikh community, chiefly of the Arora and Khatri castes, and is being exploited by them for purely political purposes, in close conjunction with those who have been long engaged in virulent and disastrous agitation in other parts of India. The character of that agitation it is not possible to discuss fully at the end of this article. The sentiment which dominates it—from which, indeed, it springs—is racial antagonism to alien domination, political and cultural; venting itself in large and ill-considered demands for radical, not to say revolutionary, political reconstruction on professedly democratic lines of modern type: though these are, in reality, very foreign to the innate political instincts of India. To that sentiment not a few Neo-Sikhs of the Punjáb have fallen victims, after having come into contact with the general current of thought prevalent among progressive Indian politicians, of the more extreme type, in other parts of the continent.

Those politicians have been quick to perceive that a movement for monastic reform, innocuous in itself, might without much difficulty be turned into a powerful instrument for politically subversive and revolutionary agitation, if only the element of lawless violence could be introduced by appeals to the religious sentiments and traditions of an impulsive community. Such has been the line of action selected for themselves by the more extreme Sikh political leaders of the urban professional and trading classes, in close co-operation with, and in some cases with the active assistance of, the more violent agitators of other provinces. In pursuance of this policy, forcible seizures of *gurudwāras*, accompanied by ejection of the managers, have taken place, and other forms of lawlessness have been perpetrated; while the malcontents have had a considerable measure of success in arousing the dormant fanaticism of the Sikh peasantry by inflammatory and mendacious

propaganda. The more extreme Indian exponents of racial antagonism and hatred are prepared to use any and every practicable weapon for the vilification, the embarrassment, and the ultimate paralysis of an alien Government. Of this the present Punjáb *gurudwára* agitation is a conspicuous example, fomented, as it has been, by a body which appears to be nothing more nor less than a revolutionary committee, sitting at Amritsar, and usurping the functions of the duly constituted organs of the Sikh community. The policy which suggests itself, as obviously appropriate to the situation, is resolute and drastic action against every form of seditious propaganda and incipient revolution, coupled with the provision of all reasonable legal facilities, by legislation if necessary, for the due and early execution of monastic reform.

THE NEAR EASTERN RIDDLE

I. THE TURKISH QUESTION

BY MAJOR-GENERAL LORD EDWARD GLEICHEN

BROADLY speaking, the object of the Lausanne Conference now sitting is to effect a peaceful settlement in the Near and Middle East, acceptable to all Powers concerned and leaving as few sore memories as possible behind it. In view of the conflicting interests at stake this is verily a herculean task, which besides strength necessitates both understanding and tact in the highest degree.

Let us deal here only with Turkey.

Turkey has to be given frontiers inside which to develop her new national consciousness; she must be helped by unselfish European advisers and encouraged to trade with the world, yet without being exploited by one nationality more than another; she must be led to treat her Christian minorities with consideration, as long as they behave themselves and do not intrigue against her; she must lay down a system of justice which will be acceptable to all nationalities; and she must allow passage to trading-vessels—at all events in peace time—through her Straits.

Let us try to lay down the broad lines.

Bulgaria has to be given an outlet to the *Ægean* for her trade, and induced to live quietly with her neighbours.

Greece has to learn that she is not such a great Power as she imagined, and that she must not rely in practical matters on the vapourings of well-meaning, but totally uninstructed, Philhellenes in the West of Europe. Her coat, in short, must be cut according to her cloth; she must be taught that she has quite enough country already to deal with, and that the sooner she brings it into order the better.

Russia must be allowed to have her say in the matter of the Straits, which, after all, are of vital importance to her; she must be prevented from obtaining an unnatural influence over Turkey, and must be restrained from taking advantage of the Conference to push her Bolshevist intrigues.

The rights of the Arab peoples must be safeguarded, whether against the Jews in Palestine, the French in Syria, or the Turks or even British in Mesopotamia.

Given goodwill on all sides, these objects in course of time will be attained. But it will require the most careful steering and the greatest delicacy of handling to avoid wrecking the ship of the Conference on the rocks of intrigue and covetousness on the one hand, and intransigence and violence on the other.

After all, things are not so bad. Turkey, whom our late Premier and other panic-mongers have consistently held up as the enemy of Christendom and as desirous of running *amok* in the Balkans, has, in spite of the ignorant and loud-mouthed deputies at Angora, no intention of attacking anyone if she can help it. Why should she? She has had eleven years of devastating war, has lost hundreds of thousands of her population and huge slices of her territory, has but a small army, and has no money. What she wants is to be left alone to exploit her new-found nationality and to settle down into a modernized State capable of holding her own, but preponderant in the Muslim world. Granting that at times she may not be going to work in the best way, still no State has ever been born ready-made, and she must work out her own salvation.

Recent Turkish demands for the expulsion of Greeks and Armenians from her territory are, of course, worse than foolish, for these hated nationalities are absolutely necessary for the development of commerce and for the most ordinary business transactions among her people; and Turkey, being an agricultural and occasionally militant, but never a trading, community, could not possibly do

without them. Nor can she do without other Christians, both as advisers in the higher tasks of government and for providing the capital necessary for her development. It is therefore clear that when she comes to grips with the real task of forming a modern State she will have to recognize that it cannot be done by Turks alone, and will have to turn to others for help.

And here it is that she will turn, eventually, to her old friend England. Turkey is already getting tired of France, whose professions of amity, she is beginning to see, were mostly based on the desire for concessions and financial exploitation on the hardest of terms. Nor did the Turks, as soldiers, approve of the French (and Italians) clearing out of the neutral zones when threatened by a Turkish advance, and leaving ourselves to bear the brunt of a possible attack. The Turk likes an opponent that he can respect, and the British rose high in his estimation for their sturdy action on the Straits. Moreover, in a recent financial transaction, a certain concession for, say, £50,000 was offered to a French group. The French tried to get it for much less, and haggled until the Turks were tired of them. The latter then offered it to a British group, who, after carefully examining the matter, came to the conclusion that £50,000 would not be a sufficient sum wherewith to develop the concern, and offered to provide a capital of three times that amount or more. Is it surprising that the story speedily became known, and that (figuratively) there was a boom in British stock?

Provided that certain things happen, we shall not have very long to wait for a revival of British trade in the Levant, nor for British influence to make itself again felt in Constantinople. But the proviso is important. It is that we must treat the Turks with far-sighted sympathy in their efforts to enter into the comity of nations. Troubles there are bound to be. The Turkish fez is beginning to fit too tight, and with an unlimited belief in their own powers, the Angora assembly are likely to give trouble

before they quieten down. But, given that they show a desire for our friendship—as they will—and given that they make no preposterous demands, a little sympathy will go a long way. The Turk thinks a great deal of us, and a little personal hospitality and courtesy dispensed, and a few friendly letters, will effect more than many protocols.

Finally, regarding the religious question, it must be remembered that Turkey does not represent a fanatical Islam. Religion plays but a small part in their scheme of modern nationality. The Khalifate has been an appanage of their royal dynasty for the last four hundred years, and they are, consequently, determined to retain it for political purposes, in order to secure the control of the Muslim world. But although appeal has often been made, ere now, to Islam in order to stir up enmity where required against Christian nations, the Muhammadan faith is not so much ensouled among the Turks as among, say, the Arabs, and their present rulers are quite modern enough to see that their State cannot be based on the Muslim faith alone.

II. THE NEAR EAST

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE

During the four years' duration of the Great War one bond of unanimity held sway ; it was the determination of each group of belligerents to issue victorious from the struggle. Once the Armistice was proclaimed, that bond of union lost its power. The United States of America, for instance, very soon made it clear that she meant to cut herself clear of all European complications. National politics are proverbially and even excusably selfish, but the conduct of the United States, both before, during, and after their participation in the war, was a signal proof that blood is *not* thicker than water. And, after all, what percentage of the blood of the population of those States is British? Canada keeps Brother Jonathan well at arm's

length. Platform oratory persistently proclaims that brotherhood of Briton and American, but there sentiment ends and business begins. Throughout the war America had a strict eye to business, and that eye has lost none of its strictness since the Armistice. Very recently Mr. Child's insistence that, where American commerce goes, American naval power must be able to follow, has been acclaimed as proof of the will of the United States to associate itself with the policy of the Allies with regard to the *Ægeo-Euxine Straits*; but it will probably be found that this expression of policy commits Mr. Child's Government to no responsibility.

We are here, however, to consider not the Near West, but the Near East, and at this moment the pivot upon which the future of the Near East turns is Turkey. At the close of the year 1918 the Allies, and amongst the Allies most conspicuously Great Britain, seemed to hold the destinies of Turkey in the hollow of their hands. Did anyone then doubt that the future of Constantinople and the Straits was entirely at the mercy of the Allies? And within the last few months it was Kemalist Turkey that seemed almost to hold the Allies in the hollow of her hand.

As far as we can judge—and admittedly we have but little solid knowledge to guide our judgment—it is the Lloyd-Georgian policy that paved the way to that disunion among the Allies which gave Kemalist Turkey that opening of which it so astutely and effectively took advantage. There are men whose names live in history as those of saviours of their country and nation, and I take it that that of Mustapha Kemal will live as such.

When the Allied Conference first met in Paris, it was the personal magnetism and eloquence of M. Venizelos that stirred and won the hearts of its members, and so paved the way for that aggressive policy in Asia Minor, the failure of which Greece is to-day deploring. I have before me a letter from an unofficial but expert witness of the scene which is a silent tribute to the Demosthenes of his

day. It is perfectly conceivable that the British statesman who at a most critical moment of the war stepped in to guide his own country to victory, should see in Greece an instrument for permanently reducing Turkey to powerlessness. Time has shown that his political acumen was at fault; and indeed, the moment that Greece threw over Venizelos and brought back King Constantine should have been warning enough for him. I have heard even a Turk say that, if Constantine had been wise, he would, the moment that his nation recalled him, have abandoned the policy upon which Venizelos had embarked. How much more essential was it that a British statesman should stand aloof from anything in which King Constantine played a leading part! It has long been hinted, and it is now generally admitted, that the Lloyd-Georgian policy as regards Turkey and Greece had the approval neither of his Cabinet nor his Army Council. Venizelos we all know, but what was the secret of the influence of Sir Basil Zaharoff? That remains a theme for uncharitable surmise.

Meantime the Islamic storm was brooding and waxing mightily. The two countries in this world that perhaps owed most to Great Britain for their financial and commercial development and their administrative progress, India and Egypt, were alike agitating for increased independence. The result we see to-day. Egypt is independent, and to the Indian claim of "India for the Indians" marked concessions have been made. The fact is that to-day, throughout the world, the races which for a century or more have been content to submit themselves to the control and guidance of races of the Caucasian type, are now claiming emancipation and equality.

The Indian in India and the Dominions, the heterogeneous races of Africa are developing the self-assertive characteristics which are the product of Western education and of contact with Western peoples. Mr. Robert Williams, when he lectured to the Central Asian Society on the "Cape to Cairo Railway," and on the influence which

European civilization and enterprise were exercising on the African native, made it perfectly clear to his British audience that the time was not far distant when the African, like the Indian and Egyptian, would claim independence and equality with the Aryan. A quarter of a century has elapsed since Japan repudiated "capitulations," and to-day Turkey does the same.

And what of the Arab? I heard my fellow countrymen, and those men of experience in Asiatic races and affairs, discussing four or five years ago the future of Mesopotamia. There was a general belief that the superfluous population of India would overflow into the long-neglected plains of the Tigris and Euphrates and revive the agricultural prosperity of the era in which Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldæ flourished. A little further experience of the Arab has taught us that, if we try introducing Indian colonists, the Arab will neither welcome nor tolerate them. Both Britain and France, as soon as normal peace throughout the recently warring world had been declared, issued a joint proclamation which seemed to assume a docility on the part of the Arab which that Arab declines to endorse. Both Britain and Gaul have by this time realized that there is on the part of the Arab a spirit of and passion for independence with which they must both reckon.

The fact is that the four years which have elapsed since the Armistice was declared have worked almost miracles in the way of opening our eyes and proving to us that it is not Europe that is going to work out the salvation of the Near East, but the Near East which is, in an ever-increasing measure, going to work out its own salvation, and, in so doing, play its part in shaping the destinies of a world which, in point of civilization, is gradually approaching a more or less uniform standard. There is no doubt that railways have exercised a great levelling influence, and it may be reasonably inferred that motor transport and aeronautics will greatly extend that influence.

Arabia almost up to the present time has maintained its

exclusiveness, but the Great War has made serious inroads upon its isolation. Not to mention the railways, an air route now connects Baghdad and Cairo with Europe, and a direct air route from Cairo to Karachi, straight across Central Arabia, has been projected. Mr. Philby has penetrated to points never reached by Doughty, Palgrave, Burton, Niebuhr, or Leachman, and, if opportunity offers, he hopes to penetrate still further. It is hardly to be conceived that the Arab can go back to his more or less primitive pre-war state. When one meets men of the stamp of the Emir Abdulla and his Prime Minister, who have recently visited London, one feels that the influence of Western Europe has definitely made its mark, and that Arabia cannot stand aloof from the civilization which encircles it.

My own belief is that the days of Bolshevism are numbered, and it is evident that it is not only Europe, but Asia, that has closed its doors to the admission of such a curse as it has proved itself to be in Russia. Persia and Afghanistan exclude it, and the Khanates of Central Asia have fought hard against it. As for Turkey, it must be clear to all that with the Entente and Greece hostile, and the Central Powers powerless, the Angora Government had no choice but to temporize with the Bolshevik in Russia. But there can be no stability in alliance between Turkey and Russia. Their rivalries in the Black Sea and the Caucasus will inevitably be revived. Even now at the Lausanne Conference we see M. Tchicherin adopting an attitude with regard to the Straits which aims at Russia's advantage only, and is not in accord with Turkish views. Once the Turkish Empire is re-established, and as such recognized by the Great and Little Ententes, by the United States and by Japan, the political relations between Russia and Turkey will resume the form which they had in the days of the Czars, and Turkey will certainly extend no sympathy to Bolshevism.

It must be most sincerely hoped that the result of the Lausanne Conference will be the definite delimitation of the

Turkish Empire on the east—*i.e.*, along the western frontier of Persia, Kurdistan, and Mesopotamia. It is in the British interest that the Arabs should be given time and quiet to firmly establish and perfect as far as may be their own system of government, to form and train an army of defence, and to open up commerce. Given that and the maintenance of quiet in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Persia, and Afghanistan, and a salutary check placed on Bolshevik intrigue and ambition in the Caucasus, Trans-Caspia, and Turkistan, there is reason to believe that the prosperity of the Near East will react advantageously on the welfare of the British Empire.

IMPRESSIONS OF AN INDIAN DELEGATE AT GENEVA

BY SIR P. S. SWIVASWAMI AIYAR, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

A BRIEF note of the impressions left on the mind of an Indian delegate by the third session of the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva may not be without interest. The writer had not attended the previous meetings of the Assembly, and had no very distinct notions of the character of the body or of the subjects that were to be brought up for its decision. The agenda, which had been provisionally drawn up and circulated, threw but scanty light on these questions, and included subjects like Esperanto, intellectual co-operation, and others which suggested serious doubts as to the practical character of the session. One or two of his friends in the official world told the writer that the Assembly was rather a costly debating society. Add to this the fact that the most important questions immediately affecting the peace of the world, like the problems of the Near East, German reparations, the indebtedness of the Allies to each other, and the financial plight of Austria, were not to be found in the agenda, and were being dealt

with by the Council of the League or by the five Great Powers, and you can easily account for the rather disparaging notion which several of the new delegates had formed of the Assembly of the League. When the report of the Council for the last year came up for discussion in the Assembly, speaker after speaker poured forth encomiums and congratulations on the work of the Council and the League. They were so laudatory as to suggest the possibility of an unconscious exaggeration of the importance of the body of which the speakers were members. But a diligent perusal of the contents of the report and impartial observation of the work accomplished by the Assembly during this session have removed all lingering traces of scepticism, and inspired a faith in the reality and possibilities of the League.

Apart from the spectacular aspect of the Assembly, which comprised over fifty States of the Old and the New Worlds, and drew together delegates from all quarters of the globe, from China to Peru, and Norway to Paraguay, the moral significance of the gathering could not be missed even by a casual observer. The reluctance of the United States to join the League, and the absence of Germany, Turkey, and even of Russia, detract in some measure from the sphere of usefulness of the League. But making full allowance for these drawbacks, which it is to be hoped are of a temporary character, the League marks an epoch in the history of international dealings. For the first time in history the civilized States, whether small or large, have agreed to meet on a common platform and deliberate on questions of policy and administration affecting the peace and well-being of the world. A sentiment of democratic equality pervaded the atmosphere of the Assembly. The smallest State has the same opportunity for hearing and the same vote as the largest. Petty Luxembourg has the same voting strength as mighty France. It may even be open to question whether a system of representation which gives equal votes to countries irrespective of their popula-

tion and resources may not be attended with some danger of sacrifice of the interests of the many to those of the few. The possibility of any such risk is obviated by the peculiar constitution of the League, not, however, without a parallel in political constitutions. The constitution of the Council assures a permanent position to the more important Powers. Moreover, the decisions of the Assembly do not *ipso facto* become binding upon the member States without ratification by them.

Some misunderstanding seems to exist with regard to the precise relations between the Assembly and the Council of the League. While the Council is undoubtedly the executive organ of the League, it would be a mistake to suppose that it derives its authority from the Assembly and should therefore be entirely subordinate to it. On the other hand, the suggestion would be well-founded that the Council owes its existence and authority to the same fundamental document—the Covenant of the League of Nations—to which the Assembly owes its origin. According to this view, though some of the members of the Council may be elected by the Assembly, the Council is not a mere creature of the Assembly, and the limitations on its powers and functions would have to be gathered from the articles of the Covenant rather than the bare will of the Assembly. The wiser course for the Assembly is not to embark upon any attempt to make a scientific demarcation between its own powers and those of the Council, but to trust to the natural process of adaptation and evolution. No conflict has so far arisen between the Council and the Assembly. While the Council has shown a spirit of readiness to take the Assembly into its confidence in large matters, the Assembly has also displayed a disposition to trust the Council in the exercise of its powers with fairness and impartiality. The solicitude of the Council to please and placate even the small States is manifest in the distribution of its patronage, and in the disposition to find seats for the representatives of the small

States as chairmen or vice-chairmen of the numerous committees and sub-committees.

The smaller States, and even the larger ones, are naturally anxious to avoid the erection of a super-State which would necessarily involve an encroachment upon their sovereign rights. This is one of the many reasons why the decisions of the League must, for a considerable time at least, continue to lack the support of physical sanctions, and why Lord Robert Cecil's idea of an international police organization appears to me to be outside the pale of practical politics in the immediate future. The Covenant of the League wisely lays stress upon unanimity, or, at any rate, the assent of a very large majority of its members, and prefers to rely on economic weapons for the coercion, where necessary, of recalcitrant individual States. The employment of physical force can be resorted to only in the last instance, and should be the outcome of a special resolution and concert rather than the automatic consequence of a preordained police administration.

Turning now to the personnel of the Assembly, its members were men with a high sense of responsibility, and animated by an earnest resolve to promote the objects of the League by giving of their best. It would be invidious to single out any names, when there were so many good men and true, and so many men of ability and ripe experience. The name of Lord Robert Cecil must, however, rise to the lips of everyone who watched the proceedings of the Assembly. A man of varied interests and broad outlook, of deep sympathies and humanitarian instincts, there was no subject, whether it was the reduction of armaments or the cultivation of Esperanto, which failed to draw forth his copious enthusiasm and energy.

The volume of work turned out by the Assembly and its committees forms a record of which it may well be proud. No one could have failed to be struck with the absence of narrow parochialism among the delegates, with their spirit of give and take, their solicitude to reach unanimity, and

their spirit of caution, which led them to postpone decisions rather than adopt hasty and perhaps erroneous conclusions.

Questions specially affecting India, or, for the matter of that, any country in particular, were of course few. The question of opium traffic was originally raised in a form which involved the possibility of serious injury to Indian fiscal interests without corresponding moral benefit to China. But the resolution as passed by the Assembly avoids any such risk. By far the most important resolutions passed by the Assembly were those relating to the reduction of armaments, the protection of minorities, and the financial succour of Austria. The resolution on the reduction of armaments was very elaborate and comprehensive, taking note of all the factors involved in the policy, and it marks a milestone in the arduous march towards the goal of peace and goodwill among the nations. The impatient idealist may not be satisfied with the conclusion, but the practical politician will welcome the resolution as a necessary first step to the attainment of the ideal.

The resolution on the protection of minorities was drawn up by Professor Gilbert Murray, the representative of South Africa, and though primarily intended to deal with the rights of minorities in those States which have incurred obligations under the recent treaties, it contains a clause exhorting States not bound by such treaties to accord to minorities within their jurisdiction the same measure of justice and fairplay as the other States. Coming, as it did, from the representative of South Africa, and passed, as it was, unanimously by the Assembly, it is a valuable expression, albeit of a pious character, of the sentiment of the Assembly. During the discussion of the resolution on the administration of the mandated territories an important question was raised by the writer of this article with regard to the legal status of the "C" class mandated territories. The discussion of this point was rendered necessary by a pronouncement of General Smuts in South West Africa that the "C" class territories were annexed to the man-

datory States in all but name. The view enunciated by General Smuts is pregnant with far-reaching consequences, and it is gratifying to note that it was not shared by the Permanent Mandates Commission. The distinguished South African statesman seems to have relied upon the language of Article 2 of the "C" class mandates. But this is identical with that of Article 9 of the "B" class mandates, as to which he admits that the territories held under them cannot be regarded as practically annexed to the mandatory State. Article 22 of the Covenant treats all these territories as a sacred trust of civilization to be administered as trust estates. Though these territories were originally vested in the Allies, they divested themselves of the territories and created a trust of which the trusteeship was vested in the League of Nations. Hereafter it is the Council of the League that is ultimately responsible for the welfare of the peoples in these various territories. The methods of administration in the three classes of "A," "B," and "C" mandated territories may be different, but in every case the peoples of the territories are the beneficiaries. Two propositions of law are clearly beyond question. One is that a trustee, or an agent of a trustee, cannot treat the property of the beneficiary as his own and annex it to his own properties. It follows that the inhabitants of the "C" class territories do not become nationals of the mandatory State, but preserve their own distinct national status. The other proposition is that a mandate is essentially revocable, and if the mandatory fails in his duty he may be relieved of his charge by the trustee, who is ultimately responsible for the management.

WAR-TIME IN THE SUDAN

BY F. A. EDWARDS, F.R.G.S.

[EDITORIAL NOTE.—The present article is, we believe, the first that has appeared upon this subject as a whole. The light that it throws on subsequent events in adjoining countries of the Near East will no doubt commend it to our readers' special attention.]

THE European War broke out at an unfortunate time for the Sudan. In 1912 and 1913 the country had suffered from low flood and poor rains; during the first half of 1914 a shortage of dhurra, the staple food of the bulk of the native population, caused considerable distress, and in some districts of Dongola, Khartoum, and the White and Blue Nile Provinces famine conditions prevailed for a time. But the Government imported millet from India, and thus tided over the period till the harvest of the crops. After the failure of the crops caused by the low Nile in 1913, the Dongola Province was visited by a murrain of cattle and a plague of locusts. Rinderpest was very bad in Mongalla Province to the south, and in the Nuba Mountains Province the cattle-owning Arabs lost severely from pleuropneumonia among their herds. Various measures were taken by the Government to contend with these troubles; poison gas was supplied by the Wellcome Research Laboratories to destroy the locusts; action was taken to stamp out the cattle disease. One good result of this and the supply of Indian grain by the Government was that it impressed upon the natives the interest which their present rulers took in their welfare, and this was not without its effect during the critical time of the war.

The country was not free from occasional troubles with some or other of the many different tribes. Though it was fifteen years since the Sudan had been reconquered from the Mahdists, some of the more distant parts had not

yet been brought under immediate Government control, and the natives had not yet everywhere become accustomed to English rule. During 1913 and the early part of 1914 there had been a number of disturbances in different parts. An outlaw and his followers had given trouble on the Atbara River, and in a conflict with a patrol had killed Major J. L. J. Conry and three of his men; the Bedaiat Arabs of Dar Fur had raided the Hawawir and Kababish tribes of Kordofan; there was trouble with the insubordinate Nuba mountaineers; in the Bahr el Ghazal Province a party of Banda negroes attacked pilgrims and carried off women and children and property, Mandala Arabs committed highway robberies, Baggara Arabs raided the Dinkas, and there was sedition among the Niam-Niams or Zandeh in the far south; and the lawless Nuers on the Bahr el Zeraf, Sobat, and Pibor Rivers attacked the Anuaks and Dinkas.

In an enormous country of nearly a million square miles, with a population of about four millions belonging to a number of different tribes, speaking different languages and in various stages of civilization, only gradually being brought under regular government, such outbreaks were, perhaps, only to be expected. To preserve order in this vast area the total regular force available was a little over 14,000 men of the Egyptian army, composed of Egyptian, Arab, and negro regular units, distributed in forty-six garrison and military posts, with a small British force at Khartoum, consisting of a battalion of infantry and a detachment of garrison artillery. The administration was carried on by 110 British officers and officials (excluding technical staff), distributed over fourteen provinces.

The inhabitants of the northern portion of the Sudan—some two-thirds of the whole in number—were Arabs or Arabized tribes, professing the Muhammadan religion, and these might have been considered as most amenable to outside influences. The Germans hoped by dragging Turkey into the war to bring about a great Muslim

uprising in North Africa against the Italians in Tripolitana or Lybia, the French in the Central Sudan, and the British in the Eastern Sudan, relying upon the fanatical Senussi in the Northern Sahara to take a leading part in this crusade. This, if successful, would have rendered it practically impossible to hold the southern portion of the Sudan, above Khartoum, which is inhabited by negro (mainly non-Muslim) tribes. Fortunately, the general loyalty to the Government was never in doubt, a testimony to the pre-war record of the Government. At the commencement of hostilities an active propaganda, directed against Germany and her allies, was instituted, and means were taken to inform the more intelligent sections of native opinion, through their leaders and the local press, of the facts of the military and political situation and of the ascendancy of German influence at Constantinople. In consequence, the rupture with Turkey, which came as an unpleasant surprise to the Sudanese, found native opinion to some extent prepared for the shock to their religious susceptibilities, and there was a remarkable outburst of expressions of loyalty to the British Government by the Muslim notables and other native leaders in the Sudan.

Rains and floods in the autumn of 1914 were excellent, and the people generally, busy with the prospects of a good season, paid little heed to the outbreak of the war. A censorship was established, garrisons were strengthened where needed, and a more frequent and effective system of patrols instituted, particularly on the Red Sea coast and the Abyssinian frontier. Martial law was declared, and legislation was introduced to strengthen the hands of the Administration in dealing with emergencies and to prevent trading with the enemy. In October and November, 1914, the Governor-General (Sir Reginald Wingate), who was also Sirdar of the Egyptian army, held a series of huge public receptions at Omdurman, where he explained to the sheikhs and notables the origin and causes of the war with Germany; he afterwards made a tour of the Sudan, and

held similar receptions at Wad Medani, Sennar, El Obeid, and Port Sudan. Returning to Khartoum, he addressed the principal regimental officers there and the principal religious sheikhs and ulema. The ulema enthusiastically declared their loyalty; many of the principal Arab sheikhs, including some who had fought against us in the Mahdist cause, wrote to the Governor-General expressing their goodwill.

Whilst things were thus satisfactorily shaping in the Sudan, the Khedive of Egypt was plotting at Constantinople for a Turkish invasion of Egypt. The British Government promptly met this by deposing him and declaring a British Protectorate over Egypt on December 17; and next day Hussein Rushdi Pasha, who was known to be friendly to England, was proclaimed Sultan. There was, of course, some danger from the Muslim population and the Arabs, whose fanaticism and slave-trading interests had in the past been aroused by the Mahdi against the Egyptian Government, and whom Germany and Turkey now hoped to raise against us. Sympathizers with Mahdism were not extinguished in the conquest of 1898-99, and now and again there had been attempted risings by Arab fanatics, who coloured their political aspirations with religious propaganda. In 1903 a new "Mahdi" appeared at El Obeid, the capital of Kordofan, but was quickly put down.

The German objective in Africa was the establishment of a great central African empire, comprising the English, French, and Belgian possessions, so as to connect the German colonies of the Cameroons, East Africa, and South-West Africa in one enormous block—"Mittelafrika" they fondly named it. The capture of the German colonies by the Entente Powers in the early period of the war was regarded with equanimity by the Germans, who consoled themselves that the fate of the African possessions would be settled on the battlefields of Europe. Maps were printed at the Colonial Office at Berlin showing this great German "Mittelafrika," which was to swallow up the French Congo

possessions, the Belgian Congo, and British East Africa, and to extend practically from the Egyptian frontier to the boundary of British South Africa. It was a grandiose scheme, based on the writings of great German publicists, professors, and high colonial authorities. With an inflammable Muslim population in the Sudan there was a real danger in such a policy. But "the best-laid schemes of mice and men gang aft agley." Almaz Effendi, Enver Pasha's aide-de-camp, was sent from Turkey to stir up the Muhammadan element to rebellion. He landed at Port Sudan in December, 1914, and called upon the Egyptian officers to revolt. Their reply was to arrest him ; he was tried by court-martial and sentenced to be shot.

The vulnerable point of the Sudan was on the extreme west. Dar Fur (the country of the Fors, or Furs), one of the old Muhammadan empires of the Central Sudan, which had only been conquered by the Egyptians in 1874, had not been brought under direct Government jurisdiction since the suppression of Mahdist rule. After the battle of Omdurman in 1898, Ali Dinar, one of the Emirs of the Khalifa and a descendant from a former Sultan of Dar Fur, deserted the Dervish forces and escaped to El Fasher. Here, with the sanction of the Sirdar (Lord Kitchener), he proclaimed himself Sultan, and in 1901, when he had beaten down the considerable opposition which he encountered, he was officially recognized as agent of the Sudan Government on condition of paying an annual tribute of £500. This tribute was paid yearly till the outbreak of the war, and the Sultan continued nominally to maintain friendly relations with the Sudan Government, though he would not allow Europeans to enter his territory. Dar Fur was not, therefore, under the immediate control and authority of the Sudan Government, and, apart from the tribute, Ali Dinar had been left to his own devices. The condition of Dar Fur under his rule was not satisfactory. He ruined the people to embellish his capital—where he had a fine palace built, two stories high—and reduced half the popula-

tion to a state of serfdom, filling his harem with concubines, and distributing his subjects' cattle among his favourites and the Arab merchants who brought him precious merchandise and weapons and ammunition sent by the Senussists. He had to meet conspiracies, retaliating by the execution of members of the royal house involved, and generally acted as a despot who could only maintain his position by force of arms and fear. He harassed the adjoining countries to the west and south, and more than once raided into Kordofan. He repeatedly invaded Dar Tama, adjoining Dar Fur on the west, and caused the Sultan of that country to be dethroned and a creature of his own (Othman) installed in his place. This action not only caused the assassination of Lieutenant Boyd-Alexander (April 2, 1910), which was instigated by Othman, but brought him into conflict with the French. The French had, in 1909, occupied Wadai, the defeated Sultan of which, Doud Marrah, fled to the Dar Fur borderland, and thence gained help which enabled him to continue the war and to inflict more than one serious reverse upon the French army. The French claimed Dar Tama as a dependency of Wadai, and shortly after Boyd-Alexander's death Captain Chauvelot attacked the Forian army in Dar Tama at Gereda and utterly routed it. The wretched Othman fled to El Fasher, where he was put to death by Ali Dinar for losing the battle.

A common religion naturally brought Ali Dinar into touch with the Senussi of the Eastern Sahara; from his first becoming Sultan he had had communications with the Sheikh As-Senussi, who died in 1902, and he continued the relations with his successor, Ahmed Sherif. The Senussi, a semi-religious, semi-political Muhammadan fraternity in North-East Africa, had attained a considerable influence over a wide area, and, like the Mahdists, were credited with aiming at a world empire, or, as they no doubt would term it, the submission of the world to Islam. At the outbreak of the war a Germano-Turkish Mission, headed by Nuri Bey, a brother of Enver Pasha, the Turkish Minister of

War, landed in Cyrenaica to organize with the Senussists an outbreak in Central Africa against the protectorates of France and Great Britain. The Grand Senussi, Ahmed Sherif, lent a willing ear to the suggestions of Nuri Bey, and sent emissary after emissary to preach revolt to the different Sultans responsible to the French and British authorities. Their exhortations were well received in Dar Fur and in the south of Wadai.

Ali Dinar was persuaded that the Sudan Government was not strong enough to deal with him, and that his chance of cutting himself free from British suzerainty had arrived. Perhaps he had been encouraged in this belief by the delay, inevitable as it was, in arriving at a settlement with the French of the questions concerning the western boundary of Dar Fur. At the instigation of the Turkish Mission he planned an invasion of the Sudan, which was to be carried out in connection with the Senussist advance upon Egypt. Copies of his Jihad against the British Government were despatched to the Sudanese and other tribesmen, urging them to cast off their allegiance to the Christians, and threatening condign punishment to all who refused to obey. Egypt was for a long time in danger from the Senussi menace. Germany urged Sidi Ahmed to invade Egypt, and the Kaiser sent him an autograph letter, written in Arabic, in which he styled himself "Allah's Envoy."

After several defiant letters, Ali Dinar, in April, 1915, formally renounced his allegiance to the Sudan Government and started a plan of invasion of the Sudan, to be carried out simultaneously with the Senussist attack on Egypt. In view of more insistent demands elsewhere, it was not convenient to take action against him immediately, but a cordon of native irregulars was established to prevent communication with the Senussi country and to intercept any caravans of arms that might attempt to pass along the Arbain road to Dar Fur. Towards the end of 1915 a Senussi army 30,000 strong, with a leaven of Turkish

troops and controlled by Turkish and German officers, swarmed across the western borders of Egypt; and it was not till February, 1917, that they were finally defeated and driven off. In December, 1915, Ali Dinar's attitude became so threatening that a small force of camel corps was hastily despatched to Nahud, an important trading centre in Western Kordofan. But this did not discourage the Sultan, who, in February, 1916, commenced concentrating a force on the Kordofan frontier at Jebel el Hilla. The Sirdar therefore ordered the concentration at Nahud of a force of all arms, about 2,000 of all ranks. The troops left Nahud, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel P. V. Kelly, on March 16, and occupied Um Shanga, where a Forian observation post was dispersed, on the 20th. Two days later Jebel el Hilla was occupied, after preventing a movement by some 800 For horsemen. The movements of the force were facilitated by the railway from Khartoum to El Obeid, a distance of 428 miles, which had been completed on December 30, 1911. Beyond this the expeditionary force, with its stores, guns, aeroplanes, and other bulky equipment, had to proceed across a desolate tract of roadless country for nearly 400 miles farther. A makeshift motor road was prepared, over which aeroplanes and their repair shops could be taken, as well as the other supplies of the force. When this motor road was ready the camel transport was supplemented by a mechanical transport service from railhead to Nahud, by which means the rapid convoy of supplies was ensured.

The advance was made in the square formation familiar in former Sudan campaigns, over broken sandhills with much hidden ground. Large parties of enemy horsemen and camelry hovered round as the force approached the position where the Sultan's forces were entrenched, in a strong position near the village of Beringia, twelve miles north of the capital. On the morning of May 22 Kelly's force here came in contact with Ali Dinar's army, estimated at 3,600 men armed with rifles, besides a large number

armed with spears. The effective part of the Sudanese force, about 2,000, was therefore greatly outnumbered. The Sultan's troops attacked with great desperation, many of the attackers falling within ten yards of our firing-line; but in a short time the For army was broken and fled in disorder, after sustaining some thousand casualties; our casualties were five killed and twenty-three wounded. Next day Colonel Kelly's troops occupied El Fasher without opposition, and as the Sultan's troops were marching away from the south side of the capital, Lieutenant J. C. Slessor, of the Royal Flying Corps, circled over and bombed them.

Ali Dinar, with a greatly reduced following, fled to Jebel Marra, a tangled mass of mountains seventy miles south-west of El Fasher, which had in old times been the home of the rulers of Dar Fur. On Jebel Marra (we are told by Captain H. F. C. Hobbs, who explored the mountain a few months later) there is a crater lake, which is regarded with much superstition and fear by the inhabitants. The Fors of the mountain say that it is haunted, regard it as an oracle, and ask it questions, the answers to which they deduce from the various colours which the water of the lake assumes in the early morning or late afternoon, when there is a considerable reflection, or when the surface of the water is troubled by the wind. To this lake Ali Dinar sent two of his officers to consult the waters as to his movements. It is said that the waters refused to let the envoys approach, and even retired before them. However this may be, the invading forces gradually closed in on the fugitives. Two posts, one to the north and the other to the south of Jebel Marra, at Kebkebia and Dibbis respectively, were formed. At the latter place, in October, Major (now Brigadier-General) H. J. Huddleston dispersed a force under Ali Dinar's eldest son, Zachariah. Ali Dinar's followers suffered from smallpox and starvation, and at last they were surprised and attacked by Huddleston's force at Guiba, near the western boundary of Dar Fur, on November 6, 1916. The attack was a complete surprise,

our forces getting within 500 yards of the camp before being discovered. On the capture of the camp a vigorous pursuit was started, and Ali Dinar's body, with those of some of his principal adherents, was found a mile off.

The occupation of El Fasher and the death of Ali Dinar brought to a conclusion organized resistance in Dar Fur, and left only local disturbances to be put down, and the reducing to order of the population and the protection of the country from the Senussi raiders in the north. The establishment of administration was taken in hand at once. Dar Fur was constituted a province of the Sudan, Lieut.-Colonel R. V. Savile being appointed Governor. Armed bands of escaped slaves roved about marauding the country, under two former adherents of Ali Dinar, who took refuge in the little-known country to the south-west. One later crossed the Bahr el Arab and surrendered to the Bahr el Ghazal authorities, and the other found a home in French territory. The inhabitants generally readily accepted the new Government, and good progress was made with the settlement. Efforts were made to obtain the confidence of the natives and, with a very inadequate staff, to lay down the framework of government. The administration was started on the principle of maintaining and supporting the authority of the native headmen rather than of close administration. The principle worked well generally speaking, but the magisterial powers given to headmen were in some instances abused.

To the north-west of Dar Fur the mountainous regions of Ennedi and Erdi were the resort of robber bands, who from time to time made marauding excursions into Dar Fur, and even extended their raids at times to Kordofan and the banks of the Nile, hundreds of miles across the desert. Though in the French sphere, they owned no allegiance to the French, and recognized only the authority of the Senussi. The most redoubtable of these brigand chiefs was Mohammed Erbeimi, head of the Teika section of the Guraan tribe. The Guraans live chiefly in French

territory, and subsist almost entirely by raiding. In 1916 Erbeimi's band raided into Dar Fur and carried off some thousand camels. The French had in 1913 captured Borku (north-east of Lake Chad), and were operating in Ennedi against him; to co-operate with them a camel-corps force under Major (now Lieut.-Colonel) T. B. Vandeleur proceeded to Furawia in January, 1917, but failed to get into touch with the French troops, which had already chased the robbers away to the north-west and recovered the prisoners and camels taken by them. Erbeimi, after two years of varying fortune, during which he was continually harassed by the French, finally surrendered to the Sudan Government at Furawia in December, 1918.

In Southern Dar Fur the refusal of the Beni Helba tribe to obey Government orders compelled the despatch of a small patrol into their country in January, 1918. In May some unrest was noticeable in Dar Masalit, one of the old Arab sultanates to the west of Dar Fur, which had been conquered by the Sultan of the latter country. The Sultan of Dar Masalit had been some years before captured and hanged by Ali Dinar, and the new Sultan, Mohammed Bahr el Din (commonly called Endoka), who had been installed by the French, proposed to attack the French and Sudan posts which by mutual agreement had been placed at Adre and Kereinik, on the borders of Dar Masalit; but he soon submitted to a display of force. During these operations with the French communications were facilitated by the establishment of wireless telegraphy between El Fasher and Abeshr. In September, 1921, a fanatic named Abdullahi el Soghayer, of the Masalit tribe, collected a following and attacked the Government post at Nyala, in Southern Dar Fur, which, with another post at Zalinga, had been established in February, 1917. The handful of police and native troops made a magnificent stand against the onrush of thousands, and the attack was repulsed, with the loss of 600 tribesmen killed; but Captain H. Chown and Mr. T. McNeill and three other civil servants were

killed, and the Sudan casualties were sixty-one. Abdullahi was afterwards captured, tried, and hanged at Nyala on October 28.

But the new province generally was settling down under the new administration, and was now safer for traders and travellers. Greek and Syrian traders had soon found their way to El Fasher from Khartoum, and pushed their operations forward to Abeshir, where they supplied the French with their stores at exorbitant prices. Travellers, too, began to find their way across the country, which the traditional policy of the Sultans had so long closed to them. In 1917 Commandant Jean Tilho crossed Dar Fur on his way home from Borku *via* the Nile and Egypt; in 1919 Mr. Palmer, British Resident in Bornu, travelled across Wadai and Dar Fur to railhead at El Obeid in a dog-cart, and Sir Philip Brocklehurst, Commandant of the post at Kereinik, journeyed in the reverse direction across Wadai to Lake Chad; and in 1920 Commandant Audoin passed through little-known districts south of Dar Fur in a journey from Cameroons to the Nile. These regions, he reported, had been so harassed by the raids of the Sultans of Dar Fur, Dar Kuti, and Dar Sila as to be in great part depopulated.

It was not only on the western confines of Dar Fur that French and British forces co-operated. Far away to the south, near the point where the boundaries of the French, Belgian, and British spheres meet to the south of the Bahr el Ghazal Province, a Sudan force was able to render good service to the French. When the watershed between the Nile and the Congo was fixed on as a dividing-line between the French and British spheres by the agreement of March 21, 1899, it did not correspond with tribal divisions; one large tribe, the famous Niam-Niams, or Zandeh, was divided. Some sections of it extended into the country which is drained by the upper streams of the Bahr el Ghazal, some sections were included in the Belgian Congo, and others in the French sphere to the north of the

Mbomu River. The various sections are split up under a number of petty chiefs, or "Sultans," and one of these Zande chiefs, Bangazagene, in the far corner of the French sphere not far from the boundaries of the Bahr el Ghazal Province and the Belgian Congo, revolted in February, 1916, and attacked the French post at Mopoi. In the following month Major R. F. White, with a detachment of the Sudanese Equatorial Battalion, crossed the frontier, occupied the post from which the French had been driven, and with the Belgians aided the French in defeating Bangazagene. And in 1917 the authorities in the French Congo asked the Governor of the Bahr el Ghazal to co-operate against an outlaw named Krikri who had raided loyal chiefs; a patrol under Captain V. H. Fergusson patrolled the frontier, and Krikri was shortly after arrested.

There was also much fighting with the negro tribes in the Nuba Mountains and farther to the south—the Nuers, Dinkas, and Lotuko, and the far-away and untamed Turkana on the western shore of Lake Rudolf; and there were conflicts on the Abyssinian border; but exigencies of space do not allow of describing them.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

BY HENRY S. L. POLAK

It will probably be agreed that there is no single subject upon which there is such unanimity of agreement among Indians and between them and the Government of India as the question of the status of Indians overseas. For many years it has caused the gravest anxiety to His Majesty's Government, for it contains within itself the seeds of imperial disruption unless handled with greater skill and honesty than have been used for some time past.

At the present time there are two principal danger spots—Kenya and South Africa; but there are a number of minor causes of disturbance and ill-feeling on the part of the people of India, for example, Ceylon, British Guiana, and Fiji. It is, however, necessary to distinguish between those parts of the British confederation where the British Government exercises no jurisdiction, owing to the extension of self-government and Dominion responsibility to them, and those parts which are under the direct jurisdiction of the Colonial Office. The problem and its solution differ according to the category in which the particular territory is placed. If we take, by way of illustration, the disabilities and grievances of which Indians in South Africa complain and have for long complained, we find the Colonial Office protecting itself behind the plea that it is no longer responsible, and that it cannot directly interfere with the conduct of a self-governing Dominion. This, though an unpalatable truth, is, doubtless, the correct constitutional position. But it does not satisfy India, especially when the Colonial Office appears

to take up the less strong ground that it is undesirable for it to make even a diplomatic representation to the Union Government. If that attitude be correct, it implies that His Majesty's Government can less effectively secure the protection and the welfare of His Majesty's Indian subjects in an integral part of the British Commonwealth than in a foreign country. But however valid these reasons may be in the case of self-governing Dominions, they do not operate at all in the case of territories which are under complete control from the Colonial Office. It is because this distinction is clearly realized in India that we hear so much of British hypocrisy in this matter, and it makes it easier to understand the bitter criticism of Mr. Churchill's action regarding Kenya immediately after the Imperial Conference last year.

It will be remembered that at that Conference the Right Hon. Mr. Sastri, on behalf of India, brought forward a resolution designed to establish once and for all the position of Indians already established in the overseas Dominions, Colonies, or Protectorates. After a great deal of diplomatic negotiation a formula was agreed upon, which, after reciting the right of the self-governing Dominions and India to regulate the conditions of immigration as between themselves, admitted at the Conference of 1918, and a reference to the reforms in operation in India having as their eventual object the conferment of responsible government upon India, recommended that the status of equal citizenship should be granted to Indian settlers overseas. To this resolution all parties to the Conference, including Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government, but excluding South Africa, gave their assent. It was with a view to carry out the recommendation of the Conference in detail that, at the pressing invitation of the Prime Ministers of Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, Mr. Sastri, at the request of the Government of India,

subsequently proceeded upon his tour of those Dominions, which has recently been successfully concluded. But scarcely had the ink dried upon the document than Mr. Churchill addressed a series of proposals to the then Governor of Kenya, nullifying the very principle embodied in the resolution. No public information of the nature of these proposals was for some time forthcoming, until, in a moment of after-dinner enthusiasm, Mr. Churchill announced particulars of the policy that he proposed to introduce and enforce. Mr. Montagu, who was then in office, promptly, it will be recollected, repudiated the Colonial Office policy, which, he made clear, had never received Cabinet sanction. The Kenya question is still unsettled, and the Colonial Office remains under a cloud, so far as Indian opinion is concerned. It is to be hoped that the new régime will enable Ministers to discuss the matter afresh, without preconception, and with the sole object of giving effect, in the spirit as well as in the letter, to the principle of equal citizenship adopted at the last Imperial Conference. Nothing less will solve this complex problem and restore Indian confidence, so rudely shaken during Mr. Churchill's tenure of office.

It is equally true to say that, until the test question of Kenya is settled, it will not be possible to settle any of the other problems associated with Indian emigration. It is useless to speak, as Sir Frederick Lugard did recently, in a paper read before the Royal Colonial Institute, of diverting Indian attention to the prospects of Indian settlement in British Guiana and away from Kenya. In the first place, Kenya is much closer to India and is one of the oldest settlements from India, and a proper solution of the Kenya question is regarded as a matter of honour. In the second place, even with the bait of transferring British Guiana to the control of the Government of India, no one in India will seriously advocate Indian emigration to any overseas territory

so long as the doctrine of equal citizenship is not loyally enforced in every Crown Colony and Protectorate. As Lord Meston pointed out in his address to the British Association, it is a real and not a paper equality upon which India will insist. Besides, the Government of India has not yet been able adequately to protect the interests of Indians who have emigrated as labourers to such near countries as Ceylon and the Federated Malay States, of which evidence was recently brought to the notice of the Select Committee on Emigration appointed from among members of the Indian Legislature. In addition, nothing whatever can or will be done until the Assembly has had time to read and digest the Report of the Indian delegation that has recently returned from British Guiana. I am very doubtful whether the Assembly, after having done so, will be prepared to recommend the reopening of Indian emigration to British Guiana, and if not, it is one of the few certain things to be predicated of the Government of India that it will not act in opposition to the views of the Assembly. Much the same thing applies to the case of Fiji, regarding which a similar report is awaiting consideration. In discussing these matters, it is essential to remember that India will never again consent to any scheme of purely labour-emigration. She has no intention of being regarded as an inexhaustible reservoir of cheap and docile labour for the enrichment of European capitalists, often absentees. She is much more interested in developing her own industries than in supplying a labour force for others who cannot be relied upon to treat it well.

South Africa was not a party to the Imperial Conference resolution, and Mr. Sastri let fall a few significant sentences on the subject at the complimentary luncheon given to him on October 26 last. He said: "I was not prepared to go to South Africa, and if I may quote high authority, without mentioning names in this room, I was assured that for a

good long time yet South Africa may not be in a state of moral and material preparedness to receive a deputation of this kind from India. In the light of that information, the Government of India magnanimously resolved not to take the Government of the Union of South Africa by surprise, for we hope to play the game." Now the situation in the Union is very unsatisfactory. The storm-centre, which was formerly in the Transvaal, has lately been transferred to Natal, where the anti-Asiatic elements have been organizing themselves for a great demonstration. Their former argument, that the Indians were a danger to the Province because they so considerably outnumbered the European population, has been greatly weakened by the latest census figures, which show that, whilst the Indian population has been stationary, the European has rapidly increased, so that, in a short time, the Europeans will have begun to outnumber the Indians. Moreover, as each year passes, the proportion of Indians born in the Province and who know no other home, who are, indeed, South Africans, increases, the majority of them already being of South African birth. Nevertheless, the anti-Indian agitation proceeds from bitterness to bitterness. Last year three Ordinances were passed by the Natal Provincial Council depriving Indians of certain rights of ordinary citizenship. One of these was subsequently assented to by the Governor-General, upon the advice of the Union Government, one has been suspended pending further inquiry, whilst the third has been definitely disallowed, on the ground of incompatibility with the Union Government's policy. A prominent member of the Council has notified General Smuts that he intends to reintroduce the two Ordinances not yet assented to, and that, upon their being passed, as there seems little reason to doubt they will be, he and his Natal colleagues who are members of the South African Party will challenge the Union Government to disallow

them. It seems probable, therefore, that General Smuts may be obliged to choose between keeping his party intact and assenting to measures of which he and his Government do not approve.

There is, however, a possible way out, and it raises a constitutional issue of the first magnitude. The Provincial Councils and the Union Government exercise their powers only with the authority derived from the South Africa Act, 1909, an enactment of the Imperial Parliament. Section 147 of that Act provides that the control of matters specially or differentially affecting Asiatics shall vest in the Governor-General-in-Council. I have excellent grounds for asserting that this provision was inserted in the Act in order to defeat the possibility of just such legislation as that complained of, for it was realized at the time that Asiatic affairs were of far too difficult and delicate a nature to be entrusted to the Provincial Legislatures. It is now argued, on behalf of the Indian community, that the meaning of this section of the Act is to confine the control and handling of Asiatic affairs, from beginning to end, and at every stage, to the Union Government, responsible to Parliament, to the exclusion of any lesser jurisdiction, and that the Union Government is not empowered to delegate any portion of this control to any subordinate or other authority. If that contention be correct—and there is a good deal of support given to this interpretation in influential quarters—then the Ordinance recently passed and assented to is *ultra vires* the South Africa Act, the Natal Provincial Council is incompetent to legislate in matters specially or differentially affecting Indians, and the Union Government ought to prohibit the Provincial Councils from considering or in any other way dealing with such matters. If the above interpretation were adopted by the Union Government, General Smuts could honourably extricate himself from a very difficult and possibly dangerous

political *impasse*. If not, then there is nothing to prevent the Provincial Legislatures constantly hampering and embarrassing the Union Government in the administration of Indian affairs, and it would be quite useless for the Government of India to make any representations on behalf of South African Indians to the Union Government. The latter would be faced with the unpalatable alternatives of having either to suppress the Provincial Legislatures, or to secure an amendment of the South Africa Act, or eventually to assent to the handling of Indian affairs by the Provincial politicians, mostly ignorant of the Imperial issues involved and unaccustomed to Imperial responsibility.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE INDIAN LABOUR PROBLEM

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THERE is only too good reason to believe that the productive and manufacturing capacities of India have not yet received adequate recognition at the hands of Western countries. In recent times, however, interest in such matters has been greatly quickened and stimulated by India's magnificent efforts during the War, and also by the timely publication of the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission. A natural result of this has been that a great many problems connected with Indian industries are now being studied and investigated, not the least interesting of which relates to the conditions of Indian labour.

To the ordinary Westerner who looks upon India as the mystic land where brown humanity lives a drowsy life under a tropic sun, it will come as a surprise to be told that the workers in Indian industries, mining, and transport outnumber the whole population of Spain; that, though possessing in her population of over 319 millions a monopoly market for many important branches of home production, India exported last year manufactured goods worth £86,911,000; and in the foreign trade alone 13,000,000 tons of shipping entered and cleared from her ports; that the mileage of her railways exceeds that of the United Kingdom or France; that the Indian jute industry is unrivalled in magnitude, and her cotton industry fifth in importance in the world; and that she possesses flourishing iron and steel works, foundries, railway workshops, dock-yards, paper mills, petroleum refineries, and rice mills.* It

* See Memorandum urging India's claim to be one of the eight States of "chief industrial importance" sent from the India Office to the Secretary-General, League of Nations, in October, 1921.

follows that, in order to keep going, these industries should be affording employment to a vast army of workers, a conclusion which is thoroughly borne out by the following figures.* The number of actual workers engaged in the production of raw materials is 106,508,881, of whom 72,332,823 are males. Those employed in pasture and agriculture are said to be 105,335,379, but this figure includes small-holders, who, though working their lands themselves, can hardly be called agricultural labourers pure and simple. The number of farm servants, field labourers, and coolies in the plantation industries such as tea, coffee, indigo, rubber, comes to as many as 27,081,130, of whom 13,864,857 are males; and the figures for those engaged in stock-breeding and forestry come to 3,893,900, of whom 3,212,901 are males; so that the total number of those engaged in actual agricultural labour, stock-breeding, and forestry, comes to 30,975,030, of whom 17,077,758 are males. Compare with this the number of males engaged in the same pursuits in other countries :

Country.	Year.	No. of Males.
U.S.A. ...	1910 ...	10,783,903
European Russia ...	1897 ...	11,554,287
Japan (estimated) ...	1908 ...	5,408,363
France ...	1911 ...	5,279,475
German Empire ...	1907 ...	5,076,862
United Kingdom ...	1911 ...	2,142,635

The figures for other industries are no less striking. Mining affords employment for 308,449, industries for 17,515,230, and transport for 2,394,882, making a total in all of about 20,219,000, which is nearly equal to the figures for U.S.A. and France combined. The statistics for maritime employment point in the same direction. The great importance of Indian interests in this respect is not generally realized, but with the exception of the United Kingdom, Indian maritime workers outnumber those of any other member of the International Labour organization.

Thus, judged by the test of the number of workers, India, with its 100 millions of occupied males, is easily the first among all the countries of the world. It may perhaps be argued that

* Census figures for 1911.

a comparison like this leads to false and unreliable results, having regard to the extent and population of India and seeing that many of her industries are still undeveloped. But whatever force such an objection may have in determining India's place among the great industrial countries of the world, the test based on the number of workers is the only relevant one to apply in determining the weight and magnitude of the interests of the workers themselves.

Ordinarily, the Indian labourer is drawn from the lowest stratum of society. The ancient village organization of India does not appear to have provided any place for the independent labourer. Attached to every village was a class of predial serfs belonging to the lowest class or caste which performed certain lowly, if necessary, services to the small village community, and was in return maintained by it. But with the advent of better communications the village, with its quaint sense of isolation from the rest of the world, began to show signs of disintegration, one of the earliest of which was the attempt of the village drudges to better their position and prospects by seeking employment in the larger world beyond. Their numbers must have been considerably augmented by the small-holders deprived of their strips of land through the operations either of the moneylender or of the tax-gatherer, so that we have now a large and rapidly growing population of unskilled labour, commonly called the "agricultural proletariat." There are also at the same time large numbers of small-holders who in slack season or in times of distress seek employment as casual labourers.

The labour force in India is recruited almost entirely from these three sources, and this circumstance in a large measure determines the ordinary labourer's habits and methods of work. The factory operative is primarily an agriculturist. In almost all cases his hereditary occupation is agriculture; his home is in the village, not in the city.* His wife and family ordinarily

* Mr. L. J. Sedgwick, the Bombay Superintendent of Census, discusses the source of the city of Bombay's labour at p. 15 of the *Bombay Labour Gazette* for March, 1922. His figures, showing the percentage

live in that village; he regularly remits a portion of his wages there, and he returns there periodically to look after his affairs and to obtain a rest after the strain of factory life. It follows that the Indian operative does not rely exclusively upon factory employment in order to obtain a livelihood. At most seasons he can command a wage sufficient to keep him, probably on a somewhat lower scale of comfort, by accepting work on the land; and there are also numerous other avenues of employment more remunerative than agricultural labour which are open to every worker in any large industrial centre.*

This independence of the Indian labourer has had a baneful effect upon the nature and quality of his work. He is irregular and unsteady, likes to take things easy, and chafes at the rigorous discipline of the factory as compared with the easier methods of the field. "One cause for the unpopularity of mill labour," so wrote Mr. S. H. Fremantle, I.C.S., who reported on the supply of labour in the United Provinces and Bengal in 1906, "is undoubtedly the distaste for discipline, coupled with confinement for long hours in the mill." The Indian Factory Labour Commission of 1908 reported that "the Indian factory worker is in general incapable of prolonged and intense effort. He may work hard for a comparatively short period, but even in such cases the standard obtained is much below what would be expected in similar circumstances in any European country. His natural inclination is to spread the

of persons born in Bombay to the total population at each census, are instructive as showing how largely the population of the city is immigrant :

Year.				Per Cent.
1872	...	...	...	31.1
1881	...	...	...	27.8
1891	...	...	...	25.0
1901	...	...	...	23.4
1911	...	...	...	19.6
1921	...	...	...	16.0

Similar conditions prevail in the jute districts of Bengal, where at the present time about 90 per cent. of the labour is imported.

* See Report of the Indian Factory Labour Commission (Cd. 4292 of 1908), p. 18.

work he has to do over a long period of time, working in a leisurely manner throughout and taking intervals of rest whenever he feels disinclined for further exertion." They estimated that in the cotton and textile mills of India the average operative probably spent from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 hours each day, in addition to the statutory midday interval, away from his work. The reasons for this "loitering"—a phenomenon which is by no means confined to the Indian labourer—are different from those of the "ca' canny" classes of British workmen of the present day. The late Dr. T. M. Nair, in his powerful Minute of Dissent attached to the Report of the Labour Commission of 1908 above referred to, explains it as due to overlong hours of work. He calls it "a manifestation of the adaptive capacity which all human beings possess more or less," "a device to reduce the intensity of labour as a safeguard to his own physical well-being"; and adds: "The experience of other countries that short hours have also reduced the interruptions in the course of the day has been realized at least in one mill in India, and in the face of this fact to charge the Indian labourer with ingrained habits of idleness is the refuge of the sweater." The Labour Commissioners themselves considered that where the hours are short and the supervision good, the operatives can be trained to adopt fairly regular and steady habits of working. Climatic conditions,* too, and a feebler physique are largely accountable for this characteristic of Indian labour, and it may be hoped that there will be a change for the better when working hours are reasonably shortened, and adequate steps taken to protect the health of the operative.

Another circumstance which certainly is peculiar to Indian labour is its intermittent character. Generally speaking, about 10 per cent. of the labour force in any industry are always absent on "French leave," and not less than 30 per cent. are off at harvest time. Each operative generally takes two or three days' holiday each month and a yearly holiday which may extend from one to three months. The general results of enquiry in two mills in Bombay were as follows:

* See "Climate and the Evolution of Civilization," E. Huntingdon.

AVERAGE ABSENCE PER OPERATIVE PER YEAR OVER THE
THREE-YEAR PERIOD, 1905-06-07.

Department.		Mill A.		Mill B.
Carding	...	55 days	...	45 days.
Throstle	...	62 "	...	51 "
Weaving	...	72 "	...	50 "

That is, the average operative may be said to take two days off work every month, and a further annual holiday of from three to seven weeks. In addition he receives the Sunday holiday and from four to ten native holidays during the year.* This practice, which enables the operative to spend some time every year in his own village amid congenial rural surroundings, certainly affords a much-needed change from the conditions of his city life. But he seldom notifies his employer of his intention to stay away from work, thus making it difficult for the latter to make the necessary arrangements, and the hindrance to production thus caused is necessarily great when the numbers involved are, as in many cases, large.

Another consequence of his agricultural bias is his relative inefficiency in the more skilled industries. In earthwork and agriculture the Indian labourer is not seen so much at a disadvantage. But in occupations where steadier and more sustained attention is required, and where hand and eye have always to be on the alert, he has been pronounced distinctly the inferior of his European confrère. According to Sir Clement Simpson, of Messrs. Binny and Co., Madras, whose figures have not been seriously challenged, 267 hands in an Indian cotton-spinning and weaving mill are equal to one hand in a Lancashire mill. As against this Dr. Nair quotes the opinion of outside experts like Mr. Platt and Mr. Henry Lee that in no country on earth, except in Lancashire, do the operatives possess such a natural leaning to the textile industry as in India, and refers to the remark of Dr. G. Von Schultze Gævernitz in 1895 that the Indian labourer does not stand far behind the German. The operatives themselves offer a different explanation of their alleged inefficiency. In a

* Indian Factory Labour Commission Report, 1908, p. 27.

Memorial submitted to the Viceroy in 1883, the mill-workers of Bombay said: "The real cause of this . . . is the bad machinery and the bad material used in the mills. The breakage in the thread is so continuous on account of the bad quality of the cotton that mill-owners are compelled to employ more men. As the effect of the long hours has to be considered before judging of the idle habits of the Indian operatives, so the quality of the raw material they have to handle has to be taken into consideration before the extent of their skilfulness or otherwise is determined." The Labour Commission noted this defect, but reported that "the Indian operative possesses considerable adaptability," and when it is remembered that organized industries of the modern type have not been in existence in India long enough to enable a class of industrial operatives to grow up possessing the inherited skill and dexterity of English workmen, and that the Indian workers are, as a rule, unfamiliar with power-driven machinery, this comparative lack of skill can easily be understood. The skill and intelligence of the Bombay and Bengal operatives to which the authors of the Indian Industrial Commission Report refer (at p. 18), are obviously due to the fact that these Provinces were the first homes of modern industries in India.

The love of easy-going independence, the migratory habits, and the reluctance to submit to discipline and to learn new processes of production, which characterize the Indian workman, explain the paradox that, in spite of her 319 millions, one of the greatest obstacles to India's industrial expansion is the scarcity of labour. References to the shortage of labour are abundant in the reports of most mills and factories, and in 1905 a conference of the Indian Chamber of Commerce adopted the following resolution: "Whereas the supply for rank and file labour is inadequate in many districts, and whereas the deficiency is seriously restricting the productive power of a large section of the manufacturing concerns of the country, it seems imperatively necessary to this Conference that in order to devise a remedy, measures should be taken by a Government Commission or otherwise to investigate the causes which have

led to a state of affairs inconsistent with the relative conditions of life of the factory operative on the one hand and the agricultural classes generally on the other." But what exactly is meant by "scarcity of labour"? It is true that famine, plague, and the influenza epidemic of 1919 have taken heavy toll from the available sources of labour. Yet, says Sir Theodore Morison, there are in the villages and on the outskirts of towns thousands who are eager to sell their labour at very scanty wages. But, as already explained, this labour is unskilled and intermittent, and Sir Theodore* therefore takes it that the term "shortage of labour" means a shortage of trained labour. Conditions have altered since Sir Theodore wrote his book, and to-day India experiences a shortage in unskilled labour as well. Since 1903-04, according to a Government Report,† "the cry has been for workers rather than for work. Agriculture itself has steadily increased its demands, but has felt itself obliged to compete with the still more rapidly increasing requirements of commerce, and it is no exaggeration to say that the labourer has been in a position to dictate his own terms." Men there are still in plenty, but they are content with their own standard of living, and, since that has remained unchanged in spite of the recent rise in wages, they are now able to work less and take longer rests. Another feature of the Indian labour situation is the scarcity of men of the mistry or foreman class possessing the requisite technical and business experience, which is largely the result of the average Indian's holy aversion to all forms of manual work. The dearth of both trained and untrained labour and its slackness, which necessitates a costly system of supervision, are factors to be reckoned before concluding that Indian labour is the cheap commodity it is generally believed to be.

Judged by Western standards, the wage paid to labour of all kinds is exceedingly low. Thirty years ago the wages of a

* "Industrial Organization in an Indian Province," p. 181.

† Quoted at p. 173 of Datta's Report on the Enquiry into the Rise of Prices in India, 1914. See also Cd. 4292 of 1908, Sect. 7.

field labourer hardly exceeded twopence a day, though, translated into terms of commodities ("real wages") the figure is not so utterly inadequate as it looks. Wages were paid by village custom partly in cash and partly in kind. As a rule the labourer took in cash only the amount required for his actual expenses such as clothes, etc., the rest being taken in food grains. Since then, of course, wages have risen considerably. Enquiries into the rates of agricultural wages in the United Provinces and in the Punjab made in 1906 and 1909 respectively showed that, while there was the greatest disparity in rates from district to district, they averaged 2½d. in the former to 4d. in the latter. There is obviously no comparison between this rate and that for the same kind of labour in England in 1907, which averaged 17s. 6d. a week.* The rise in the Indian rate is still going on; the War, with its call for increased production, and the recent rise in world prices have had their usual effect on the rate of wages, and now we find the labourers putting forward claims for a higher rate throughout the country. Thus in rural areas the real wages of both agricultural labourers and village artisans rose in 1912 to 38 per cent. above the general level in 1890-94†; and in 1921 it was by no means uncommon to find the wages for ordinary unskilled labour ranging from one shilling to eighteen-pence per diem.‡

There is, however, one class of agricultural labour which does not appear to have fared so well. The plantation cooly, working on the uplands far away from home, formerly commanded a higher rate of wages than his fellow-worker in the plains. The original scale, unfortunately, appears to have been petrified into immobility, for, writing in 1913, Mr. K. L. Datta‡ declares that their real wages have fallen 5 per cent. below the level in 1890-94. The average rate for a cooly in

* See the Board of Trade's Earnings and Hours Enquiry, Vol. V., Cd. 5460 of 1910.

† See Report on the Enquiry into the Rise of Prices in India, 1914, paras. 406-409.

‡ See *Bombay Labour Gazette*, January, 1922, p. 14.

the South Indian plantations is only sixpence a day, but to this must be added the pecuniary advantages he receives by the sale of rice at concession rates and the provision of free housing and medical assistance.* The general tendency of wages has, however, been to lag behind prices, and this has been responsible for much of the recent distress among the labouring classes.

Factory labour also has had the benefit of the rising wages, though the rate of increase has not been so rapid as in rural areas. The Labour Commission of 1908 did not go into the question of wages, but they had sufficient evidence to conclude that "the wages of textile factory operatives were considerably higher than those earned by the same class of men in other employments." At the time of their enquiry wages per month in cotton textile mills varied within the following limits :

	Rs.		Rs.
Half-timers ...	2½ to 4½	Full-time boys between fourteen and seventeen	5 to 13
Hands in the card and frame departments	7 to 18	Head spinners (male) ...	25 to 35
Male piecers ...	10 to 16	One-loom weavers ...	10 to 15
Women (reeling and winding) ...	5 to 12	Two-loom weavers ...	18 to 35

The wages in the jute mills were slightly higher.

The specimen wages *per mensem* in cotton mills in 1918, including war bonus, in Bombay (where wages are higher than elsewhere in India), were :

	Rs.	As.	Ps.	£	s.	d.
Drawer (card room) ...	23	6	0	1	11	2
Reeler ...	17	4	0	1	3	0
Warper ...	40	8	0	2	14	0
Rover ...	24	1	0	1	12	1
Doffer (card room) ...	12	10	0		16	10
Weaver ...	46	15	0	3	2	7

(Wages paid monthly, two or three weeks in advance.)

* That conditions in the North Indian plantations do not greatly differ is evident from the Report on Immigrant Labour in Assam, 1920-21, which see. A Committee has recently been appointed to enquire into labour conditions in Assam, the report of which is expected to throw light on the whole question.

The specimen wages in jute mills for June, 1918, were :

			Rs.	As.	Ps.	£	s.	d.
Carders	...	...	9	0	0	12	0	
Rovers ...	...	...	12	0	0	16	0	
Spinners	...	...	14	12	0	19	8	
Shifters	...	...	11	0	0	14	8	
Winders	...	...	18	0	0	1	4	0
Beamers	...	...	22	0	0	1	9	4
Weavers	...	...	27	0	0	1	16	0
Mistries	...	...	30	0	0	2	0	0
Coolies ...	...	...	13	0	0	17	4	

(Wages paid weekly, one week in advance.)

And in coal-mining the average daily wage per head was 7'6 annas in the same year.

The greatest sufferers from low wages are such non-factory workers as shop-hands, clerks, postmen, etc. The Indian Government is one of the largest employers of this kind of labour, and the following figures* will show how one class of their employees (viz., the Agra postman) has fared at their hands. They will also show the rate of rise in the wages of a woollen mill operative in North India, whose wage in 1895 was slightly lower than that of the Agra postman.

	1895.	1900.	1905.	1910.	1915.	1917.	1918.	1919.	1920.
Agra postman ...	8'57	8'65	9'44	10'95	12'45	12'6	13'21	13'5	—
Boiler Mistry in North Indian woollen mill ...	8'4	—	11'4	13'8	17'9	—	24'8	25'2	35'8

The disparity in the rate of increase is striking, and shows clearly that the wages offered by the Government are not always higher than those offered by private employers of labour, as is generally supposed, though it is only fair to say that the same glaring difference does not appear in the wages of numerous other classes of Government servants.† This will also illustrate how wages lag behind prices, since the index number of the cost of living in India went up from 100 in July,

* The figures are in rupees and decimals of rupees, and are taken from p. 215, Statistical Abstract for British India, Cd. 1425, 1921.

† I understand there has been since 1919 an increase in the wages of postmen.

1914, to 185 in July, 1919, and the wages show no corresponding increase.

The prevailing rate of factory wages has called forth interesting criticisms from various quarters and from different viewpoints. The capitalist employers appear to think that because of the Indian labourer's relative inefficiency and of the comparatively low cost of living in India the present rate is as high as the various industries can afford to pay. The contrary view has been held by the late Dr. Nair and Mr. B. P. Wadia. Dr. Nair in 1908 contended that if one Lancashire operative is equal to 2.67 Madras operatives, then, since the average monthly wage of a Lancashire operative is about Rs. 60 (£4), while that of a Madras operative is only Rs. 15 (£1), it is clear that for the same money the Indian mill-owner gets nearly double the work that an English mill-owner does. Mr. Wadia approaches the question from a different point of view.* "It may be contended," he says, "that living in India is cheap, but when the rise in the price of food-stuffs and clothing material is taken into account, when a personal enquiry into the lives of the workmen is made, and when we see the hovels they live in, the food they eat, the clothes they wear, and remember that they are always in debt which is ever increasing, we cannot but come to the inevitable conclusion that the scale of wages is scandalously low and is absolutely inadequate to meet the demands of sheer existence at the present time." He continues: "The wage now allowed to the Indian labourer leads to malnutrition. . . . Though he may be addicted to living cheaply, the most frugal temperament would not choose malnutrition and its consequences for the sake of cheap living," and concludes with the quotation that "Labour may be cheap, but life is not."

The surest way of ascertaining the adequacy of wages is to compare them with the amount required to keep an average working-class family consisting of the worker, his wife, and two children in physical efficiency for a given period. From careful investigations in Madras in the two years 1917 and 1920,

* Memorandum to the Glasgow Trades Union Congress of 1919.

by Dr. Gilbert Slater and the Rev. D. G. M. Leith respectively, the following figures were obtained :

Items.	1917.			1920.			Percentage of Rise.
	Rs.	As.		Rs.	As.		
Food ...	14	0	...	17	10	...	26
Rent ...	1	0	...	1	8	...	50
Clothing ...	0	8	...	1	4	...	150
Fuel ...	1	0	...	1	0	...	37
Miscellaneous ...	0	8	...	0	12	...	50
Total ...	17	0		22	8		32

Accepting these figures as substantially accurate, it must be admitted that quite a large percentage of Indian workmen is living on less than the minimum income required to prevent physical deterioration. There are some who believe that the fixing of a minimum wage by law would effectively meet the situation, and Mr. K. C. R. Chaudhuri brought forward a resolution in the Bengal Legislative Council last year "that early steps be taken to establish Industrial Boards for the determination of a minimum wage for each industry in Bengal." But the fallacies underlying the minimum wage theory are apparent, as are the industrial and administrative implications following on its adoption. At its foundation it has the idea that the opinion of one or two individuals may properly establish a standard of living for the members of some particular group at the market prices of some particular day, which society as a whole is obliged to provide to the individuals of that group in return for a certain number of hours of work, without reference to any practical or scientific co-ordination of real wages between different sections of workers or in relation to the service or work performed by those to whom that wage is paid.* The Government very properly declined to accept the resolution, for the wages in industries in India are regulated by agricultural wages, and industrial concerns in order to attract the labourer must offer higher wages than he gets in his own village. How are agricultural wages to be regulated? "Apart from the fact that we have not got sufficient knowledge for the purpose, and

* See Report of the American Commission on Foreign Enquiry of the National Civic Federation, 1919.

from the fact that we should have to make allowances for differences in land tenures and other matters, even if we could fix a minimum wage that would be accepted by all as fair and reasonable, we have not got the staff to go round and see that these minimum wages are paid.”*

It is fairly clear that higher wages are an absolute *sine qua non* if the efficiency of Indian labour is to be improved ; and judging by the high profits made by many of the industrial concerns of India and the value of their shares on the Stock Exchange, the employers can certainly afford to pay a much higher rate. Many employers who are anxious, in their own interests, to improve the quality of labour, are agreed as to the necessity for higher wages, but their complaint is that the labourer does not respond to the stimulus thereby afforded. His wants being few and inexpansive, these secured, he takes advantage of the increased wages, not to increase his output and earn more money, but to work less, for fewer days in the year. This brings us to another paradox in Indian economics, that a rise in the rate of wages diminishes the supply of labour. In Bombay, since the 10 per cent. rise in the wages of mill operatives given during the rains of 1917, there has been an actual falling off in output ; and at the last annual meeting of the Indian Mining Federation, the chairman, Mr. N. C. Sircar, complains : “ We have known the bitter effect of our increase in wages ; how it has failed to stimulate a desire for higher earnings, and how it has acted as a direct incentive to increased idleness.”†

Higher wages by themselves, then, cannot do much good. Along with that, the Indian labourer has to be taught, in the words of Mr. William Archer, “ to want more wants.” The spirit of divine discontent must take possession of his mind. These will bring about a longing for a higher standard of comfort, and to quote Mr. Sircar again, “ it is in quickening this sense of better comfort and better standard of life that the sal-

* The Hon. Mr. Kerr's remarks in the discussion on the Resolution in Council.

† Reported in the *Statesman*, Calcutta, April 27, 1922.

vation of the Indian working-classes lies.' It is in this connection, apart from all humanitarian considerations, that the questions of education, better housing, and general welfare work come to the fore. The great economic loss India has suffered by the unskilfulness of her labour—a defect largely remediable by education—is now recognized, and special attention is now being bestowed upon the provision of sufficient educational facilities for the newer generation of workers.

The Labour Commission of 1908 felt that the existing provisions were inadequate, but, seeing that even the few schools maintained by some of the mills were shamefully inefficient, and that they were in many cases being kept only as a means for overworking children, were compelled to recommend that such schools should not be located within the factory premises. In the absence of anything more fruitful than this negative suggestion, the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale proposed that all factories employing not less than twenty children should be compelled to provide for their free education. The motion was lost, the employers protesting that it was unfair to saddle them with a burden which it was the duty of the State to bear. In the following year the Government of Bombay appointed a committee to consider the question, but nothing came of it, since the members were evenly divided, four recommending compulsory education for factory children and the remaining four—all employers—opposing it. There the matter rested till December, 1917, when Bombay led with an Act empowering Municipalities (other than that of the city of Bombay) to declare the education of children between six and eleven compulsory, subject to certain safeguards, and to raise funds to meet the necessary expenditure, and most of the other Provincial Governments followed suit. It is only in the Bombay Presidency, however—and there again, only in four Municipalities—that the Act is in operation, financial and other difficulties standing in the way of the other Provinces. It may here be pointed out that the object of raising the minimum age of factory children to twelve in the Factories Amendment Act of 1922 will be largely defeated if effective provision is not made for their education during the

free hours. Capitalist enterprise in this direction still leaves much to be desired, though it is encouraging to find that many of the more enlightened mill-owners have copied the action of the Madras Perambore Mills and set up well-conducted schools for children who are connected with the mills either directly or through their parents.*

In the matter of housing the idea is to make the conditions of the urban labourer's quarters approximate to those prevailing in his own village. The latter are by no means salubrious, as persons familiar with the ways of living of the lower castes in India (such as the pariahs of the Southern Presidency), can testify. But clamant as are the evils even of this sort of village life, those of the towns with their greater congestion are easily worse. The plantation labourers and the workmen attached to factories situated at a distance from towns naturally live under conditions which approach nearest to village life. The dwellings here taken the form of single-story lines consisting of single room units with a veranda and an open courtyard in front. The congestion and insanitation become more pronounced in the larger industrial centres, where, also, the workers instinctively try to reproduce their home surroundings, but are prevented by the lack of available space from having the veranda and the courtyard. Hence have arisen the "bustis" and "chawls," which are notoriously overcrowded and insanitary. The Report of the Indian Industrial Commission† gives us a faithful picture of the filth and squalor of "chawl" life in Bombay, of the ill-ventilated rooms, the damp ground-floors, the narrow courtyards dumped with rubbish, the insufficient water arrangements, and the bad sanitary accommodation. Some of the larger factories in India have built commodious settlements near their premises for large numbers of their operatives, and many more are doing so, seeing that suitable housing accommodation renders the labour supply steadier and forms an attraction to new recruits. But what

* For a résumé of the whole question, see A. G. Clow's article on "Factory Children and Education," *Journal of Indian Industry and Labour*, vol. i., part 2.

† Paragraphs 241 and 242.

has already been done forms but a tiny speck compared to what has yet to be done, and to hasten matters the suggestion has definitely been put forward in Bombay and Behar (coal mines) that employers should be compelled individually to house their own labour. The interests of national efficiency require the protection of the labourer's health ; bad housing leads to deterioration, and it seems only reasonable that a part of the capital employed in production should be deflected to improving the principal instrument of production by the provision of healthier conditions of living for labour. Compulsion, however, is inexpedient, since its incidence on employers will be unequal, and the financial resources of Indian industrialists are not yet strong enough to bear the burden. Labour, also, has its own objections to the creation of a class of landlord employers who, it is feared, would keep it too much in subjection. And even without legal compulsion, the present tendency, growing stronger every day among the leading employers, to pay greater attention to the material comforts of their employees will itself find a solution for this vexed problem. In the housing schemes of these employers expert opinion is often taken and the most recent ideas in regard to lay-out and design considered. The Bombay Improvement Trust has in hand some very costly schemes under expert supervision, and the growing industrial town of Jamshedpur, the population of which will exceed 100,000 when the present extensions are completed, will compare favourably with any industrial centre in the world in the matter of the comforts and conveniences provided for the working classes.

In general welfare work, the efforts to improve the health of the worker must occupy the front position. Major Norman White, the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India, declares that the weaker physique and lower vitality of the Indian worker which have caused him to be labelled " inefficient " are due to removable pathological causes,* such as malaria and hookworm infection (ankylostomiasis). Both are almost universally prevalent in India and both are preventable.

* See Appendix L, Industrial Commission Report.

Recent experiments have shown that the output of labour which has been treated for ankylostomiasis has increased by as much as 25 per cent., and this surprising increase in efficiency has been accompanied by a reduction of disease of all kinds. The campaign of public health and sanitation should not be confined to urban areas, where the labourers "most do congregate." The recruiting centres of labour are in the rural regions, where also one finds the same appalling ignorance of the laws of personal and domestic hygiene.* There is thus a great necessity for a widespread organization to preach the gospel of health all over India, and the All-India Health and Welfare Association which has been started recently is doing something in this direction. The aim of industrial welfare work is the development of the human factor in industry. In its present form it is a movement of fairly recent origin, and its possibilities were perhaps not generally realized till a Welfare Department was organized by the Ministry of Munitions during the War. Foremost among the unofficial bodies undertaking service of this kind in India are the Servants of India Society and the Social Service League of Bombay. Among the employers, the great firm of Tata's has, as usual, taken a lead in the new humanitarian movement, and welfare work on an extensive scale is being conducted at their headquarters at Jamshedpur.

The following remarks of Mr. J. A. Kay, the Chairman of the Bombay Mill-Owners' Association, at the last annual meeting, are of interest, as showing the new angle of vision among the employers. "I am pleased," said he, "to see that so many of our members are now taking an active interest in the conditions and surroundings in which our workpeople live. Most of our troubles economically and industrially can, I think, to a great degree be put down to illiteracy and the migratory habits of our workpeople, and education would help to solve our problem ; but, though much has been said about compulsory primary education, I am afraid Government are a long way off

* Lieut.-Colonel MacTaggart thinks that the health of the agricultural worker is inferior to that of the factory worker. See Appendix B, Cd. 4292 of 1908.

even making a commencement in this direction, so the social condition of our employees must be improved by welfare work. Much has already been done, but I appeal to our members to do more. I know at times results are disappointing, but if we can raise up their standard by giving them brighter surroundings and attractions to keep them out of the liquor and bucket-shops, we shall have achieved something ; for better environment must as time goes on tell its own tale, and I should suggest to those who are not already doing so that a certain amount be put aside out of profits each year for this purpose." But at the heart of every economic problem lies a moral problem, and the most effective help is that which enables the labouring classes to work out their own regeneration. The operatives are therefore being induced to organize themselves into working-men's institutes like those formed recently in the Tata and the Currimbhoy-Ebrahim Mills of Bombay. The formation of stores and credit societies on a co-operative basis, night-schools, reading-rooms and libraries, ambulance classes, arrangements for athletics and open-air excursions, and provision for various other amenities of existence which go to alleviate the bitterness of continual toil, are some of the directions in which this new spirit of social service is manifesting itself. The various Provincial Governments and Municipalities are also beginning to interest themselves in the question, and in Madras at least there is now a full-time officer called the Labour Commissioner, one of whose main functions is to improve the conditions of the "depressed classes," from whose ranks is drawn a large part of the labour force of that Presidency. Work of this nature is yet in its infancy, but it is a healthy sign that the Government, the capitalist, and the general public have combined themselves so early to meet in anticipation the inevitable demands of a developed labour movement. Would it be too much to hope that, if the present rate of progress is kept up, industrial development in India will in at least one respect proceed on happier and healthier lives than in the West ? The tendency of the age that succeeded the industrial revolution has been to perfect machinery at the expense of man and

to regard increased production, not as a means to national prosperity, but as an end in itself. The result was that poverty increased, slums multiplied, and a rancorous and implacable enmity sprang up between labour and capital. The modern schemes of social welfare are intended to restore the disturbed balance and to bridge the yawning gulf between the two great factors of production. In entering the field of industrial activity as a late-comer India has secured one great advantage. She has had the time and the opportunity to watch the course of events in other countries and profit by their example ; and if only the captains of Indian industry have learnt their lesson well it may confidently be expected that the pitfalls and dangers of the excessive industrialism of the West will be avoided, and that with suitable housing accommodation, reasonable wages and hours of work, and provisions for healthy relaxation and amusement, the Indian labourer will come to regard factory work, not as mere drudgery, but as a means through which he may express his personality, and his employer, not as a vampire living upon his life-blood, but as a brother and a colleague performing equally valuable services to society.

Effective factory legislation in India came into force with Act XII. of 1911, though the first Factories Act came into operation on the 1st of July, 1881. The question of controlling the hours and conditions of factory work by legislation appears to have been raised so early as 1872, and in 1875, at the suggestion of the Secretary of State, the first Commission to consider and determine whether legislation was necessary was appointed in Bombay. Two of the more progressive members of the Commission recommended legislation on the following lines : Adequate protection of machinery ; prohibition of employment of children under eight ; an eight-hour day for children between eight and fourteen ; a twelve-hour day for adults with one hour's rest ; a weekly holiday, and the provision of drinking water. These proposals were ultra-radical for those days, and failed to win the approval of the majority. But the Hon. Mr. S. S. Bengali, the first champion of Indian labour, took the matter up in the Bombay Legislative Council, while

the Government of India, in their anxiety to protect children and young persons employed in factories, conceived the idea of all-India legislation. After a great deal of heated discussion, in the course of which the Draft Bill underwent considerable alteration, and in the face of the opposition of the Bengal and Madras Governments and the mill-owners of Bombay, the Imperial Legislature passed Act XV. of 1881, by which children between seven and twelve were to work only nine hours a day and to have four holidays in the month. The definition of "factory" was restricted to works using power and employing 100 persons, and tea, coffee and indigo factories were completely exempted. The Act did not evoke much enthusiasm, and the Bengal Chamber of Commerce was probably correct in stating that "the universal judgment" of the public was that it was unnecessary. The sponsors of the Act were themselves dissatisfied with its extremely limited scope, and doubted its adequacy; and Lord Ripon in particular felt that he had been wrong in giving way to the strong phalanx of conservative opinion opposed to his measure. The history of Indian factory legislation has already been set forth in detail by a competent hand (J. C. Kydd, "*A History of Factory Legislation in India*"), so that we can skip over the intervening period and come to the next Act (XI.) of 1891, by which the number of persons necessary to constitute a "factory" was reduced to fifty, daily rests and weekly holidays were provided, the work of women limited to eleven hours, and that of children (nine to fourteen years) reduced to seven; and both classes protected against night work. It was expected that "the Bill will be accepted both here and at home, not as a mere prelude to still further restrictions, but as a settlement as final as any settlement of such a question can be."* But the conditions of industry underwent rapid alterations since 1891; the number of factories and of the operatives attending daily had risen from 656 and 316,816 in 1892 to 2,359 and 792,511 respectively in 1910, and the introduction of electric light and the dearth of labour caused by the plague introduced

* Lord Lansdowne's words in the Legislative Council

new problems which had to be considered. The provisions of the Act of 1891 were often neglected, and evasions of the law in regard to women and children were also only too frequent (see Section 2 of the Factory Commission Report of 1908). The Government were therefore compelled in 1906 to appoint the Textile Factories Labour Committee ("The Freer-Smith Committee") to go into the question and consider, *inter alia*, the case for the limitation of the working hours of adult males and the minimum age and certification of children. After the publication of their Report in 1907, the Factory Labour Commission was appointed to investigate in respect of *all* factories the questions referred to the Freer-Smith Committee. They brought out their exceedingly interesting Report in 1908, and while admitting that unduly long hours were being worked in the mills, and that "if generally adopted and persisted in for any length of time, they would almost certainly result in the physical deterioration of the operatives" (Section 7, paragraph 39), the majority of the Commissioners held to the view that a direct limitation of the working hours of adult males was inexpedient (see paragraph 46). This called forth from Dr. T. M. Nair of Madras a dissenting minute of remarkable power and ability, in the course of which he exposed the weakness of the plan suggested in the Report, and earnestly pressed the necessity for such a direct limitation. The Government, agreeing with Dr. Nair, limited adult labour to twelve hours. The proposals for a compulsory interval after six hours' continuous work, and for reducing children's working hours from seven to six in textile factories also were accepted, and Act XII. of 1911 was passed on these lines. From 1910 to 1919 the number of factories had increased from 2,359 to 3,604, and the average daily number of operatives from 792,511 to 1,171,513. An immediate effect of the War was a tremendous increase in industrial activity, and the number of factories and of persons employed rose by about 25 per cent. in 1914-1919. At the same time the urgent necessity for increased production led to widespread exemptions of factories from many provisions of the Act, and the consequent disorganization once again

pressed the problem on the attention of the Government. The present Act (The Indian Factories Amendment Act, 1922), which came into force on the 1st July this year, marks a substantial advance on its predecessor in that (1) the number of persons necessary to constitute a factory is reduced from fifty to twenty, local Governments retaining the power by administrative order to extend the Act even to non-power establishments employing ten or more persons; and the exceptions made in favour of electric generating and transforming stations and plantation factories are repealed; (2) the ages of children are raised to twelve minimum and fifteen maximum; and (3) in place of the old Section 27 are substituted two new Sections: "No person shall be employed in a factory for more than sixty hours in any one week," and "No person shall be employed in any one factory for more than eleven hours in any one day." There are also various minor changes, such as the abolition of the distinction between textile and non-textile factories, provisions relating to health and safety, and enhancement of maximum fines; and Dr. Nair wins a posthumous victory in the new Act where the exceptions in favour of cotton-ginning and pressing factories, against which he so ably argued, are abolished.

The present Act has gone as far as it is desirable that India should go to-day, and it affords one more proof of the readiness of the Indian Government to uphold the legitimate interests of the labouring classes. In this connection, it may be mentioned that there has all along been in India a school of thought which views with apprehension the efforts made to limit the hours of work and approximate to the labour ideals of the more highly organized Western nations. Their position is that of the Labour Commissioners of 1908, who declared that in judging labour problems "the welfare of India . . . must be regarded as absolutely paramount. . . . We are profoundly impressed with the necessity for taking all practicable measures to foster the development of Indian industries, and convinced of the dangers likely to result from any attempt to apply to India laws or regulations framed with reference to other and

different conditions." And the argument is also advanced that if regulations tending in any wise to enhance the cost of labour are enforced in India, the influx of fresh capital into industries will be checked, that a reduction of the working hours will spell a curtailment of the national dividend, and that industrial progress will be seriously retarded. It has also been suggested that the movement for the reduction of hours has been started by the Lancashire mill-owners, who are taking advantage of India's political subordination to stifle Indian competition. "The voice is the voice of Exeter Hall, but the hand is the hand of Manchester." The fact that the first move in the matter came from the Secretary of State, and that there has always been considerable flutter in the Lancashire dovecotes when Indian labour problems were being discussed, have lent colour to this view. In answer, it may be said that experience has not always confirmed the view that shorter hours mean diminished output. On this point Mr. C. A. Walsh, the special inspector who had to administer the Act of 1891, says that in workshops where shorter hours were worked than in textile mills labour was more plentiful and less costly, and that the Gauripore Jute Mills in Bengal paid higher dividends than any other mill in a year in which its hours were shorter than anywhere else; and we have also the evidence of the manager of an Agra mill about the same time that he had increased his outturn by a substantial reduction of hours. Nor need this occasion any surprise when it is remembered that reasonable hours mean less loitering and more intense and concentrated effort. Even were it otherwise, even if shorter hours may for a time diminish output, the higher interests of industrial efficiency require that the labourer should not be sweated and his physique suffered to deteriorate. To conserve his strength, to keep his vigour unimpaired, and to provide him with opportunities for improvement, ought to be the aim of all who wish to lay the foundations deep and firm of the industrial India of the future. Lancashire certainly was not disinterested when it offered its counsel to the Indian Government; but India may have reason to be grateful even for Lancashire's suggestion

when, as a consequence of it, she sees a new generation of sturdy workers springing up in the place of the anæmic and nerveless operatives of the present day.

There is, however, another influence which is likely to prove more potent than Lancashire in shaping the destiny of Indian labour. India, as one of the signatories to the Peace Treaty, is also one of the original members of the International Labour Organization, established by that Treaty. Her delegates have attended the three conferences already held at Washington, Genoa, and Geneva, and she obtains a prominent place in the official Report,* where M. Thomas refers to "the remarkable efforts which she has made to secure the realization of the great ends" for which the Organization was formed. But if India deserves praise for her ratification† of the Washington decisions, that Conference deserves no less praise for the eminently reasonable spirit in which it approached many of the questions it had to discuss. One wishes that the same could be said of the two succeeding Conferences. The great weakness of the Conference, it has been pointed out, is its humanitarianism; and some of the Resolutions at the two later sessions make one suspect that the Conference hopes to turn the world into a paradise by a Draft Convention and to hasten the Millennium by a Recommendation.

Now that labour has been "internationalized," the tendency in India will be to fall in line with world conditions; and herein lies a serious danger. It is true that under Article 405 of the Peace Treaty, the Conference, in framing its recommendations of general application, "should have due regard to those conditions in which climatic conditions, the imperfect development of industrial organizations or other circumstances, make the industrial conditions substantially different, and should suggest the modifications which it considers may be required to meet such cases." But where the dominant idea is to approximate to a

* See pp. 171-176, Report of the Director of the International Labour Office, 1921.

† As to how far she has ratified the Washington decisions, see the Government of India's despatch to the Secretary of State, No. 16, Industries, dated Delhi, November 25, 1920.

type, and the object is to bring about uniformity of legislation in order to avoid competition on what appears to be unequal terms, it seems only too likely that special circumstances calling for special treatment will receive only inadequate stress and insufficient consideration. So far as the welfare of the operative is concerned, India has gone as far as she could go without detriment to herself, and recommendations for further curtailment of working hours, or in other ways calculated to affect Indian industries adversely, should be subjected to careful scrutiny before ratification. The attitude of the Government of India in regard to the Resolutions on maritime employment and agriculture passed at the last two Conferences shows that they are alive to the danger of proceeding too fast and of being hustled along the lines laid down by the Conference.

That the spirit of combination is lacking in the Indian workman has been noticed by the employers at a very early date. In a letter to the Bombay Government dated November 25, 1905, the Collector of Bombay remarks : " If the mill-owners desire to increase the hours, the operatives have no real power to prevent them. Their power of combination is as yet exceedingly limited ; a large proportion will always continue to prefer to get as high wages as they can, regardless of their own welfare in the long run." The early history of organized labour in India is full of instances to show that while the operatives fully understood the machinery of local strikes and have repeatedly enforced employers to comply with their demands in isolated cases, they were unable to combine over any large area with the object of securing a common end by concerted action. Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb point out that whilst industrial oppression belongs to all ages, it is not till the changing conditions of industry have reduced to an infinitesimal chance the journeyman's prospect of becoming himself a master that we find the passage of ephemeral combinations into permanent trade societies.* The essential preliminary condition of trade unionism, then, is the existence of a class of wage-earners divorced from the ownership of the means of production. In

* " History of Trade Unionism," 1920, p. 6.

India, as we have seen, the predominant type is that of the agricultural labourer who retains his interest in land and is his own entrepreneur. Yet, latterly, there has been growing up a small but definite class of workers detached from all interest in land and looking solely to some particular form of industrial employment for the means of subsistence. The late emergence of this class explains the absence of trade unionism in the early history of Indian labour. Economic causes were no doubt at the bottom of the movement, though it may not be far wrong to say that political causes helped in some degree to precipitate it. An interesting glimpse into the psychology that was behind the formation of some labour unions is afforded by a little book entitled "Labour in Madras,"* containing the speeches delivered by Mr. B. P. Wadia during the incubating period of the Madras Labour Union. Most of the speeches are political in import and bear some internal evidence that they were considered part of the Indian Home Rule Campaign started by Mrs. Besant during the War. That the Labour Programme was tacked on to the political movement to secure for the latter the support of the English Labour Party appears to be clear from the following quotation: "Above all, it should be remembered that the Labour Party of England will be able effectively to help us when we have the good vehicle of a sister movement here to work through. The fruition of the present labour movement will be in the Home Rule Administration, let us hope, of the near future;"† and in the face of this, the statement of Colonel Wedgwood that "labour has not been 'used' by Indian politicians" provokes a smile.‡ But the activity of the politician gave no more than a fillip to the labour movement. There were other and more powerful causes tending in the same direction. The later War period and the years

* S. Ganesh and Co., Madras, 1921.

† Speech quoted in *New India*, July 3, 1918.

‡ See also Sir Valentine Chirol's "India Old and New," p. 273. "There is unhappily very abundant evidence to show that strikes would not have been so frequent, so precipitate, and so tumultuous had not political agitation at least contributed to foment them as part of a scheme for promoting a general upheaval."

that succeeded the Peace were years of great economic stress and strain. It was a period of high prices and general scarcity, and the feeling of unrest thereby engendered supplied a great stimulus to the formation of Trade Unions. The organization and management of these Unions leave much to be desired; they possess no clear-cut features or well-defined duties; most of them have no permanent offices or staffs; and the men themselves are lukewarm in their loyalty to their Union, demurring to Union discipline and to Union contributions. A few of the older Unions, however, such as the Seamen's Unions, the Indian Telegraph Association, and the Railway Workers' Association, "are well on the way to that completeness of organization which marks the Trade Union system of the West." In the number of Unions and the total strength on their rolls, the seventy or eighty Labour Unions of India appear insignificant when compared to the 238 Trades Unions of the United Kingdom with a total membership of 6,505,482; and it is only through the magnitude and frequency of strikes in recent times that they have leapt into the light. The following figures (supplied by the Labour Bureau of the Government of India) give us an idea of the interruption thus caused to industry last year:

1921.	Industrial Disputes.	Number of Labourers Involved.	Days Lost.	Successful.	Partially Successful.
First quarter	116	185,251	2,590,325	13	42
Second quarter	64	122,432	2,114,657	11	12
Third quarter	88	97,825	1,133,684	15	12
Fourth quarter	132	117,647	799,196	49*	16
Total in 1921	400	523,155	6,637,862	88	82

* Bonus question.

The spread of the strike epidemic is causing grave anxiety to the Government and to industrialists, and has drawn prominent notice to the necessity for finding out the ways of securing industrial peace. Trade Unionism once again comes

into importance, since employers are desirous of calling into being organizations authoritatively representing labour interests with which they can negotiate. The inherent defects of the present Labour Unions—their lack of coherence, their numerical weakness, and their failure to obtain for themselves an undoubted representative character—place great limitations on their power of collective bargaining and ventilation of grievances. All parties are now agreed that, in the changing conditions of industry, Labour Unions have a definite function to perform, and while the labourers are trying to strengthen their movement by banding themselves into Central Labour Federations and Trades Union Congresses,* the Government are now busy drafting a Bill giving the Unions legal recognition and protection. But the history of older countries has taught us the bitter lesson that well-established Trade Unions will not by themselves ensure industrial peace, and so the various Provincial Governments in India have recently been making detailed enquiries into the various ways of preventing and settling industrial disputes. Thus the question of popularizing works committees on the lines of the Whitley Report engaged the attention of the Second Conference of the Directors of Industry held at Cawnpore in November, 1920, and on the 30th of July, 1921, Mr. J. B. Petit, the mill-owner, carried a Resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council asking for the appointment of a Committee to “consider and report upon the practicability or otherwise of creating suitable machinery for the prevention and early settlement of labour disputes.” The Report of the Committee was published some time back, and I understand that they are in favour of setting up Courts of Enquiry and Conciliation constituted by three members from each side, with a neutral chairman selected from a panel maintained in the Labour Office. It is expected that in the first place, after the enquiry, public opinion, which always plays a prominent part in the settlement of industrial disputes, would have some effect; but in case it did not, the Conciliation Board

* The All-India Trades Union Congress was formed in 1920, and has held two annual sessions, at Bombay and Jharia respectively.

is to be brought into use. It is proposed to give the Courts statutory recognition, but not to make their decrees mandatory. It is not yet known what action the Government of Bombay intend to take on these recommendations.

It is difficult to define the duty of the Government when capital and labour disagree. It is indisputable that Government should secure the welfare of the worker by legislation, and this has been done by the new Factories and Mines Amendment Acts, and is being done by the proposed legislation regarding Trades Unions and Workmen's Compensation. But it is equally undoubted that Government should prevent the serious public inconvenience and dislocation of industry caused by strikes, and also that they should not, under existing conditions, dictate to the employer what wages he shall pay his workmen. We can thus understand the reluctance of all Governments to intrude into the delicate and intricate relations between capital and labour, and their anxiety to strengthen the principle of voluntarism as an instrument of industrial peace. These feelings find an eloquent echo in Lord Chelmsford's speech at the opening of the Imperial Legislative Council on the 20th of August, 1920. After making an earnest appeal to the employers to regard their operatives from the human and not the commercial point of view, and expressing his belief that "employers who are willing to meet labour in this spirit and to treat their business as being as much the concern of their workers as of themselves will find their reward not merely in the increased profit, for that will not be lacking, but in the gratitude and loyalty of their men, and in the knowledge that they are furthering the contentment and happiness of their country," he turns to the labour leaders of the country :

"To those who are endeavouring to influence and focus the aspirations of labour, I would counsel a similar sympathy and forbearance ; their responsibility is even greater than that of the employers. Labour in India is as yet scarcely articulate. But large numbers of working men are being enfranchised, and they will look to the leaders of Indian opinion for guidance and help. 'It will be a tragic and irreparable disaster if India is

forced to repeat the long history of industrial strife in England. . . . The great majority of disputes admit of easy settlement, and there is no direction in which sane and sagacious political leaders can exercise a greater influence for good. In any strike it is the workers that suffer first and longest. And if we have to go through a long period of strife, industry will be crippled and the good start that we are making will be lost. To Honourable Members I would say, if you can bring capital and labour closer together, if you make it your duty to persuade them that their interest lies in co-operation and not in conflict, you will do more in a few years to better the condition of the workers in India than can be achieved by a lifetime of agitation. The future of industrial India is in your hands."

Wise and noble words !

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, October 23, 1922, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, at which a paper entitled "The Indian Labour Problem" was read by Mr. P. Padmanabha Pillai, B.A., B.L. Sir Valentine Chirol occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Frederick A. Nicholson, K.C.I.E., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Lionel Jacob, K.C.S.I., Sir William Owens Clark, Sir Robert Stanes, Colonel A. H. D. Creagh, C.M.G., M.V.O., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Lady Lukis, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. Robert Mann, Dr. Gilbert Slater, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. B. C. Vaidya, Rev. Oswald Younghusband, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. A. L. Chakravarti, Dr. C. B. Vakil, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., Major G. W. Gilbertson, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Mrs. Henderson, Mrs. Fox-Strangways, Mrs. Westbrook, Rev. Herbert Halliwell, Mrs. Meyer, Miss Shaw, Miss Beadon, Mrs. Floyd, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Miss Nina Corner, Mr. S. P. Hutheesing, Mrs. Thornburgh-Cropper, Mr. and Mrs. G. D. Robertson, Mr. Ram Hari Bhagat, Mr. W. P. Ebbels, Mr. P. Dinda, Mr. F. A. Lodge, Mr. S. B. Mitra, Rev. Stuart Churchill, Miss Hilda A. Lake, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The SECRETARY: Ladies and gentlemen, we are meeting to-day under a shadow. It was our intention and the choice of the Lecturer that Sir William Meyer should have been presiding this afternoon, but by his tragic and sudden death India has been deprived of a friend and we incidentally of our Chairman this afternoon. I am sure everyone will deplore it. At the same time I have been extremely fortunate in securing Sir Valentine Chirol to take his place. I may say that Sir Valentine is very glad to do so more particularly because Sir William Meyer was a personal friend of his. We are under a very great obligation to Sir Valentine for his kindness in coming here this afternoon at very short notice to help us out of our difficulty. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I need hardly say it is with profound grief that I have to comply with the request that I should come in consequence of Sir William Meyer's sudden death to take his place here to-day. I think that before we proceed to business you will allow me to say a few words about Sir William, as I was privileged to be a friend of his and enjoy his intimacy in his once singularly happy home life and in his long distinguished public career. I need not dwell on Sir William's great ability, his energy and his industry. I will only say what a good friend he was to many in India and in this country, and whilst his ready wit was sometimes apt to be caustic, and some people thought there was rather a hard crust behind, any appearance of cynicism was deceptive. At bottom he was a singularly kind and singularly tender-hearted man. I remember him, a little more than ten years ago, as the most devoted husband of an accomplished and attractive wife, and a devoted father of two very bright children. They were coming home to England on leave to spend the holidays with the boy who was already at school, but when they arrived in

England the awful news awaited them that the boy had accidentally hanged himself at school in playing a game. Lady Meyer was driven almost out of her mind, and she died a few years later as the result of it, after a long and trying illness. Sir William had then one child left to him, a daughter, one of the most attractive and gifted children I have ever known. She was only seventeen and was just fitted to be a real companion to her father in India. Then one night at Simla, having a slight sore throat, she reached out in the darkness for a dose of medicine, and instead of the right bottle she took a dose out of one containing violent insect poison and was dead in two hours. I think you will agree with me that few men have drunk of the cup of human sorrow as he did, but he bore all this ordeal with unbroken fortitude. Always a hard worker, he continued to work harder than ever.

After having served for many years in Madras, he had reached the high office of Finance Member in the Government of India. He was Finance Member at a very difficult and trying time during the beginning of the Great War and, as you know, incurred considerable censure, very largely undeserved, in connection with the shortcomings of the first expeditions to Mesopotamia—I think undeserved because I know those shortcomings were largely due to the inherited system and financial policy of Government. These censures he also bore with patience and equanimity, and the Mesopotamian Parliamentary Commission at last entirely exonerated him.

Whilst he was member of the Government of India the first schemes for Indian reforms, consequent upon Mr. Asquith's promise of a new angle of vision in return for the great outburst of Indian loyalty at the outbreak of the War, were being studied in Simla, and Sir William Meyer was always an advocate of generous and far-reaching measures. Those measures finally took effect, as you know, in the Government of India Act of 1919, and as a sequel to that the office of High Commissioner for India in London was created on the analogy of the High Commissionerships of the self-governing Dominions, and it was only fitting that it should have been conferred upon a man who, like Sir William, had played a considerable part in working out the new Constitutional Charter of India. He organized the office of the High Commissioner and piloted it through its initial stages when his work was interrupted by the hand of death, and I think perhaps you will all join with me in rising for a moment in your seats as a tribute of respect to Sir William Meyer's memory.

(The meeting stood for a few moments.)

Now I will proceed with the business of the day. I have pleasure in introducing to you the lecturer, Mr. Pillai, who comes from Travancore, and after having practised as a High Court vakeel, took up the study of economics which he has come over to this country to pursue. I think you will agree, when you hear his lecture, that he has already pursued it with great usefulness for us this afternoon. I will say nothing more, but I will ask him to address you.

The lecture was then read.

THE CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, I wish that this very interesting

paper which has been read could have been read *in extenso*, because it is really a very instructive paper. However, so much of it as has been read ought to stimulate discussion and to induce some members to offer some remarks on this very important subject, and I hope some of the member will respond.

SIR ROBERT STANES: Mr. Chairman, I did not come here to speak but to listen, and hear what was to be said by our friend who has read this paper. I am largely interested in mills in Southern India, and we employ about 3,000 hands there. Much which has been said in this paper would scarcely apply to our men because the labourers there do not live in the town but in the villages surrounding, so that they are not in the midst of a number of people who try to lead them astray. We have in the mill a good school for the young people, but we do not draft them into the mill when we are hard up for labour as mentioned in the paper, and we have not much difficulty with regard to labour on the whole. Fortunately we have had no strikes. We felt very much with regard to the strikes in Madras, because they are the best managed mills in Southern India, far better than our own, and it makes one think that perhaps when we give too much they take advantage and want a great deal more. There is a great deal to think about in the paper, and it is worthy of our consideration, and in returning to India in a few days I shall put it before our directors and see if in any way we can help labour which is employed in the mills. We have tried to interest the men in sports and that kind of thing, but it is rather difficult. We have given them special opportunities, and we have given them a bonus when there is a good year, and in that way we seek to encourage them and to show them that if they have grievances they should come to us and not go to the outside agitators. (Hear, hear.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any representative here from the Workers' Welfare League of India who would like to speak? We understood that some representative would attend.

DR. VAKIL: I am here, but I am not prepared to speak. Another representative of ours was intending to come, but he has had another engagement, and I have not come prepared to speak.

DR. GILBERT SLATER: Mr. Chairman, I scarcely intended to speak because I have to leave in a few minutes, but I should like to touch upon one point in the paper, namely, the statement that the experience of the Buckingham Mills is that it takes two and two-thirds Indian workers to produce the same output as one Lancashire worker. Now there is no doubt that that statement is arithmetically correct, and it is founded upon exact statistics of the number of workers and output of the mills in Madras, but I should like to suggest that it is somewhat misleading as a test of efficiency. This difference of output is mainly due not to inferiority in the Indian worker—though a certain degree of inferiority does exist—but to the greater cheapness of the Indian worker. The Buckingham and Carratic Mills were recently working considerably longer hours than Lancashire mills, though not as long hours as permitted by the Factory Act, and the looms, for example, were working at a greater speed

than is customary in Lancashire. In those circumstances the managers find it economical to put four men to four looms, whereas in Lancashire you put one woman to four looms. Now four looms will turn out more work with four weavers attending them than they will with one weaver attending them. In Lancashire it is worth while to put only one worker to four looms because you save three workers' wages. But in India the wages are so small that it is not worth while to save that amount of wage at the expense of running the looms at a lower speed, and so the actual real difference between the efficiency of the Lancashire operative and the efficiency of a Madras operative is very much overstated by that ratio of two and two-thirds. A great deal of the inefficiency, such as it is, is due to the causes mentioned in the paper, namely, the prevalence of malaria and hook worm. It is calculated that over 90 per cent. of the people in Southern India suffer from hook worm, and are considerably debilitated thereby. Malaria is also a very debilitating disease. Both diseases are largely preventable, and if they were prevented I very much doubt whether you would find any very great difference in the capacity for mill work between the South Indian operative and the Lancashire operative.

I remember when I was visiting the works at Ishapur an old friend of mine was in charge of a brass foundry there, and he told me they worked the retorts there at a slightly greater speed than was customary in Birmingham. They employed 50 per cent. more men to a given amount of apparatus, but those men worked twelve hours instead of eight hours as in Birmingham, so that the men working there turned out as much as in Birmingham. It is their custom, as we have heard, to go off for about two months every year and spend their time in the country doing agricultural work, and so come back restored in health and able to start another ten months' work again. Speaking broadly, what you may call the industrial inferiority of the Indian must not be in any way attributed to racial or to permanent causes. India suffers, in my opinion, much more from inefficiency in supervision and direction than in inefficiency in labour. The Indian supervisor and the Indian employer are not equal to the British supervisor and employer, and in order to get efficient work it is frequently necessary to fetch supervisors from other countries and pay them accordingly, and this increases costs. It is also to be admitted that because of the low standard of comfort high wages do not act as an incentive to increased production. Finally, I may add my impression that the Indian compares better in factory work with the European than he does in agricultural work.

A LADY asked if it was not a fact that the food of the natives also played a large part in the question. That had been noticed in Japan during the war.

A LADY said she had been in India for many years and her husband grew coffee out there, and she would like to say she did not think that higher wages in any country in the long run made people any happier or gave them a better standard of comfort in any way, because everyone knew that higher wages merely meant that money was cheaper; they had to pay more for every commodity. But if a man had a little more money

in his pocket, what was he to do with it? Wages had gone up in India four or five times recently, but she did not think the people were any better off; they had enough for their food and such clothes as they required, and their cooking utensils. The question was which was the happier life, the simpler one or one which was crowded with all sorts of belongings? You might have a large house, but when a man died he could not take the house away with him. Undoubtedly the simpler life was the best; the fewer things you had the better. When a man could earn his food in two days he would not of course work more than two days, and why should he? She did not think any Englishman would go out to India to dig a field for enjoyment; the climate was not suitable, and she questioned whether giving them higher wages and teaching them more would make them happier in the long run. (Hear, hear.)

MISS SCATCHERD read the following letter received from Dr. Pollen:

Mr. Pillai's paper is, in every way, an admirable one, and it is bound to do good, and I can only hope my old friends in Bombay and India will do their best to bring Capital and Labour closer together, without the ruinous strikes which have disgraced England. I fervently pray that the Labour leaders of the East will give ear to the wise advice of Lord Chelmsford. I would also take this opportunity of urging upon our friends Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. Clynes, and Mr. Thomas to do ditto here at home; but I think they are already inclined that way, and now really realize the suicidal folly of the lamentable strife between Capital and Labour. Co-operation, not Gandhi's non-co-operation, is the true watchword, and Courts of Inquiry and Conciliation are most urgently required.

I am very glad Mr. Pillai has drawn attention to the remarks of Mr. J. A. Kay (the Chairman of the Bombay Millowners Association) at the last general meeting, and I rejoice that so many members of the Association are taking an active interest in the conditions and surroundings in which the workpeople of Bombay live.

I remember how in old times the condition of the Bombay "chawls" (labour huts) used always to break my heart. "Welfare work" was, and is, much needed in this direction, and (as my friends know) even as Abkari Commissioner I long ago consistently advocated brighter surroundings and attractions to keep people out of the liquor shops. I was always "at" the labouring classes to work out their own regeneration, on the lines of Smiles's self-help; and, amongst the masters, I remember how Tata and Currimbhoy Ebrahim used to aid, even in those old days, in the spirit of social service. Their concerns are still doing good work, and I can only hope with Mr. Pillai that the captains of Indian industry may succeed in avoiding the pitfalls and dangers of the excessive industrialism of the West, and that the Indian labourer may be led to regard his employer as a brother and a colleague, and realize that they both perform equally valuable services to the community.

I could say much on the alleged scarcity of labour and on the false and contradictory idea that India is "over-populated." "Over"-anything is bad, even "over"-religion. But what is over-population? It is notorious that vast tracts of India are sadly under-populated, and that if emigration

were only properly directed and the people encouraged to do all that people can do in the right direction, the population might be trebled, and the whole earth subdued to the manifest benefit of all mankind. In short, there is very much more in the first Biblical mandate with promise than is generally supposed or admitted. But increase in population must be followed by due subjection of the earth before the blessing can be fully realized—and "subjection" means "the sweat of the face" and harder work than most people care for.

As you will admit, even the little labour (now earnestly advocated by the League of Nations) which is involved in learning a simple international language that will help to unite all the peoples of the earth is regarded as too much of an effort.

Mrs. FOX-STRANGWAYS asked whether the efforts of Mr. Wadia to form Trades Unions amongst the people of Madras had had the right effect, and whether he thought the procedure did any good?

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Pillai did deal with that in part of the lecture, but unfortunately, owing to pressure of time, he had to omit certain parts.

Mr. PILLAI also answered to the effect that Mr. Wadia's action in itself was right, but that as it was initiated at an inopportune time it did not have the right result.

Miss SCATCHERD: I had the privilege, sometimes a painful one, of attending Mr. Wadia's addresses in this country, and if his information to his countrymen was as lacking in accuracy as it was in this country I do not think it could have done very much good.

Mrs. FOX-STRANGWAYS said the reason she asked was that a few days ago she received a circular written by Mr. Wadia to the members of the Theosophical Society, from which he had resigned, saying he had been working on wrong lines. He felt the work had been carried on on wrong lines, and in his circular he expressed the opinion that he intended to work on different lines in order to help India, and he regretted some of the work he had done before.

The LECTURER: That is a question that has been dealt with in my paper. I consider that, while Mr. Wadia might have been actuated by the best motives, his intervention in labour disputes was rather ill-timed, and that the effects of his action were unfortunate to the whole country. I am not a politician, but only a student of economics, and it appeared to me to have been an unfortunate moment to begin a work of that character. The Madras Mills, among the employees of which Mr. Wadia started his trade-union activities, were then engaged in war work. The one thing before the minds of everybody was increased production—down with the enemy first—and Mr. Wadia's policy of organizing labour, while quite commendable in itself, came at a very inopportune moment, because it seriously interfered with production; and I am inclined to think that, but for Mr. Wadia's example of mixing up politics with questions purely industrial, and thus confusing the real issues, there would not have been so many strikes in India.

The CHAIRMAN: I will now close the discussion with a few words. Personally I believe very much with Dr. Slater that there is no great

inherent inferiority in the work of the Indian labourer to that of the European. I was immensely struck, when I was in India eighteen months ago, with the work I saw done by Indians at the Jamsheldpur iron and steel works. That is a branch of industry to which it takes a long time to train men up. For instance, in the work connected with the blast furnaces, which is most severe, the American supervisors were of opinion that the Indian could be perfectly well trained to do that work, but that it would take a long time, and especially would it be necessary to change their habits of food. The human frame required certain kinds of food, almost irrespective of climate, to do certain kinds of work, and there they anticipated it would take possibly a generation to form men fit to do work such as we do in this country. But there was no question of there being any inherent inferiority.

With regard to the whole question of labour, I think there has been really a new angle of vision in India. The employers have in many cases shown an admirable spirit and are now working on the best possible lines. Certainly, from what I saw at the Buckingham Works in Madras and at some of the jute mills in Calcutta, the most ample provision was being made for the health and comfort of the workers and their children. I am rather sorry the Workers' Welfare League of India's representative's only contribution to our debate was a sort of rather derisive laugh at the idea of the possibility of really intimate feelings of friendship and good-fellowship between Indian labourers and their employers. I must express my regret that this gentleman should not have contributed something more valuable to our debate.

Dr. VAKIL : But it is the fact.

The CHAIRMAN : Then what is the object of the League?

Dr. VAKIL : To raise the standard of the working people and get all the fruits of the work they do.

The CHAIRMAN : In antagonism to the employer.

Dr. VAKIL : It may be.

The SECRETARY : That is practically the Bolshevik idea applied to India.

Dr. VAKIL : Yes, it is. I am not ashamed of it.

The CHAIRMAN : I think you will all agree in passing a vote of thanks to Mr. Pillai for his very able and instructive paper. (Hear, hear, and applause.) Years ago I thought it was very regrettable that so much of the intellect and industry of the rising generation in India should be directed mainly to the literary side of education and to law, and it is surely a great thing for the future that there should be now a large number of young men in India who are studying other branches of knowledge which are at least equally necessary for the future prosperity and welfare of India. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

In calling for a vote of thanks to the Chairman, the SECRETARY remarked that their chief regret was that Dr. Vakil had not given them his point of view. Debates were apt to be lifeless if everyone merely agreed with the lecturer. 'The Association welcomed the expression of divergent views, so long as they were given in temperate language.

THE HINDU OUTLOOK ON LIFE

BY STANLEY P. RICE, I.C.S. (RETD.)

AN Indian calling upon the Collector of a district was asked to take a cup of tea. His answer was, "I have no objection whatever on the score of caste, but I am afraid I should offend in the manner of taking it." Of course the objection was at once overruled, and of course the tea was taken without the slightest offence to European ideas of decorum. But this shyness, though it may not be the most important factor, at least contributes towards the difficulty of establishing social relations between the two races. It is not necessary to dwell once more on the oft-repeated theme of the difference in manners and customs, of caste restrictions, and of sex relations. These things, no doubt, play a large part in the difficulty of bringing the two races into closer social intercourse, but the awkwardness which besets everyone who is brought into intimate relations with a man of another race never quite disappears. With the best will in the world and with the most genuine desire of both races to approach one another, this feeling of constraint almost always stands in the way of that camaraderie which Englishmen show to one another. Moreover, the Indian especially admires a dignified reserve, and the light badinage which is meant for affability is often mistaken for mere impertinence and sometimes for studied insult. An Indian gentleman told the writer in the course of conversation that he thought a lack of a sense of humour on the part of his countrymen was largely responsible for what estrangement there might be between the two races.

For these reasons the Englishman—and especially the English official—who attempts to analyze the outlook of the Hindus is met by the initial disability that he is only permitted to see a small part of the more intimate Indian

life. Even when caste restrictions do not forbid entrance to a house, and even when the ladies do not shut themselves up, there remains always an exaggerated politeness, an air of formality, which stands in the way of an inner knowledge of, and therefore to some extent of sympathy with, the Indian point of view. Within these limitations, however, it is still possible to examine in some detail the Hindu outlook on life, which, as we are constantly told, differs so much from what we find in the West.

The first and most obvious factor in Hindu life is religion. This is indeed a commonplace; for if there be one thing that has struck every writer on India, it is the way in which religion seems to permeate every action and to govern every hour of the day. We are amazed at the minute attention to ritual observance which accompanies even such daily necessities as washing, eating, and dressing. The ancient dramas tell of gods and heroes; the songs are largely of the kind we call sacred; and the whole mental attitude of the thinking people is influenced by religious philosophy. Many—perhaps most of us—are too apt to look upon the religion of the Hindu as a succession of ceremonial rites. To such it seems that, like the Pharisees of old, "they fast twice in the week," "they make broad their phylacteries," and they bring into daily observance every letter of the law while ignoring its spirit. It seems to them, in fact, to be a religion hardly bound up with doctrine and almost divorced from ethics. But this is a superficial and unsympathetic view. It not only ascribes to the whole Hindu population an attitude which at most only applies—if it applies at all—to a single class, but it also sees the complete religion in the outward manifestations which strike the eye. One has but to apply the test to England and to ask what impression the religion of the country would make on a foreigner ignorant of Europe and of Christianity. "Religion," he would say, judging from outward observance only, "enters very little into the life of these people. They go to church once on Sunday, as well as on a few feast

days in the year. They also have religious ceremonies connected with birth and marriage and death, but beyond this I cannot discover that they have any religion." If such a view of Christianity is preposterous, we ought at least to hesitate before we assume the Hinduism of to-day to be nothing but an artificial observance of innumerable ceremonies.

Nevertheless, as far as the limited knowledge of an Englishman goes, there seem to be two radical defects in the Hindu system. A punctilious attention to ritual down to minute details is apt to obscure the most important part of every religion. In carrying out the details of the law, the Hindu is in danger of finding that, as an able writer says, "these ritual and ceremonial observances . . . sterilize any higher spiritual life."* It may be objected that these observances are connected with caste, and that caste is essentially a social and not a religious institution; for, as the word denotes, the central aim of "caste," or, as the Indians call it, "varna" (colour), is purity of stock. But caste is now so closely bound up with religion that it is not easy to differentiate between them, and the orthodox Hindu is—outwardly, at any rate—the man who rigidly observes not only the ritual of his creed, but also the customs of his caste. The writer once asked an intelligent Brahmin why, if the religion takes so little account of the body, and if all material things are really only Maya, or illusion, there should be so much fuss about eating and drinking. The answer might have been that this was a misconception of caste, which is not religious, but social, and that intercommunion with others would gradually tend to impurity of stock. But what the Brahmin actually said was this: "The soul is the inhabitant of the body; therefore, what nourishes the body nourishes also the soul, and since the soul must be kept free from contamination, it is necessary to keep strict watch against the contamination of the body, which would lead to the defilement

* Sir V. Chirol, "Indian Unrest."

of the soul." The answer may not satisfy the purely practical mind, but it is conceived in characteristically Hindu terms, and it serves to show how caste is interwoven with religious ideas in the Hindu mind.

But if we protest against the exaggeration of ritual ceremony we must avoid falling into extremes. For the incidents of daily routine serve to keep the spiritual life prominently before the eyes of the Hindu; as a Christian writer has pointed out, Protestantism is inclined to "depreciate forms and ceremonies, the use and value of rites and sacraments," which are "neither dead forms nor illogical accretions upon a religion otherwise spiritual." The marriage of a daughter is not a mere matter of worldly advantage or convenience; it is a religious obligation. The birth of a son is a cause of rejoicing as the fulfilment of a religious necessity, and the failure to produce an heir is little short of a calamity.

Secondly, one is tempted to notice a great dearth of spiritual teaching. The temple priest is busy with the orthodox performance of rites and ceremonies, and too often he fails to be "an ensample of godly life." The dancing girl, a name now synonymous with one of less innocent import, is often the common property of all men, and it cannot be denied that the practice has left an impression of immorality which reacts upon the whole view of religion. The guru, or spiritual adviser, who commands great respect, especially from the women, is not unfrequently an ignorant man, learned only in Sanskrit formulas which he cannot interpret, and conversant only with the minute observances of ritual which he endeavours to enforce. He speaks not as "one having authority," but "as one of the Scribes." Consequently, when the aforesaid Brahmin was pressed in argument, he said, "We do these things because our guru tells us to do them," and he then had to admit that the guru himself did not know the reason why. It has been said that our Western doctrine of religious neutrality has been pushed too far, that our educational system ignores

religion too completely, and that in a country where religion is the dominant factor we ought to provide religious instruction. Such a view may or may not be correct in the present conditions of India, but surely if the Hindu gurus really knew their business and were really the spiritual pastors and masters which they profess to be, the secularization of State schools would be a matter of smaller importance.

It will be observed that the main defect above alleged is the failure on the part of the professed spiritual advisers to inculcate any definite system of ethics. The material is ready to hand, for the sacred books of the Hindus contain many ideas as lofty as those of the Christian Scriptures, and there is many a man who treasures these sacred sayings, repeats them, and lives by them as a true Christian may be said to try to live by the Gospel. The Bhagavat Gita, for instance, teaches man to—

"Find full reward
Of doing right in right! Let right deeds be
The motive, not the fruit which comes of them."

And again, speaking of the dignity of labour :

"He who with strong body serving mind
Gives up his mortal powers to worthy work,
Not seeking gain. . . . Such an one
Is honourable. Do thine allotted task!
Work is more excellent than idleness;
The body's life proceeds not, lacking work."

But while these sentiments are familiar to the few, they are for the most part unknown to the mass of the common folk. To them religion means little beyond the annual round of rites, ceremonies, and festivals. Are the boons they ask of the gods the "pure heart" or the "right judgment," and not rather a son, plenteous crops, or increase of cattle? They have, no doubt, an instinctive ethical code of their own which tells them it is wrong to steal, to murder, or to commit adultery; nor can we condemn them out of hand if they do not place on certain virtues the value at which we appraise them, for, as Lecky tells us, different races and different ages have held different ideas about the

relative values of the virtues. But such an ethical code can hardly be identified with religion; it is instinctive or traditional.

If this state of things appears rather chaotic, the doctrine of Karma comes to the rescue. It is often said that while Christianity is individualistic, the Hindu religion destroys individuality; and this statement seems to be inspired by the doctrine of the Immanence of the Deity and of the ultimate absorption of the individual into the Divine Essence. But in one respect at least the Hindu religion is as individualistic as the Christian. If, on the one hand, we are told that—

“ All's then God !
The sacrifice is Brahm, the ghee and grain
Are Brahm, the fire is Brahm, the flesh it eats
Is Brahm, and unto Brahm attaineth he
Who in such office meditates on Brahm ”;

we are also told that—

“ When one,
Abandoning desires which shake the mind,
Finds in his soul full comfort for his soul,
He hath attained the Yog.”

“ Such an one
Is Muni, is the Sage, the true Recluse.”

And the doctrine of Karma deals with the individual. It is both prospective and retrospective; in the present life a man is atoning for past sins; the very fact that he exists as a man is both the witness to, and the measure of, his imperfections in a past state; while his actions in his present incarnation will determine his future fate; for a good Sudra may pass into a higher period of probation as a Brahmin, while a wicked Brahmin may have to inhabit the body of some lower animal. This is a doctrine which is very generally held and is essentially religious. It is, in fact, analogous to, and perhaps, in that it provides a more graduated scale, better conceived than, the Christian doctrine of future rewards and punishment. It has its value, though the conception may not be ethically as lofty as that which teaches us, “ because right is right, to follow right.”

While, therefore, it would be wrong to say that the Hindu religion consists entirely of rites and ceremonies, it is generally of these that we are thinking, and not of the esoteric ideas, when we say that religion is the dominant factor of Hindu life. A kind of religious sanction is conferred upon the most trivial incidents of everyday life ; even the railway engine on a new line becomes deified, at least for the time being, and receives its due share of offerings. A wedding is fixed, not to suit the convenience of the parties, but in accordance with astrological advice ; a husband must be chosen for a marriageable girl within a given period under pain of divine displeasure, and these things cannot be subordinated to mere social or material necessities ; it is the latter which must give way. The necessity for a religious sanction was very clearly seen during the time of the "Unrest" ; for whether the authors of the more violent pamphlets fell naturally into that mode of thought, or whether they adopted religious imagery to catch the popular ear, the favourite picture of India was that of the Divine Mother bound, bleeding, and tortured by foreign demons, and calling on her sons to rescue her in the name of religion. This is probably also the explanation of the misuse of the Christian Scriptures in 1906, when, "shamelessly appealing to the language of Christ," it justified the enlistment of boys and young men in the service of a lawless propaganda by the words "Suffer little children to come unto Me."*

This dominance of ceremonial religion is calculated to hamper the process, and thereby to narrow the conception of material prosperity. Western civilization is sometimes described as a mere scrambling for money, a desire to get rich at all costs and at any sacrifice of higher things. But this is mere special pleading. The Indian is just as anxious for wealth as the European, and if he is not so rich, the difference is not to be found so much in an abstract contempt for wealth as in other causes. When important

* Chirol, "Indian Unrest," p. 353.

business has to be neglected owing to the astrological calculations for a wedding which lasts five days, to funeral rites which last twelve days, or to a pilgrimage which may run into months, it is clear that business methods must suffer. If caste restrictions forbid free intercourse with other nations, and hence a knowledge of the world in the literal sense, it is evident that the commercial horizon must be narrowed. Moreover, caste laws and traditions very often contract the field of possible enterprise, so that the Brahmin is limited to the learned professions, the Vaisya follows the caste profession of commerce, the Sudra takes up the ancestral occupation of agriculture, of carpentry, or of weaving. The Government, no doubt, does its best to encourage all castes, and the lower ranks of the different departments—the policemen, the sepoy, the forest guards—are freely recruited from the Sudra ranks. But even in Government service the influence of caste is very apparent; the Brahmins hold the majority of clerical appointments, while the Sudras largely fill the ranks of the medical profession, not certainly because of any special aptitude they have for medicine, but because the laws of pollution restrain the Brahmin from dissecting dead bodies, from dressing or touching the pariah.

The state of commercial morality shows clearly enough that it is the ceremonial rather than the ethical side of religion which enters into daily life. Of course, notions of right and wrong may differ, but honesty between man and man, with the confidence which is bred of it, is one of those cardinal points which no system of ethics ignores, and it must unfortunately be admitted that commercial morality is not all it should be. It is seldom that we see business conducted on the grand scale to which we are accustomed in Europe; is not the most that is usually found a family combination of father and son or brothers, all looking more or less suspiciously at the clerk or the accountant?

Lack of organizing power is also to blame. India is full of contradictions, and while we find constant suspicion in large

enterprises existing side by side with the most childlike confidence in the matter of petty loans or of small transactions, so also we see that the want of that co-operation which is customary in such village affairs as the sharing of water is one of the great obstacles to trade on the grand scale. Indian companies on the European model are in consequence as yet comparatively rare, for India is unused to such organization, and her expectations are cast in a less ambitious mould. She thinks in silver where Europe thinks in gold, in hundreds instead of millions. Consequently, her ideas of material prosperity are far less magnificent, just as her needs are fewer; a rich man in India is a person of very ordinary means according to European notions.

But wealth itself is only a means to an end. We have seen that within the limits which circumstances prescribe to the ambitious the Indian is just as anxious to grow rich as the European, but his object is different. One may say that in England, setting aside the question of charities, the two main objects of the man of average means are to live in comfort and to leave a provision for those dependent on him. If his income expands, he will move into a larger house, keep more servants, and generally allow himself the luxuries which he has hitherto not been able to afford, always provided that his expenses do not seriously imperil the future of the family. The object of the Hindu is rather dignity than comfort. The peculiar constitution of Indian society, whereby the care of dependents devolves even upon relatives comparatively remote in degree, ensures a protection against that destitution which is a feature of so many sad cases in England. The acquisition of wealth means the increase of power and the extension of patronage. The rich man, especially in rural parts, is the king of the village; his word is law, his commands are instantly obeyed, and everyone is more afraid of him than of the more remote and less arbitrary official ruler.

There is something in this conception of the value of wealth which suggests a theoretical rather than a practical

view of life—a view probably arising from the nature of the religious dogmas of Hinduism and emphasized by the omnipresence of the religious sanction. We have seen that the religion which pervades everyday life is in its most obvious manifestations a religion of ritual and ceremonies. But even then these terms must be carefully distinguished, for evidently the thing to be done is not the same as the way of doing it. The punctilious attention to ritual need not influence practical everyday life, except in so far as it is given an exaggerated importance to the extent of interference with the business of the day. But the meaning of, and the imperious need for, the ceremonies themselves take us back to the philosophy of Hinduism, and this is abstract and metaphysical in the extreme.

No man can escape entirely from the religious environment in which he has been brought up. However little an Englishman may accept Christianity, however crude may be his conception of Christian dogma, he is still a member of a Christian nation, and must be influenced—perhaps unconsciously—by the force which has played so great a part in the fashioning of Europe as we know it. And in like manner the Hindu partakes of the mysticism, of the contemplative abstractions of his religion, which issue rather in thought than in action. His ideal is to take alike :

“Pleasure and pain ; heat, cold ; glory and shame” ;
to be—

“Of equal grace to comrades, friends,
Chance-comers, strangers, lovers or enemies,
Aliens and kinsmen ; loving all alike,
Evil or good.”

And such an attitude of mind is only to be obtained by seclusion from the world, its passions and its vanities :

“Sequestered should he sit,
Steadfastly meditating ; solitary,
His thoughts controlled, his passions laid away,
Quit of belongings.”

“Setting hard his mind,
Restraining heart and senses, silent, calm,
Let him accomplish Yoga and achieve

Pureness of soul, holding immovable
Body and neck and head, his gaze absorbed
Upon the nose, and, rapt from all around,
* * * * *
Musing on Me, lost in the thought of Me."

Such passages as these—and they are typical of the constant teaching that the highest goal is a concentrated meditation on the Divine Essence, the universal self—lead directly to the doctrine of *Maya*, which affirms that all material things are an illusion of the senses, and therefore to an unpractical habit of thought. Professor Wegener, of Berlin, who travelled to India with H.I.H. the Crown Prince of Germany, even declares that the former Indian apathy in politics and affairs of administration is due to this doctrine among other causes. Convinced of the unreality of mundane things, the Hindu "smiles at those who trouble themselves with such trifles, and leaves the whole business to them." Sir Valentine Chirol refers to the doctrine in more cautious terms when he says, "The whole world in which he lives and moves and has his being, in so far as it is not a mere illusion of the senses, is for him an emanation of the omnipresent Deity."* It is, however, very doubtful if any such definite influence can be ascribed to this doctrine. In its extreme form it is a practical absurdity; for if pain and wealth and food are really only shadows affecting shadows, why do they possess the importance they certainly have? Why do the Hindus cry out for autonomy with a vehemence that has at times extended to the shedding of blood if politics and government are trifles to be dismissed with a contemptuous smile? Surely the orthodox Hindu who acted upon the doctrine of *Maya* would be only too glad to get someone else to do the dirty work of this shadowy world, while he was left free to contemplate "the things that are more excellent." The plain fact is that to the average Hindu, as to the average man everywhere, food is food and a flower is a flower, though it may please subtle theologians to draw distinctions between

* "Indian Unrest," p. 240.

the essential divinity in them and the shadowy husk which is apparent to the senses. It is true that Hinduism teaches men to strive after an ideal indifference to pleasure or pain, heat or cold, poverty or wealth ; but we are talking of things as they are, not as they ought to be. To the practical man of affairs the doctrine of Maya need mean no more than the old familiar teaching that, compared with the spiritual and eternal, the earthly and temporal are of small importance. How far this doctrine is a reality in the affairs of everyday life depends in India, as in Europe, on the temperament of the individual.

The life of every man is governed, according to Hindu ideas, by the three " qualities " called Sattuvam, Rajas, and Tamas. Sattuvam may roughly be defined as equanimity, coupled with a sense of proportion. The highest ideal is contemplation of the truth as manifested in the Deity, and compared with this all else is of little or no account. But this ideal can only be reached after a life of discipline, which consists of the exercise of virtue for its own sake, purified from any thought of the consequences and untainted by any motives of gain or pleasure or desire. Rajas is an intermediate state in which actions good in themselves are tainted by human passions, and the character is flawed by lapses into wrong ways. Tamas is ignorance and darkness from which only evil can issue. No man is debarred from the highest or condemned to the lowest state ; virtue and vice are not the exclusive property of any caste. This conception explains many things. It explains why the Brahmin caste claim so great a superiority ; for, as knowledge leads to enlightenment, the " learned " caste is evidently in a position favourable to the attainment of Sattuvam. It explains why in some cases pariahs have been canonized ; for Sattuvam is open even to the lowest. It even explains to some extent the reluctance of Brahmins to enter into any but the learned professions ; for trade and commerce are too much occupied with the things of the world, and leave no time for the contemplation of divinity.

It might be thought that " to govern India according to

Indian ideas " would connote the almost exclusive employment of Brahmins, since it has been shown that by far the largest share of the " quality " of Sattuvam should naturally fall to them. But the three " qualities " shade off into one another, and the best that can be hoped of the great majority of men is a high state of " Rajas " ; for there are few men who have so mastered themselves and their lower nature that the ordinary passions of humanity have become quite extinct. And since any man may attain to the highest state, the Government of India is free to choose, even in terms of Hindu thought, those who most nearly approach to the highest state, irrespective of their caste.

Whether the abstractions of religious philosophy are the outcome of the original character of the people or themselves moulded it, it seems highly probable that they do influence the modern intellectual attitude. The doctrine of Maya is, no doubt, the logical conclusion of a philosophy which attempts to treat the world as non-existent, but we have seen that no one acts consciously and definitely upon such a doctrine. Nevertheless, a people taught to fashion its conduct upon such abstract lines is apt to carry this mode of thought into worldly affairs, and so the Hindu often betrays a somewhat unpractical attitude in dealing with them. But this lack of initiative, this want of constructive power, is just what we should expect from a mental attitude of which the religious philosophy is the type, and probably to a great extent the cause. This shows itself constantly. Someone states a proposition in general terms ; the idea is enthusiastically received ; everyone talks and writes about it ; perhaps even the machinery to carry it out is invented, and then the whole thing fails for want of ability to grasp the details. Everyone, for instance, both English and Indian, fully sympathized with Mr. Gokhale's ideal that all the youth of India should be educated, if need be compulsorily. Nobody denies that education is in itself an excellent thing, but very few Indians faced the difficulties or suggested any remedy for the two main obstacles—the want of money and the dearth

of teachers. The principle was enough ; the details would right themselves.

But no notice of Hindu life would be complete without a reference to its æsthetic side. For there is no people in the world in whom the love of art is so deeply ingrained and so universal as the Hindus. In England the established poet obtains reverence and respect, but the man who is striving for self-expression in verse is too often the object for cheap jokes and unsympathetic laughter. The lover of music who desires only the highest forms is looked upon askance as somewhat of a crank, not perhaps always without resentment that he should be arrogating to himself a certain superiority, while the registers of our libraries show that the popular appetite is for fiction, often of a very uninspired kind. The Hindu is artistic to his finger-tips. The very villager has his music parties and his recitations of the epics. Poetry and the drama are closely interwoven with music, and the music of India, whatever its appeal may be to us, is to the Hindu as the very voice from heaven—the creation of the Supreme Being, the delight of the celestial throng, and the special nursling of India's favourite god. This love of art has, perhaps, some influence in retarding trade expansion among the Hindus. His productions were the fine muslins and the shimmering silks, the gold and ivory carved with loving hands, the woodwork fashioned with careful attention to minute detail. Trade to him was a thing of beauty ; he read it in the phrases of romance and poetry, and finds now some difficulty in learning that it is more often written in the language of very dull prose. We see this æsthetic attitude even in everyday life—in the dress of men as well as of women, in the carven doorways of some poor village house, in the decoration of a loved musical instrument. Where India has copied from the West she has not usually been successful ; that is because she has not been able fully to appreciate Western standards of æsthetic taste ; where she has followed her own line of thought she is unsurpassed. And if there be any who dispute this conclusion, let him

commune with himself and ask whether his judgment is not warped partly by appraising India by her imitation of the West, and partly by his own inability to understand Indian æsthetic canons. For if you examine closely the Hindu claim to the spiritual life, you will find that its content is made up largely of religion and æsthetics.

It cannot be said that these broad outlines present a faithful picture of the life of the masses—of that great majority which lives in the villages and subsists wholly by agriculture. For them life means, first of all, a continuous struggle for existence—a long battle against adverse seasons, ruinous pests, and other dire calamities. The mystical side of religion touches them no more than learned discussions on the nature of the Atonement touch the Christian millions of East London ; nor are they called upon to decide questions of large import, which demand the practical mind. Their horizon is the limits of the next village ; their most serious politics a dispute about water or an epidemic of cholera. Not that religion is without its influence ; on the contrary, it is nowhere more apparent than in the villages, but it is no longer a religion of mysticism or ethics, of philosophy or sacraments. It is almost wholly a religion of mythology and superstition. It is true that such generalizations are apt to be misleading. A wedding or a funeral is as important a ceremony to the rustic as to the educated Brahmin ; and if the rustic does not understand the ritual, neither can the Brahmin explain the esoteric meaning of the service which unites a man with a maid. But to the villager a wedding is rather a festival than a sacrament, and in this, as in other ceremonies, he considers only the superficial accompaniment.

On general lines, then, the Hindu conduct of life does not differ greatly from that of Europe. The first care of every living thing is simply to live ; and every civilized man desires to live uprightly and to maintain himself in ease, comfort, and dignity according to his enlightenment and opportunity, having due regard to the claims of this world and to his expectations of another. And yet we are

told, quite justly, that the civilizations of East and West are essentially different. Wherein lies this difference,* and what is the cause of it? A people of great intellectual power, extraordinarily adaptable, and infinitely patient, has not, until recently, made any notable contribution to science, to research, or to invention. The activity of Europe finds no time for meditation; the meditation of India finds no time for activity. Climate, tradition, history, and especially the want of a national life, have no doubt had a great influence on the Indian character—an influence which must never be underrated; and if these things have not been considered, it is because the first three are too obvious and the last too complex for discussion in this paper. But it is not enough to refer the whole difference to these causes. Religion is undoubtedly the great motive power in India, and in the term "religion" is included the caste system. But if it is wrong to ascribe any single phenomenon to a definite religious dogma, it is also unsatisfying to be told that "religion" (by which is generally meant the outward observances of rites and ceremonies) permeates the whole life of the Hindu, or to read prose pictures of "men, almost naked, standing in the Ganges to salute the sun . . . feeling after God, if haply they may find Him."* It is true that the pure philosophy of the Hindu religion has been overlaid with much mythological extravagance, which appeals to the grosser minds, but to confuse the two is as unfair as to give the story of Noah the same religious value as the Sermon on the Mount. Every educated Hindu, whatever be his opinion of the mythology, reveres his sacred books, and is willing to discuss their philosophy with eagerness and courtesy.

For the motive power of the Hindu religion is neither its mythology nor its idolatry, but its philosophy. No man can truly sympathize with the Indian, no man, in Lord Morley's phrase, can "get into his skin" until he recognizes that. And yet the mystery is only half revealed; for, let the Englishman be never so sympathetic, let him put off to

* *Contemporary Review*, May, 1915, p. 635.

the utmost those airs of "superiority" and arrogance of which he is accused, there will always be an inner sanctuary where the deeper life of the Hindu is hidden behind the veil.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, December 4, 1922, when a paper was read by Stanley P. Rice, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.), entitled, "The Hindu Outlook on Life." The Rt. Hon. Viscount Peel, G.B.E. (Secretary of State for India), was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Pentland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., and Lady Pentland, General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., and Lady Barrow, Sir Charles Stuart Bayley, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Lieut.-Colonel A. D. Bannerman, C.I.E., M.V.O., Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Herbert Holmwood, Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., General F. C. Carter, C.B., Mr. F. C. Channing, I.C.S. (retd.), Mr. K. N. Sitaram, Lieut.-Colonel F. S. Terry, Mr. M. N. Ali, Mr. S. C. Gupta, Lieut.-Colonel T. S. B. Williams, Lady Beauclerk, Baroness Steinheil-Sclier, Mrs. Anderson, Mrs. A. M. T. Jackson, Miss Scatcherd, Mrs. McClement, Miss Corner, Mrs. J. R. Reid, Mrs. Arnell, Miss Marx, Miss Pratt, Miss Turner, Mrs. Drury, Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, Mr. A. Pullar, Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Mrs. Fox-Strangways, Mr. Edwards, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. Arnold Lupton, Mrs. White, Miss Shedden, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. S. B. Mitra, Mrs. Martley, Miss Baudains, Mr. C. L. Simpson, Colonel Lowry, Professor Bickerton, Miss Peel, Miss Trotter, Mr. P. Padmanabha Pillai, Mr. and Mrs. Q. Henriques, Mr. Robert Mann, Colonel L. C. Swifte, Mr. and Mrs. E. F. Allum, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Lieut.-Commander H. O. Boger, R.N., Mr. S. K. Dutt, Mr. Herbert Gibbon, Mr. Ram Hari Bhagat, Miss L. M. Gibb, Mr. J. Sladen, I.C.S. (retd.), Mrs. Herbert G. W. Herron, Capt. H. W. Whittaker, Mr. S. D. Pears, Mr. G. F. Sheppard, I.C.S. (retd.), Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Capt. Rolleston, Mrs. Faridoonji.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I regret to say that after I have introduced the Lecturer I shall have to leave, and therefore I shall be unable, as I had wished, to give my views on the points raised in his paper. We are met here to-night to listen to and discuss a lecture given by Mr. Stanley Rice, on the "Hindu Outlook on Life." There are very few people whom I can think of who are more competent than Mr. Stanley Rice—I am speaking of my own countrymen—to discuss the points of view of the

Hindus. Mr. Stanley Rice, I believe, during the whole of his career in India was engaged in work in the districts. He was not caught up into some of those high places in the North of India where there is less opportunity, perhaps, for being in close touch with the views of the peasant or the cultivator than if one spends one's life in district work. There is another great strength that is possessed by Mr. Rice, and that is that he spent most of his time in Madras. Hinduism has had what I may call an almost uninterrupted development in that province, for, shall we say, 3,000 years, which is a period of time long enough to satisfy most of us in these shorter-lived political communities. In the North, as you know, Hinduism had to fight for its life against other religions and alien rules, and therefore it has not had in the North, as it has had in the Madras Province, an uninterrupted development for its social arrangements and its religious tenets. On two grounds, therefore, I strongly recommend the views of Mr. Stanley Rice to you. On these two grounds I think he is particularly qualified to be an interpreter to his own countrymen of the views and of the outlook of the Hindu towards life and his general view of life. I understand that Lord Pentland will be good enough to take my place in the chair, and nobody could be better qualified to preside. (Applause.)

The Rt. Hon. Lord PENTLAND in the chair, the Lecturer then read his paper, entitled "The Hindu Outlook on Life."

Mr. BHUPENDRA NATH BASU said it was difficult for anyone but a native-born Hindu to realize what was the Hindu outlook on life. He was not surprised that even the Lecturer, who had spent a large portion of his life in India, had not succeeded in catching the spirit of the Hindus in regard to life. He had stated that their life was a round of ritual and ceremonies. Ritual and ceremonies held a very important place in the life of the Hindu, but the ritual and ceremonies conveyed a very different impression to the Hindu to what they did to the outsider. With all the ritual and ceremony were connected customs which prevailed in the past ages, and therefore handed down the stories and customs of the past. He knew very little of how Hinduism was practised in the South, but in his part of the country there were various agencies by which the doctrines of Hinduism were taught. There were expositions in the public temples or at the houses of fairly wealthy men to which the whole country-side was invited. On one occasion, travelling on a P. and O. boat from Colombo to Calcutta, he met a missionary who had been attracted by his reading the Bible every morning. The missionary gentleman asked him why he did this, and he replied that among the Hindus there was no conflict of faith, and he offered to take him to one of the expositions at which the people received their moral instruction. In Calcutta, where he lived, there was an open space where men well versed in the scriptures and who were well qualified to illustrate the scriptures to the common people gave

expositions. When he took the missionary to the exposition there were 2,000 to 3,000 people seated on the ground. When the missionary heard the exposition, and when he heard the Brahmin dwelling upon the great force of virtue, and when he saw men and women deeply stirred, he had realized how the Hindu assimilated the teachings of the past. All of them who were familiar with the Bible knew of Christ's method of teaching through parables, which were the stories of lives of men and women in common villages. The Hindu also did the same. It might seem strange that one who had received Western education should still follow the ritual and ceremonies of his ancestors which had been handed down to him from time immemorial, but there was in Hinduism, he believed, a provision which did not exist in any other faith, either Christian or Muslim. A Hindu might be a worshipper of the sun, but they were all Hindus. The Hindu went by stages. He could not, perhaps, at once go to the religion which teaches of one invisible God, but in time he would do so. Just as Western people believed in the conservation of energy until it was utterly dissipated, so the Hindus believed that if a man had done a good act he would reap the benefits of it, and if he had done a bad act he had to bear the consequences. One would see in the evening in a village, perhaps, a grocer reading to an audience and expounding to them some stories, and one would see the ordinary people standing round trying to understand him. He once had heard a peasant say that they were like bullocks tied to a pole going round and round working a mill which produces the oil; the bullock did not know why he went round, and in the same way they did not know why they moved round; they did not know for whom they manufactured the oil, but they did it all the same. That was the Hindu state of mind, but it was a mistake to say that the Hindu's attitude of mind was unpractical. In Hindu life they had two elements, contemplation and action. He realized that he was addressing a Christian audience. A Christian might be an ascetic who had given up the world, but the Hindu must discharge his duty to his ancestors: he must bring up his family; he must do his duty to his country and his neighbours, so that Hindu religion was different from other religions. There was an old saying, "Love your neighbour as yourself." They had a saying of greater significance: "Love all creatures, neighbours or not neighbours." The Hindu life was a mixture and a blend which through many centuries had held its own against the invasions of the Assyrians, the Huns, and the Muhammadans. (Applause.)

Lieut.-Commander H. O. BOGER, R.N., asked what was the qualification for the canonization of India's holy men; was it merely confined to a life of seclusion and meditation, and was active social or any other work necessarily excluded? Mr. Boger reminded the meeting, and his Indian friends in particular, that England also had her saints, and that day—December 4—chanced to be the

anniversary of one of the most notable—St. Osmund, who was canonized 500 years after death, and only after repeated petitions from his diocese. His relics were said to be responsible for many well-attested miraculous cures. He came over to this country with William I., was Chancellor, and afterwards one of the earlier Bishops of Salisbury. His career was a contrast to St. Thomas of Canterbury, who was canonized very shortly after his assassination at his own altar in Canterbury Cathedral, and St. Alban, who was canonized by virtue of his martyrdom.

Mr. F. C. CHANNING said that there were two doctrines of Hinduism which, if he accepted, would lead him to look at the world from an entirely different point of view: the doctrines of the Four Ages and of the Great Night. That of the Four Ages was a movement from perfection to imperfection. They began with the first age, in which righteousness ruled, and went down gradually to the second and third ages, and then to the fourth age in which they lived; so that there was no hope of progress because they were gradually descending.* Life also was described as a continued alternation of day and night, and then at the end came the Great Night, when everything was dissolved. It led to nothing, because everything finally dissolved. In England they looked forward to gradual development in the direction of perfection. Did the Hindu hold as a principle governing his life that the progress of the world through the ages was always for the worse, and did he hold that whatever was done was swallowed up at the final dissolution of Great Night, so that it was for all eternity one revolution without end and without achievement?

Mr. ARNOLD LUPTON said he had listened to the paper and to the subsequent speeches with the utmost interest. When in India eight years ago he had seen people who were as poor as it was possible for people to be having regard to Western ideas. These people lived in mud huts; they had little or no clothing and no furniture, and yet they appeared to be happy. They had a smile upon their faces, as if they were at ease with the world and the world at ease with them. An Indian gentleman had said that it was their religion which made them happy. They had heard much about Indian education, and learned professors had advocated that Indians should be better educated, but one of these professors admitted in answer to a question that the Indian people were religious, polite to one another, industrious and law-abiding; then, why talk about education? What more did they want?

Mr. SITARAM said the canonization of holy men in India was only attained by leading a pure life. He denied that the Hindu religion was from progress to retrogression; they wanted to go on progressing to perfection. The Hindus had their stories concerning morality and a variety of other things explained at the expositions before referred to. The Hindu was by nature and by climate more

* See, e.g., Manu, i. 81, 82.

meditative and less active than the Englishman, but the Hindu was more humane and merciful.

MISS SCATCHERD read the following note from Dr. John Pollen:

"The Hindu outlook on life is, after all, the only true one. It recognizes that 'the world and all that is in it will only last a minute.' But it does see that while the world lasts (however 'maya,' or shadowy, that lasting may be) it is very real. From the Hindu point of view the world is all in a state of probation or progression from unseen to unseen, and all men are in progression with it. This, after all, is really and truly the Catholic or Christian outlook. Christ is *implicit* in all religions, as His Spirit is their common cause. The idea of redemption (vaguely intimated when not expressly declared or revealed) is common to the whole human race and every human heart. The Hindu, in common with every other race and religion, feels that some 'buying back' was necessary; and sanctification (the being rendered fit to take advantage of this universal redemption) is certainly taught or implied in the Hindu doctrine of Karma. Salvation is not any geographical privilege, any inclusion in heaven or hell of anyone of any race or creed whose character and fitness have not sent him there and enabled him to stay. Redemption is offered to everyone, and each human being shall receive a fair field and all the favour God and things can give. But according to both the Hindu and the Christian outlook whatever offends and maketh and loveth a lie must be purified, purged of, and consumed away, while the simple truth must be sought, and if sought will be found. That truth is not far from the Hindu and from each one of us. So much for the outlook and true religion of the Hindu in so far as philosophy is concerned. In practice, as the Lecturer shows, many imperfections arise and shortcomings come in, as, indeed, in all religions. But Mr. Stanley Rice is right in maintaining that the English official attempting to analyze the outlook of the Hindu is met by the initial difficulty that he is only permitted to see a small part of the more intimate Indian life. However, even from this partial view one can catch a glimpse of the chief influences of that outlook, and Mr. Rice is certainly not wrong in putting religion in the forefront."

THE LECTURER, replying to the remarks on his paper, said it had been a great privilege to hear the remarks of Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu. He would like to correct one wrong impression, that he had said that Hindu life was a meaningless round of rites and ceremonies. The greater part of his paper had been intended to show the exact opposite. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu had also stated that he (the Lecturer) had said the Hindu was unpractical, and he had claimed for them that they bound together theory and practice in a way which Western people did not. Perhaps action to the Hindu did not mean quite the same thing as action to a Western man. It was possible they took a somewhat different

view of contemplation and meditation. There were a great many things which Christians read from the Bible, but if they looked at the life round about them in London they found that these things were not as a matter of fact carried out. He did not accuse the Hindu of doing nothing; but merely said that his outlook on life was more of the meditative and contemplative type than that of Englishmen, who rather prided themselves on being practical. With regard to the remarks that the Hindu proceeded from perfection to imperfection, that question perhaps had been answered by Mr. Sitaram. The law of Karma went on until it became dissipated by absorption into the Divine essence. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure we are all very grateful to Mr. Rice, and it is a real compliment to his paper that it should have provoked such an illuminating and interesting discussion. I am sure most of us have been more than delighted at the time we have spent in considering the subject. (Hear, hear.)

Professor BICKERTON, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer, said that recently when investigating the basic principles of all the great religions he was astonished to find how almost identical they were. It was only the expansions or additions, that had been made gradually, in which they differed from one another. One point was that everything a man possessed should be dedicated to the wellbeing of men as a whole. That was fundamental. Religion did not make in any way for forcible appropriation; it simply said, as Lord Bledisloe had so strongly impressed upon the agriculturists, that they should act as stewards in trusts, each looking on himself as a cog in the cosmic mechanism, and each trying to work for the good of all. That was the idea which had come out in the reading of Mr. Rice's paper.

The vote of thanks was carried with acclamation.

Sir MANCHERJEE M. BHOWNAGGREE, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman, said that Lord Pentland had come to the rescue of the Association by accepting the position of Chairman of the Council on Lord Lamington succeeding to the Presidency, and the value of his services to the Association might be measured by the close attention which he had been already giving to the proceedings at the Council meetings. They had all witnessed that that afternoon he had presided over them at short notice with conspicuous success. (Cheers.)

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation.

The Chairman having thanked the meeting on behalf of the Lecturer and himself, the proceedings terminated.

NOTES ON THE EXCISE POLICY OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT

BY KHAN BAHADUR ADARJEE M. DALAL, B.A.

My opinion generally on the Excise policy of government, as laid down by the Government of India,* is in agreement with that policy. The actual results of that policy, as it has been carried out in practice, have been partially successful in so far as it has, at least during the last five years in the Bombay Presidency, checked consumption or kept it stationary and raised considerably Abkary revenue. In judging and testing results of that policy it is necessary to remember how Abkary administration was carried on in the concluding part of the last century until it was organized and controlled by Sir Charles Pritchard from 1875 by abolishing the out-still system and introducing central distillery system and concentrating distillation in prescribed areas to supply those tracts.

In the Bombay Presidency, and for the matter of that in the whole of India, every big village or group of villages possessed an out-still, and for a nominal sum liquor was manufactured from mowra or toddy or jaggree of any strength and in any quantity without any control or check or strength, and no records or registers of issues of gallonage were kept. Huge quantities of liquor were turned out without any check in crude stills of any strength and sold or bartered for country produce in rural areas, and if a register or record had been kept of those days the beneficial result of the policy of Sir Charles Pritchard would be correctly judged now. Of course in those days the Excise officers had more in view the revenue point than the temperance or health factors, but with the revenue, the

* Letter F. D. 5001 Exc. of September 7, 1905.

control, and the checks the latter came to be beneficially affected directly and indirectly. Out-stills were abolished and control and check were imposed on the manufacture and sale of liquor, and gradually duty on liquor which was graduated on a low scale began to be increased. The Excise Department, with the new policy of concentration, and the raising of the duty, had introduced the 'minimum vend system by public tenders. Respectable contractors of good standing and status were invited to take up farms and were obliged to guarantee a minimum revenue to Government in a particular tract or area, and if they failed to fulfil that minimum they were obliged to make up the deficit to Government. All excess revenue went to the Excise Department.

This appears on the face of it as encouraging consumption, but such a safeguard was necessary in the initial stages of the newly organized Department to check illicit manufacture and import of liquor. Hundreds and thousands of petty stills in rural and other urban areas were abolished and displaced, and an army of illicit manufacturers could have flooded the district with contraband liquor if honest and energetic and able contractors had not been selected by the Excise Department to co-operate with Government. By the contractors binding themselves to Government to guarantee a certain minimum revenue it became their interest to make good that minimum by their exercising checks on the retail licensees to sell proper measures in an undiluted form and in keeping a large private establishment to prevent illicit distillation and the import of contraband liquor ; Government alone through their establishment could not have completely exercised the same check which a person who stood to lose a large amount might do.

From the early and old reports of the Excise administration it will be found to what an extent this illicit trade was carried on and how it was gradually put down. As illicit distribution and import ceased legitimate consumption automatically increased, and with it Government Excise

revenue also increased. To outside critics this appeared as if the policy of the Government helped to raise revenue without taking any measures to check consumption. I wish to emphasize this point—namely, that in the first few years legitimate consumption was bound to increase from year to year as a result of a gradual cessation of the illicit traffic of liquor. If, as mentioned above, the Government or the public had any records or registers of the issues and sales in the out-still tracts to compare figures of consumption before and after the organization periods, it would have clearly proved that the object of that was to diminish consumption without diminishing revenue. So rife was this illicit traffic and so loose was the control exercised that even in big cities like Bombay, Surat, and Broach the distillers, who were also the retail licensees, evaded payment of duties of liquor on issues with the connivance of the distillery inspectors, who were badly paid and who had no knowledge of the strength of spirit or its purity, and who could not read a hydrometer or thermometer, and who had no knowledge of them. Gross malpractices took place and prosecutions were launched against them, and it took many years to check them. Illicit liquor was openly distilled from mowra, not only in out-of-the-way areas and forests, but in large cities such as Ahmedabad, Broach, and Surat, near the vicinity of the bungalows of D.S.P. and the collectors. Servants of retail licensees and distillery proprietors and their friends the Dhobis, fish-wives, and other trades and crafts, such as gardeners, carpenters, etc., got free liquor in the distilleries, not only to drink but to take home, with or without the consent of the Excise inspectors. It can hardly be imagined what a tremendous quantity of such unduty-paid contraband liquor must have passed into consumption during the years unchecked and unregistered. When checks were imposed and strict control began to be exercised it was but natural that they directly helped to indicate a large increase in legitimate consumption.

Sir Charles Pritchard next turned his attention,* after

putting the cities and large important urban areas into organized control, to the forest tribes in the wooded districts of Guzerat and Thana to check illicit distillation of liquor. In the forests, out of scores or hundreds of cases, not one was detected, and so easily was the illicit traffic carried on that every homestead or thatched cottage possessed primitive cheap utensils, earthen or copper, for distilling liquor. The only way to check it was to bring the forest produce of mowra by legislation under control. The Mowra Bill was passed after a strong opposition from the honourable non-official members, but the enacting of that measure reflected on the increase in legitimate consumption in those districts to which the Act was applied, such as Thana, Kaira, Broach, and Punch Mahals. The next step which Sir Charles Pritchard and his successors took was directed to abolishing the many distilleries which existed in each district of the Presidency by concentrating distillation in central places—that is, establishing distilleries in convenient places for manufacturing spirit and transporting it into depots for distributing it amongst the retail shops. This also was a step in the right direction calculated to check illicit liquor from passing into consumption. When this was fairly taken in hand the rate of duty was gradually raised without allowing its high rate to lead people into practising illicit distillation or illicit import all over the Bombay Presidency. The British frontiers are continuous with those of the Native States where liquor traffic from olden times had been carried on loosely and without any regard to increasing revenue or weaning the people from the evil effects of this policy. Liquor in such Native States shops on the borders of the British territories as a rule was sold cheaper than in the British shops, and Government had to regulate the duties and selling prices in their shops with the object of preventing British custom from being diverted to the Native States to the detriment of British revenue. Not only were the duties and prices adjusted, but by negotiations with the States an approxi-

mate equalization of prices and duties was fixed, with the result that the Native States' and the British Districts' Excise revenues were benefited without increasing consumption.

Gradually order and organization were evolved from primitive chaos. The Government of India all this while were watching the results of the Bombay Excise Department, and the gradual but steady progress in Excise revenue was gratifying; but a disconcerting factor was the apparent increase in consumption, which was against the declared policy of the Government of India. They suggested to the Government of Bombay that the minimum vend system was a factor which helped to encourage consumption, and insisted on a departure from that policy by separating manufacture and the sale of drink. Thus, the monopoly system and the selection of proved and able farmers were done away with, and separate licence auction was introduced, called the Madras system. Separate contracts were given for the manufacture of liquor by public tenders, and retail licences were sold by public auction with minimum and maximum prices of sale, with the view of preventing retailers from underselling or overcharging their customers, leaving a margin between duty plus cost of liquor and the maximum selling prices to clear the licence fees and the profits. The collectors had discretionary powers to fix licence fees in such a way as would leave some fair margin to the retailed licensee as his profit to prevent him from the temptation of overcharging his poor customers. But the system did not work well. The retail licensees, with the connivance of the Excise Departments' subordinate officers, grossly infringed the regulations and conditions of their licences and made immense profits by giving short measures to the customers, and public revenue was needlessly sacrificed by fraud. The late Mr. Arthur, then Abkari Commissioner, exposed these malpractices and in the teeth of opposition convinced Government to change this policy, and it was decided to sell the licences by public

auction to the highest bidder without fixing any maximum prices; that is to say they were free to charge any price they liked. The results, as expected, brought in a huge amount of revenue from license fees amounting to lacs of rupees. The liquor was proportionately sold at a higher price by the licensees to recoup the enhanced fees paid by the licensees, and although Abkari revenue reached the highest flood level, consumption did not keep pace with it, but, on the contrary, showed a slight reduction. Recently temperance movement, far from being a social organization, degenerated into a political propaganda, and picketing was introduced by the non-co-operation party to put immense obstacles in the way of Government and public revenues, with the result that the movement took a violent turn and the licensees and Government lost heavily by such a violent and dangerous political propaganda.

From the above history it may be safely said that Government have justified their policy of a maximum of revenue with minimum consumption if correctly and carefully judged. I admit that in the early days of the organization the hands of Government were not so clean and they were more keen and anxious for revenue than for checking consumption, and temperance policy and the temperance preachers and party did not find favour with the Excise Department. But the policy, in its being carried out from its initial stages to the present times, has resulted, with or without the intention of Government, in making progress towards reaching the goal enunciated by the Government of India, when it is remembered that in the seventies of the last century, and before that period, there existed no policy at all, and when there was no organization drunkenness and intemperance were allowed to the detriment of public morals and public health, without any compensating gain of increased public revenue. Huge consumption did exist in its aggravated form of cheap undiluted liquor of any strength, and public revenues for generations were allowed to be sacrificed. If early steps

to check consumption had been taken by unduly raising prices and duties or by rationing, it would have resulted in failure and the steps that are now being taken to gradually reduce consumption could not have been successfully introduced.

CHECKS ON TODDY

I am not in agreement with the policy of Government in regard to toddy. With liquor Government have included toddy and checked its consumption, making it so dear as to actually lead poor people in absence of a cheap and healthy drink to resort to liquor. In Guzarat and the Deccan toddy has been a healthy natural drink from immemorial times, and a bottle of unadulterated toddy with joowari bread and some pulse and lentils and onions formed a complete solid, nourishing meal and drink to the people. Government, by increasing tree tax and auction fees, and imposing harassing restrictions, naturally enhanced the price of toddy, and as its admixture with water and with other deleterious substances to doctor it could not be detected or kept in check by the officers of the Excise Department on account of its increasing price, Government have deprived the poor of their healthy, natural, and cheap drink. If the high Government officers would but trouble to come into close personal touch with the people and care to know the feelings of the masses, they would find that this grievance of the people and their discontent are deep-seated, and for the sake of the paltry revenue of a few lacs, neither the health of the poor nor their innermost feelings and real wants are seriously considered. It is the opinion of the Excise Department that toddy, in its fermented form, is as injurious to health and public morals as liquor. With due deference to their opinion, and the opinion of some of the medical profession, I am, however, of the opinion that toddy in its natural undiluted and moderately fermented state is as healthful and delicious as wine and beer. What wine is to a Frenchman and the other wine-drinking people of the West, and beer

to the Englishman, toddy is to a poor husbandman, a Bheel, a sea-faring Kharwa, a Koli, and a hard-working labourer. Under toddy booths and in the shade of trees situated in the open fields the selling of pure unadulterated, undiluted, and undoctored toddy with the simple and homely and nourishing food is an ideal meal and drink for the poor man, making him and his family contented and happy. Some of the many physical and mental ailments to which he is liable are cured by a moderate use of this natural drink, and such is his rooted faith in its efficacy to restore health and spirits that he becomes dejected and discontented when he finds that he cannot buy a bottle of pure toddy at from four to six times the price at which it used to be had in the old times. It is fortunate that toddy drinkers are equally under the ban in the propaganda of the non-co-operators. If they had correctly measured the innermost feelings of the poor people, I am inclined to believe that they would have inflamed them to a pitch to break out into open lawlessness and violence, and raised a formidable army from their ranks to cast their lot with the rowdy mob who break out into open violence and riots. These poor people are law-abiding and quiet, and I would respectfully recommend that in the revised Abkari policy to keep down drink, toddy should rather be encouraged as drink in its pure state by placing it within the reach of the poor at a moderate price rather than imposing any hard restrictions upon it. By this policy a boon will be conferred on the poor, and the poor will appreciate this with gratitude.

ANCIENT CHINESE SPIRITUALISM

BY PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER

THE Chinese philosopher Meccius (a Latinized form of Mēh-tsz, just as Mencius is the Latinized form of Mēng-tsz) died two centuries later than Confucius, and is known to have been alive six years before Mencius' death in 289 B.C.: we may therefore say roundly that his political, social, and philosophical work was done during the later half of the fourth century B.C., which makes him a junior contemporary of Aristotle, who, like Meccius, was accused of irreligion; but, unlike Meccius, simply ignored the myths of the ancients. He is not classed amongst the 53 so-called Confucianists, but as one of the six Meccians, a class of his own personal creation, consisting mostly of his own pupils. Of his and their tenets, we shall at present only speak of one, which has in the minds of the orthodox or Confucianists brought his name into particular disrepute: this is best brought out in the last or 48th chapter of his works, composed somewhat in the style of one of Plato's dialogues; in this particular instance Meccius says to an interlocutor: "The Confucian doctrine contains four guiding principles sufficient in themselves to bring ruin upon the world (*i.e.*, China, viewed as an Empire). The Confucianists hold that Heaven has no insight, and that ghosts have no spiritual power.* If you do nothing to conciliate either Heaven or the ghosts; that fact is thus one of those four sufficient to bring ruin upon the Empire. Then, again,

* What Confucius himself really said was: "(1) Wisdom consists in a devotion to popular rights, and in a hold-offish respect for ghosts and spirits. (2) The Emperor Yü (2205 B.C.) was simple in his own food and drink, but liberal in his filial offerings to ghosts and spirits. (3) If you fail in your duty to living man, how can you do it properly* to ghosts and spirits?"

expensive funerals and protracted funerals; double coffins, innumerable wrappings; processions on a wholesale scale; weeping and wailing for three years; this mourner supported in front, and that one leaning on a staff behind, pretending not to be capable in their grief of seeing or hearing what goes on;* that fact, again, is one of those four sufficient to bring ruin upon the Empire. Then, once more, fiddling, singing, miming and posturing, practising instrumental music, etc.; that fact again is one of those sufficient to bring ruin upon the Empire. Then, finally, the claim that fate decides definitely whether you shall be rich or poor; attain old age or die young; whether order or confusion, peace or peril, shall prevail without possibility of increase or mitigation; which means that superiors need not trouble themselves about governing in their higher sphere, and inferiors need not trouble themselves about obeying in their lower sphere: that fact, again, is one of those sufficient to bring ruin upon the Empire."

His interlocutor remarked: "Come, come! you are abusing Confucianism too strongly!" The philosopher Meccius said: "Had the Confucianists not really these four principles of administration, then what I say of them *would* be abuse: but, as a matter of fact, the Confucianists *have* these four principles of administration, and conse-

* Confucius protested against one of his deceased pupils having an expensive funeral because he himself stood as it were in the superior position of a father to him; at the same time he did not forbid the other disciples, as personal friends and equals, to carry out the fullest obsequies. As to music, Confucius was himself something of a virtuoso. As to fate, Confucius said: (1) "At fifty I knew Heaven's fate." (2) "Alas! he is dying, it is fate;" it is also recorded that the Master seldom spoke of Fate. It may be added that "Life" and "Fate" are still colloquially expressed by the same word: thus in Confucius' time one of his pupils had a short Life, and another was discontented with his Fate (or luck in life): in both cases the root idea is "command" or "behest"; hence the word officially and colloquially still means the "decree" of a ruler. Confucius says again: "Whether my teaching prevail or no is a matter of fate;" and "the man of high mind fears three things—*i.e.*, (1) Heaven's fate, (2) his rulers, and (3) the words of a sage." Finally, "He who does not know his fate or destiny can never become a man of high mind."

quent y what I say of them is quite true, and I tell it to you, now for your information." His interlocutor had nothing further to suggest, and went out. The philosopher Meccius, puzzled, called him back; the man entered, took a seat, and spoke afresh thus: "What you have just said, Sir,* is partly to the point, but do I understand that you have no praise for (the dynastic founder) Yü and no abuse for (the losers of dynasties) Kieh and Chou?" The philosopher Meccius said: "By no means."

Another visitor to Meccius' classes addressed Meccius as follows: "You, Sir, hold that spirits and ghosts have a spiritual intelligence, and possess the power of inflicting injury on men, enriching those who do good, and bringing sorrow on those who are tyrannical. Now, I have attended your classes for a long time, and yet no happiness has come to me from it: can it be that your words, Sir, contain in them something which is *not* good? Or is it that the ghosts and spirits are *not* discerning?" The philosopher Meccius said: "Though you have not attained happiness, why conclude off-hand that my words are not good? And why that ghosts and spirits are not discerning?"

In this short paper we shall not examine further into the interesting bandying of words between Meccius and his enquiring friends, but at once turn to the specific chapters on "Ghosts and Spirits" (No. 31) and on "Fate"† (Nos. 35, 36, 37) in which at great length and with wearisome iteration he upholds the former and ridicules the latter. He sets out with the theory that the degeneration of modern China (*i.e.*, 300 B.C.) is largely owing to the growing disbelief in the good old principles guiding the revered ancient Emperors—namely, that the ghosts and spirits make a point of rewarding the good and punishing the wicked. First of all, says he, you have only to go to any hamlet or village

* It is interesting to see the modern word *Sien-shêng* (Signor or Sieur) used for "Sir."

† His attitude towards fate is somewhat like Artemus Ward's attitude towards "the Crisis" sixty years ago. "Where is it? What is it? Show it to me. Has anyone ever seen it?"

in order to find that there are innumerable persons there who have actually and in person seen or heard spiritual objects or spiritual sounds. Then he describes what happened to an Emperor in 782 B.C. when his majesty unjustly killed one of his ministers; this minister said: "If my lord kill me, though innocent, supposing the dead have no consciousness, then there is an end of it; otherwise, before three years are out, I shall cause my lord to know it." Three years after that, the Emperor was hunting with a vast retinue in the park when, at the hour of noon, the dead minister suddenly appeared in a dark chariot with a white horse, himself wearing red clothes and hat, armed with a red bow and red arrows; he pursued the Emperor and shot him dead in his own equipage: this act was witnessed or heard of by thousands of people, and is duly recorded in the dynastic annals,* as a warning to all not to provoke the resentment of ghosts and spirits by slaying innocent persons.

Then, again, there is the case of a vassal ruler (who reigned in 626-604 B.C.) visited by a spirit in the shape of a bird when he was sacrificing at noon-time; the duke was alarmed, and was for making off, but the spirit said: "Do not fear! God† is gratified at your brilliant virtue, and has sent me to grant you nineteen further years of life."

Next comes a story of 504 B.C., when the reigning vassal of what is now the Peking provincial region put to death an innocent minister: the facts are much the same as in the first case mentioned above; the guilty duke was warned by the innocent minister he had condemned to death that should the dead possess consciousness, in less than three years' time "my lord shall know it"; but in this case the

* See Chavannes' *Mémoires Historiques*, vol. i., p. 278.

† It is plain that the much-argued word *Ti* (God, Emperor of Heaven, Emperor) cannot here mean anything human, but the God Dr. Legge insists it always originally meant in the vague Chinese mind. The question of *Ti* and God is carefully and ably discussed in the *Chinese Recorder* for November, 1922.

duke was slain with a red club in his chariot just as he was proceeding to sacrifice to the local spirits; thousands of persons witnessed the occurrence, which is duly recorded in the annals of that state (now no longer existing).^{*} Then there is the case about 600 B.C. of an acolyte in the state where Confucius' ancestors lived[†] where the junior sacrificial attendant was found offering wines, grains, gems, etc., of inferior quality. "Are you responsible, or is the reigning duke responsible?" asked the senior acolyte. The reply was: "The duke is young and feeble; I am responsible." The senior acolyte then raised his crosier and beat the offender to death, as is recorded in the annals of that state, and as was witnessed, or "heard of," by thousands present or in the neighbourhood, tradition passing on the warning that punishment at the hands of ghosts and spirits must follow disrespect in carrying out ancestral worship. Finally, there comes confirmatory evidence from the state corresponding to the northern half of Shan Tung province, when, about 750 B.C., two ministers were engaged in litigation for three years without either obtaining judgment in his favour. The reigning vassal ruler hesitated about killing them both, lest they should, or one of them should, be innocent; and hesitated also about dismissing the case, lest they should either or both escape due punishment; so he sent the two men to sacrifice a sheep or goat to the spirit of the local realm. Whilst the pleas were being read out, there was observed commotion in the boiling water and some spattering of blood; the sheep then jumped up, and butted one of the litigants so that he died on the spot, as is duly recorded in the state annals (now apparently no longer existing), and as was witnessed or "spoken of" by thousands of persons and by other vassal kings; all which

^{*} This story is not well authenticated in any case. In Forke's *Lun-hêng* it is four times mentioned in connection with another ruler in modern Shan Si, but of the same date.

[†] This is the site where recent excavations have disclosed specimens of early writing, proving that no *connected* literature could well have existed in China previous to, say, 1200 B.C. See *As. Soc. Journal* (London), 1918-1921.

proves that persons who seek ordeal without making sure of the truth first will surely be put to death by the ghosts and spirits. "Regarding the matter, therefore, from what these books all say, how can it be doubted that there are such things as ghosts and spirits?" For this reason it is that there is no deep valley, dense thicket, or inaccessible waterfall where ghosts and spirits do not lie perdu, and witness events from their hiding-place. If, says the philosopher Meccius, you cannot believe the evidence of all these persons' ears and eyes, then surely sceptics will accept, as models to us now, the examples of our ancient Sacred Monarchs (*i.e.*, 2850-1100 B.C.)? Here Meccius enters into a long description of the various altars and sacrifices made use of in ancient times, the way in which rewards and punishments were distributed with this or that shrine as witness; how no expense was grudged to the spirits, however extravagant it would have been if incurred for mere human beings; not to mention the exhortation committed to writing on bamboo or silk, or, again, engraved on metal or stone trays or ewers immune from rot or weevil, beseeching sons and grandsons in perpetuity not to forget their duties to the spiritual powers. Those who fail to believe nowadays (300 B.C.) simply ignore the *tao** or way of the superior man; if they ask in what books do you find allusion to spirits, then it may be replied that the chapters in the "Book of History"† relating to the first three‡ hereditary dynasties each and all have distinct references to heaven, God, spirits of the mountains, streams, etc., punishing and rewarding before distinctive shrines, and also references to prayers for long life. What would be the use of prayers for long life unless you be-

* *Tao* was one of the foundations of ancient faith, a millennium or more before *Taoism* in a new form was "invented" in the sixth century B.C., and in the same way *Ju* meant "the educated," long before in the fifth century B.C. it began to be applied to that insistence upon the old educational ideas called Confucianism.

† Confucius re-edited it, and perhaps Meccius possessed early editions.

‡ Began 2205, 1766, 1122 B.C. in turn.

lieved you were praying to conscious and responsive ghosts and spirits? How could any government be successful over people who were only kept from lasciviousness, violence, dishonesty, and rebellion by fear lest the ghosts and spirits might perceive and punish their delinquencies? Wealth, power, bravery, weapons will avail you nothing against the ubiquitous and omniscient ghosts and spirits. Here Meccius at considerable length goes once more into the hackneyed old stories of 1766 and 1122 B.C., when the all-powerful last Emperors of the first and second hereditary dynasties were respectively dethroned and slain for their crimes by the founders of the second and third dynasties. It has been well said, he adds, that no one is too insignificant for divine favour; no one too great to escape retribution at the hands of ghosts and spirits.

There is much more in the same style; but, whatever the modern reader may think of the respective merits and defects of Confucianism in the other three matters that Meccius discusses, it can scarcely be denied that Meccius largely begs the whole question in the matter of ghosts and spirits, whilst the cautious and conservative—almost negative—views of Confucius on the same subject are, if vague, at least “safe.” We ourselves in Great Britain, after 2,000 or more years of further reflection, are now reopening the question of spiritual phenomena; Sir Oliver Lodge and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle seem to be more or less “on the side of the (Meccian) angels.” Confucius is perhaps good enough for most of us hesitants—so far as he goes. The writer himself is disposed to accept—for his own use—Mr. Punch’s definition of the Coalition of about twelve years ago: “Well, it’s this way. Some say as ’ow it be, and some say as ’ow it baint; but Ah say there’s no knowins and there’s no tellins, and, maark me, I ain’t fur wrong!” The discussion on fate must be left (readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* permitting it) to a future occasion.

SOME INDIAN PROBLEMS

(BY A CORRESPONDENT NOW IN INDIA)

ALTHOUGH nearly four years have now elapsed since the Armistice, there is no indication, in India at any rate, of any lack of problems presenting themselves for solution. In the domain alike of economics and finance, of internal and foreign politics, and of military affairs and policy, situations of the utmost difficulty are still confronting those in whom the government of the country—central and provincial—is vested.

Turning first of all to the financial and economic situation, it is at once observed to be one presenting many difficulties. The financial changes made by the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were undoubtedly sound. The old system, by which certain heads of revenue were divided between the central and provincial governments, was not only indefensible in theory, but if it had not been abolished, would have stultified the idea of devolution and provincial autonomy, which is one of the central features of the new constitution. On the other hand, the central government must be kept going, but the method by which this is done, though inevitable—the system of provincial contributions to the central exchequer—has already been the cause of much trouble and heart-burning. The remission of the Bengal contribution for three years, voted by the Assembly in September, 1921, may have been just and necessary, but has had the deplorable result of causing violent grumblings among the other provinces. In Madras every organ of opinion, British and Indian, official and non-official, is unanimous in demanding a reduction in the provincial contribution, which the Assembly has refused to concede. This refusal is not altogether unnatural, because, although

provincial budgets may be hard to balance, that of the central government is even harder, owing to the prevalent trade depression, the collapse of the rupee, and the heavy cost of military operations on the frontier.

The principal economic problem at present confronting India is one not peculiar to this country—the fact that a rise in prices has taken place unaccompanied by an equal rise in wages. Dr. Mann's studies of rural conditions in the Bombay Deccan* are excellent material for showing how the effect of war prices has been, while benefiting a few lucky folk, to drive many families below the level of solvency who were previously above it. Similar effects have been noted in other parts of India, and the urban labourer is no better off than his rural confrère. The situation has not been made any easier by the disastrous monsoon of 1918, followed by the unsatisfactory one of 1920. One disquieting feature of the situation has been the growth of bad feeling between different classes of the population as a result of economic causes. The "aika," or anti-landlord, association in the United Provinces is an example of this, and the result of the political extremists making capital out of such purely economic movements was seen at Chaui Chaura. There are, however, many hopeful signs. The good rains of this year and last should restore the rural situation, and as the world gradually settles down the reopening of India's foreign markets should improve the situation in the towns. But few can doubt that serious economic and financial problems will worry all Governments for some time to come.

That the economic situation of the rural districts is improving may be inferred, quite apart from all other evidence, by the comparative cessation of violent political outbreaks of a distinctly anti-Governmental character; though, of course, this cessation may also be accounted for by the essential fatuity and hypocrisy which have for so

* "Land and Labour in a Deccan Village" (Oxford Press, Bombay), Study No. 2, chap. viii.

long marked the non-co-operation movement. As soon as the mass of the people discovered what close observers had long perceived—that much of Mr. Gandhi's programme was actively disliked by most of his followers, and that many items of it, such as the wearing of "khaddar" and the boycott of foreign cloth, law courts, and Government schools, were not being in the slightest degree* observed even by leaders of the movement, then they began to be suspicious. Their suspicions developed very quickly into complete apathy when each fixed date for "swaraj" passed without any indication that the "Satanic Government" had fallen or showed any sign of decay. The arrest of Mr. Gandhi on March 10 and the intensification of the existing dissensions among the other leaders which at once followed this event, all helped to discredit and paralyze what remained of the movement, and many of its erstwhile supporters are chiefly interested in discovering what has become of all the money subscribed to the "Tilak Swarajya" and other funds!

The gradual collapse of the non-co-operation movement has had two main results. Many movements which had their growth in the general political turmoil of 1920-21, and whose initiation and revival were largely due to the active assistance of the non-co-operation leaders, are now by their continuance, in spite of the collapse of that movement, shown to be really independent of it. The disappearance of the "pseudo-national" movement centring round Mr. Gandhi shows these movements up in their true light as racial and separatist. The quarrel between the Akalis and the Mahants, from the time of the Nankana Sahib tragedy up to the present moment, at Guru-ka-bagh, has carried on its separate existence unaffected by the rise and fall of the non-co-operators, in whose fortunes no Akali apparently has much interest. The violent Islamic party are apparently undeterred by the failure of the Moplah revolt

* Vernacular newspapers in the Punjab have recently published some very bitter articles on this subject.

and the imprisonment of the Alis. Encouraged by the victories of Mustapha Kemal, they have taken the opportunity, offered by the disappearance of Gandhi from the scene, to try and get the remains of the non-co-operation movement into their hands, and run it for their own ends. The result has been that except among the leaders, who still more or less keep up appearances, Hindu-Moslem unity, even the pretence of it, seems as far off as ever. The recent occurrences at Multan are only an example of the way the political current is setting again into the old channels of religious and racial disputes.

The second effect of the collapse of the extremist movement has been noticeable in a general tendency of the Moderate parties to make greater pretensions than they have yet asserted. They feel that now the extremists are generally discredited, the game is in their hands, at any rate far more than it was. Their method of asserting their new position was, however, quite deplorable. The Simla session of the Indian Legislature had been comparatively peaceful, and was apparently drawing to a quiet close, when the Assembly suddenly refused leave to introduce a Bill regarded by Government as of very great importance and urgency. The importance of this action is very great for several reasons. In the first place, the power of the Governor-General to "certify"* legislation never having as yet been exercised, the Assembly began to feel it was working up to a position as a kind of Sovereign Parliament. It forgot that it was a body of men elected on a very restricted franchise, and was intended to be more in the nature of a school for administrators and a political experiment than anything else. So sudden and unexpected a reminder of the realities of the situation will make the Moderate parties all agitate for more and extended political changes. It is well known that any further reforms would be at present a mistake ; but the situation of the Govern-

* Under the Government of India Act, 1919, section 26, subsection (i.) (b).

ment, who will have to reply with a firm negative to all such demands, will not be a pleasant or an easy one. •

But the second result of the Assembly's brusque and discourteous action is likely to be far more serious and important. It was not only the action itself, but also the subject in regard to which it was taken, which is likely to lead to political complications. The Bill, leave to introduce which was refused, and which was "certified" by Lord Reading, and then introduced into and passed unanimously by the Council of State, is one to safeguard the ruling chiefs of India against virulent and libellous attacks emanating from British territory. Its summary rejection by the Assembly, without apparently a line of it having been read, must make the princes thoroughly convinced of what most of them have long suspected—that not only the extremists, but the vast majority of Moderates and Liberals, are opposed to them. The result of so open a declaration of sentiment as the Assembly has seen fit to make cannot but make the task of the Government increasingly difficult. How to fit in the position of the Ruling Chiefs with the "progressive realization of responsible government in British India" is a problem which will become, not easier, but harder as time goes on. The Montague-Chelmsford Report* dealt very vaguely and hesitatingly with the whole question, and so long as the Central Government remains bureaucratic the question will not come to a head. But the moment any suggestion of introducing responsible government at Delhi is made this question will have to be tackled. It is obvious that the princes will never consent to be subordinated to any Executive dependent on any Indian Parliament; and the present problem before the Government of India consists in not only considering how to keep the peace between the chiefs and the aggressive Liberalism of the new Legislatures, but also to consider how the existence of these States and any move in the direction of the introduction of responsible government in the Central Government can be compatible.

* Pp. 238-249.

In the provinces the situation is better than most people expected it would be under the dyarchic system. Budgets have been discussed and settled, and legislation debated and passed, without any serious quarrel between the official part of the Government and the Legislative Council. There is some reason for believing that M.L.C.'s are already beginning to be worried over the fact that new elections are not very far off, and are trying to get into better touch with their constituents. Shrewd observers are already remarking that it will not be until the elections are over and the new councils sitting that the real testing time of dyarchy will begin. The elections of 1920 were hardly representative. For many reasons large numbers of voters never exercised the franchise. If any reasonable number of the "silent voters" of 1920 vote at the next election we may see strange results.

In the sphere of foreign affairs the signature of the Anglo-Afghan Treaty in November, 1921, undoubtedly eased the situation on the North-West Frontier, but two factors have of late rather disturbed the feelings of satisfaction with which that event was greeted. In the first place, there has been a very considerable increase of recent months in the military activities of the Amir. When we read of the introduction of compulsory service and other reforms, we are apt to wonder against whom these preparations can be directed but ourselves. In the second place, the entire collapse of the Greek army and the settlement of Mudania are disquieting. The effects of Kemal's victories on the internal situation have already been noted; but it is also worth observing that the fanatically Islamic sentiment, not of Afghanistan only, but of most of the border tribes as well, is bound to make the Indian Government reflect seriously on the possible effects of the state of religious exaltation into which they have been impelled by the Turkish victories. Comparisons made between the policy of Lord Reading and his Council, as evinced by the memorandum urging the Home Government to revise

the Treaty of Sèvres, and the policy so often urged at home of resistance to Mussalman demands, has revived the old controversy as to whether races and religions in general, and Islam in particular, respect more the man or Government who respects and forwards their claims, or one who openly resists them; and whether too open an advocacy of the Khilafat cause is not construed as weakness. This is again a serious problem of foreign policy which has given, and will continue to give, much anxiety to the Indian Government.

Closely allied to the problems both of foreign and internal policy is the question of the army and of Indian military policy generally. The inflated character of the Army estimates (66 crores) is a favourite subject for declamation on the part of Liberal politicians, especially those who live a long way from the frontier! The Commander-in-Chief, realizing that many mistaken views on military policy were due to lack of knowledge, has wisely abandoned the attitude of secrecy and mystery which used to envelop Army Headquarters; he has not only personally addressed the Legislature with complete frankness, but arranged that certain members of it should tour the frontier and see the situation for themselves. He has personally, while refusing to reduce the fighting forces below the safety level, seen to great savings being effected by means of administrative reorganization, and further avenues will no doubt be explored by the Inchcape Committee. The disbandment of units surplus to the agreed post-war establishment has proceeded apace, and is now practically complete. This action has been inevitable, but has had somewhat regrettable results in the way of expense to Government incurred in compensating these officers, and in the loss of careers which these officers have had to suffer. The principal military problem which lies before the Indian Government is how, while forwarding economy in every possible way, to regain and retain the confidence of its military servants. The goodwill of the Army and the classes which supply recruits

for it is of the utmost importance. The right class of recruit must be obtained for it, and the right class of British officer must be attracted to it. If the Army feels uncertain as to its position and prospects it will not attain the efficiency it ought to attain, and India will not obtain from her Army the first-class service she expects, and has hitherto received, both in protecting the frontier and quelling internal disturbances.

It has been impossible in a short article to do more than sketch a few—perhaps the most interesting and important—of the varied problems which await solution in India to-day. But the few which have been described will have served their purpose if they have shown that the task of directing the affairs of India is at present peculiarly hard, and how difficult and various are the problems which confront the Administration.

JAPAN AND SIBERIA

BY R. SHIMATANI

(London Correspondent of the *Asahi*)

THE last Japanese troops left Vladivostock on October 25, so that the much-criticized and wrongly-handled policy of the Japanese Government on the Asiatic continent has ended in complete failure. But we Japanese have every reason to congratulate ourselves that it is finished, even though it cost more than £100,000,000, which had to be disbursed by the Japanese Treasury. Perhaps few British readers realize the fact that the policy of sending Japanese troops to Siberia was only adopted at the express wish of the Allied Governments. The position was that the Czechs, former subjects of the unfortunate Austro-Hungarian Empire, had been taken prisoners by the Russians and were anxious to fight on the French battlefield. This was in accordance with the policy of the Allies, who were encouraging the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and intended to organize a new Czecho-Slovak state.

During 1917 the Japanese Government were pressed to send troops to Siberia to help the Czechs, who were struggling hard to find their way out of Siberia via Vladivostock, where the Allied transports were waiting to bring them to Europe. However, the Japanese Government obstinately (from the Allies' point of view) declined the proposal, and were not ready to undergo further sacrifices for the Allies.

It must be realized that the Czechs were an entirely foreign people to the Japanese, and their name had been totally unknown to them until it was noticed during the Great War. Naturally this new policy of an expedition to Siberia could hardly be said to attract the enthusiasm and

sympathy of the Japanese people. Furthermore, it meant sacrifice of blood and treasure, which most Japanese thought unwise and unnecessary.

But there was one statesman in Japan who thought differently from his colleagues. He thought that, even from the point of view of Japan, it would be wise to help the Allies more and to secure written pledges from them to support the Japanese policy at the Peace Conference. Viscount Motono, when he took charge of the Foreign Office in the Terauchi Cabinet, found to his astonishment that no such precaution was taken to pledge the Allies to give their support to Japanese policy. He soon started the necessary diplomatic procedure to secure it before the spring of 1917 and with entire success. It was only on account of his thoroughly cautious action that the Japanese delegates achieved their difficult task at the Paris Conference two years later. Britain, France, and Italy were pledged to support Japanese demands regarding Shantung in spite of President Wilson's strong opposition, and it will be remembered that the Republican party, during the debate on the ratification of the Versailles Treaty, used the Shantung clause as one of the weapons to secure its defeat.

Viscount Motono declared in Parliament that the Allies must be helped, and succeeded in persuading Count Terauchi to send twelve finest destroyers and two battle-ships to the Mediterranean Sea to escort Allied troop transports between Marseilles, Egypt, and Palestine, and protect them against the attacks of German submarines.

He was also in favour of the Siberian plan, but he found opposition to this policy among his own colleagues was too great, and this led to his resignation. He soon died a disappointed man.

I think that, from the nationalist point of view, Viscount Motono's policy was mistaken and Count Terauchi's right. But when the American Government decided to send troops to Siberia and asked Japan to co-operate with them in the summer of 1918, the situation changed entirely.

Count Terauchi and his Government could no more persist in an indifferent attitude, because they thought that to allow American troops to land in Siberia alone would mean to give them a free hand in Siberia in the future, and this might become, some day, a great danger to the welfare and safety of the Island Empire.

It may be noticed that the insular Japanese are very suspicious of foreigners. They naturally think that Americans are very ambitious, and that though they profess they are not "land-hunters," their history is full of such adventures.

However, to proceed, it was under these circumstances that the Japanese troops were sent to Eastern Siberia, west of the Baikal Lake, and no wonder that the co-operation between the Japanese and Americans proved unsatisfactory. General Gleaves, who was Commander-in-Chief of American troops, landed at Vladivostock without visiting the Japanese capital and making any effort to attain harmonious collaboration.

Professor Miliukof asserts, in his "Russia, To-day and To-morrow," that Japan had a desire to invade Siberia as early as December, 1917, when she addressed a Note to the Allied Nations and to the United States, offering to send troops into Siberia, to protect the Allied interests from Germany (p. 319, chap. x.). I should like to know how this author could prove his theory about Japan's ambition from documents.

Professor Miliukoff seems to complain that the Japanese troops of the Expeditionary Force were increased at one time to the number of 70,000, instead of 7,000, men, which was the figure that the United States at first suggested. But, from the Japanese point of view, it may be easily explained. From the beginning, concerted action among the Allied troops was not an easy thing to attain, as was the case on the Western front. It seemed to the Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Army, whose task was to clear the way for the Czechs and to free the country from chaotic conditions,

that the only troops who had enough fighting spirit, and upon whom he could rely, were the Japanese. And as a strategist and tactician he naturally thought that overwhelming numbers could accomplish the objects of the expedition in the shortest time and in the easiest way. To use 7,000 troops for three years is not so good from the military point of view as to use 70,000 within three months. Then the war against Germany came to an end, but now the Bolsheviks were considered the principal enemy of the Allies, whose object it was to destroy them. It seems now that if the Bolsheviks had been attacked from the four fronts—Petrograd, Archangel, Ural, and the Don basin—simultaneously, under a well-thought-out plan and by competent troops, Moscow might have come under the occupation of Allied and "White" Russian troops. Japan was only asked by the Allies, especially the British, to give their aid to this common aim. Czechs marched to the Ural front instead of the Vladivostock, and the task of guarding the lines of communication, 1,500 miles long, between the east of the Baikal Lake and Vladivostock, the central base of the Ural front, fell to the Japanese Army, thus necessitating their stay. This may be considered as the second phase of the expedition of Japanese troops in East Siberia, being far removed from the original plan suggested by the American Government.

After the Americans and Czechs left Siberia, the Japanese still stayed for nearly two years. Thus came about the third phase of the occupation, during which the Japanese people had to meet with severe criticisms from nearly the whole world.

I offer no apologies for the various activities of the so-called "militarist party" in Japan. I was one of those who had seen the absence of wisdom in the Siberian policy. As I explained at the beginning of this article, the expedition never secured popular support. Before the Russo-Japanese War the foreign policies of Japan, the aims of which were mainly defensive, commanded the support of

the whole nation. The people at home devoted the whole of their time and means to encourage their dearest ones who went abroad for Emperor and country by sending letters and presents. They knew perfectly well that the soldiers were fighting for them and their own homes. Soldiers were ready to die for the cause. But during this expedition no soldier was able to understand why and for who's sake he was sent to fight. Officers went there willingly because fighting is their profession, and to be in the field always means earlier promotion than staying at home. Soldiers were there because they were told to obey the orders of the Emperor. I suppose that no soldier, whether conscript or voluntary, in such democratic countries as the British Empire or France, would have been willing to be despatched for so long a time as we have seen among the soldiers in Japan.

Therefore the whole blame rests with the politicians and those who controlled the army. They knew that the Japanese Government pledged themselves not to interfere in internal affairs in the districts of Siberia where their troops were in occupation, and to withdraw all their forces from Siberia as soon as the common object—to help the Czechs—was attained. This pledge had to be observed. Under such conditions permanent occupation was impossible, and early withdrawal was the wisest policy for Japan. The Civil Government had some reason at one time during the occupation to keep the troops on the lines of the Siberian railway to protect them from the attacks of the Bolsheviki, and to counter their influence and intrigue in Kova and Japan proper. But the military circles were not able to discern that the Imperialistic policy which had been practised twenty years ago was out of date and unpopular in the democratic and socialistic times in which we now live. I do not say that those military circles had the definite plan of annexing Eastern Siberia as some Russians suspect. However, they behaved in such a way as to make the outside world believe that they were aiming at

it. They used every means to prolong the occupation, which the Japanese people never desired.

In so doing they made the army itself unpopular. I do not know if they obtained support from any newspapers at home. In one sense Japan is more democratic than England, because there is no such class distinction as I can see in this country. Officers and soldiers are chosen amongst the whole nation. There is no favour in respect of family or class, so that the feeling of the whole people, which is represented by the Press, is easily reflected in the army from the supreme command down to the private.

One General, whom I met at Geneva last September, told me how distressed and disgusted he felt at reading the articles appearing nearly every day in the Press at home which attacked the "gun batsu," military clanship, or cliques. Even he confessed to me that his family could not stand up against the attacks of the Press against the army, and that his daughters would never agree to marry the young officers, because the army was unpopular, and the life of an officer had not much prospect in future. After all, the influence of the Japanese Press is not a negligible factor.

I do not think, however, that the withdrawal of the troops from Siberia was finally decided upon by the Japanese Government only under the pressure of severe criticism from outside. I rather believe that so long as the Government had the wholehearted support of the people the troops were kept there.

Belief in the democratic doctrines of the West has received a blow in Japan ever since the proposal by the Japanese delegates of racial equality was declined at the Paris Conference. The Japanese think that Western nations are not justified in denying them the right of immigration as citizens if they believe in democratic principles. Japan is densely populated. Food is scarce and natural resources are restricted. Unless some outlet for the population is found, the people at home must ultimately starve.

The "open door" in China and Siberia, advocated by Americans, is to be morally recognized and supported only when the other side of the Pacific Ocean is opened also. Of course, as a practical policy, Japan would not insist on this argument against the will and desire of the United States and the British Dominions, where the population is so scarce when compared with her own. She sees perfectly well that her power to convince, or to enforce it, is limited. But as to Siberia, Japan's policy had gone a little ahead. She wants Siberia opened to her commerce and industries as well as for the immigration of Japanese and Koreans. That is why the troops had been so long detained while her diplomats were negotiating with Bolsheviks, firstly at Dairen, and then at Tschau-Tschun, to attain these objects. They asked for the right of Japanese subjects to stay without hindrance and engage in business, and exploit natural resources—for instance, mining, fishery, forestry—which the Bolsheviks denied them. The whole policy of Japan failed in Bolshevik Russia, as the British policy failed there, partly because her diplomats were in a difficult position and the people, whose sons had been so long exposed in frozen winter in Siberia, had become impatient, and also because the Bolsheviks were totally irreconcilable. But the greatest cause of the withdrawal of troops from Siberia is probably that the expenditure on the expeditionary force had become so enormous that further increase was not only unwise, but impossible, especially when the great depression struck the market, and revenue was decreasing. Moreover, Japan, after all, had to fulfil her own pledge to withdraw the troops sooner or later (and it was better to do it sooner when there was no prospect of success).

The Japanese troops have left Siberia, but the vital questions remain. Should the whole territory, east of Baikal Lake, be left entirely in the care of Bolsheviks for an indefinite time? Should not her neighbours be allowed to give help which might improve the land for the general welfare? We Japanese deeply believe that misery, poverty,

famine, disorder, and brigandage will be rampant, and no prosperity will reign in Siberia so long as Bolshevism rule continues. Already "White" Russians have had to flee from their homes, which remained "White" until October, and became untenable as soon as the Japanese troops left Vladivostok and its suburbs. They have now been forced to seek shelter in Korea, Manchuria, and in parts of China and Japan. They went away to flee from torture and massacre by the "Red" Bolsheviks, only to find privation and famine in those foreign lands. They are indeed worthy of pity. The other day Lenin was jubilant when he told the correspondent of the *Observer* about Japan's withdrawal from Siberia, and it seemed all Russians shared his jubilation. But we Japanese will never cease from asking Russia to open Siberia for our people, our commerce, and industries. For the present we will only watch what the Russians can do to make Siberia prosperous and flourishing.

EXHIBITION SECTION

INDIA AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE EXHIBITION

BY DIWAN BAHADUR T. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARYA

(Commissioner for India for the British Empire Exhibition)

As many of the readers of this journal are probably aware, an Exhibition of the natural resources of the various countries within the British Empire, and of the activities, industrial and social, of their peoples, is to be held in Wembley Park in 1924. In the words of the organizers, the primary objects of the British Empire Exhibition are "to create an atmosphere favourable to more rapid and complete trade development, to show the wealth of our Imperial assets, the extent to which they may be more fully utilized, and to foster the spirit of unity which animated our peoples during the war. An adequate representation of the resources of the Empire and of the activities of its peoples will portray practically every branch of human industry. Such an exhibit cannot fail to attract the attendance of visitors from every part of the globe, and will present an unrivalled opportunity for bringing the Empire's products before a world audience."

The Exhibition is thus designed not only to stimulate the trade and industries of the component parts of the Empire, but what is perhaps even more important, to promote the mutual understanding and goodwill of their peoples.

This was eloquently put by Sir Robert Horne, late Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the following words:

"We want the people of the Empire to know each other more intimately—to understand each other's ideas; to appreciate how we all in our respective spheres live; what our objects are; what is our mental make-up; and to keep

constantly in touch with each other so that we shall never fail to understand each other, and shall never by any chance, if it can be avoided, come to controversies which are difficult of settlement."

The project was officially launched with the blessing of the Empire's greatest Ambassador, the Prince of Wales. Major Belcher, the Assistant General Manager of the Exhibition, has met with enthusiastic support wherever he has gone on its behalf—South Africa, Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand—which have all voted funds for the expenses of participation. Even little Fiji has resolved to have a court in the Exhibition, and has allotted the liberal sum of £15,000 to meet the cost. Most of the Crown colonies have taken up the proposal with enthusiasm, and there is every reason to believe that Canada will not be outdone by Australia.

Readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* will doubtless want to know what part India is taking in the Exhibition. In view of the great and honourable part which India's princes and peoples and India's armies played in the war, and the change in India's political status as a member of the Empire and of the family of nations which has followed the war, they will naturally expect that she will take no inconsiderable share in this Imperial project, and that her part in the victories of peace will be no less considerable than her part in the victories of war. And they will not be disappointed. India has not waited for Major Belcher's Empire Mission to declare her wishes. The Indian Legislative Assembly on March 25, 1922, resolved that India should participate on a worthy and adequate scale in the Exhibition, and requested the Government of India to adopt measures to give effect to this decision. And the Indian Government, in taking steps in pursuance of this resolution, have declared it to be their earnest wish that India's participation should be on such a scale that it will not only tend to the development of her trade, but also enable her to display her great resources and to demonstrate her right to take a place

among the nations of great industrial importance, and last, but not least, to prove on this unique occasion India's high position in the Empire.

The last great Exhibition in which India took part was the Franco-British Exhibition, held in the White City in 1908. Since then enormous changes have taken place in India. In 1908 India had Legislative Councils, but these were more in the nature of advisory and deliberative bodies than bodies invested with controlling power over the administration. The Governments in India were responsible to the Secretary of State, but not to any authority in India, and India had no place in the Councils of the Empire. All this has now changed. The Legislative Councils to a very large extent—and their sphere is daily extending—control the policy of the Government. The Government itself is now in many matters responsible to the Legislature. Fiscal autonomy has been granted to the Government of India. And India has now a recognized place in the councils of the Empire—witness the Imperial War Cabinets, the League of Nations, and the Washington Disarmament Conference. From a dependency India has grown to the status of a partner in the Empire.

Internal progress has kept pace with constitutional development. Several Provinces have now established a system of compulsory primary education, and the growing demand for higher education has been met by the creation of new universities. The means of communication have expanded, and trade and industries are growing rapidly. It is doubtful if the world outside India fully realizes the enormous changes that are taking place in India. The India of the palm-trees, of the immemorial villages, of the rice-field and the bullock-cart is familiar enough to the world, but the India of the ballot-box, of elected Parliaments, of mills and factories, is hard to comprehend. It will be one of the objects of the Indian Section of the British Empire Exhibition to bring home not only to people in England but to visitors from all parts of the

world, more especially the rest of the Empire, the great changes that have happened in India. By the adoption of the methods which make the exhibitions of to-day so much more attractive than those of fifty or even fifteen years ago, it is hoped to show to visitors to the Indian buildings at Wembley Park the New India as well as such of the old as survives. At the 1908 Exhibition as well as its predecessors, the Paris Exhibition of 1900, and the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886, the large bulk of Indian exhibits belonged to the Art and Handicrafts Section. The products of Indian handicrafts are often the results of skill and delicacy of handling inherited through ages, and are an attractive feature of any Indian exhibition, but their undue preponderance in an exhibition is apt to produce an erroneous impression that India has little to show in the way of large industries or industries of world-wide importance. An exhibition of this character is also likely to obscure the great progress that has been made in India in many departments of human activity. At the British Empire Exhibition, therefore, while this class of exhibit will receive due attention, it will not be allowed a monopoly, and the aim will be to put before the visitors other forms of Indian activity. The cotton mills of Bombay, the woollen mills of Cawnpore, the jute factories of Bengal, the iron and steel industry and the coal and other mining industries of Bihar, rice and wheat, the coffee of Madras, the tea of Assam, the coco-nut of the West Coast, the great irrigation colonies of the Punjab where the hand of the irrigation engineer has made the desert blossom as the rose, the railway and steamship services, the large range of Indian timbers, the salt of Madras and the Punjab, the gold mines of Mysore, the far-flung activities of the Educational Department, the progress in medical, sanitary, agricultural, and scientific research, will all be illustrated in the Exhibition. The visitor to the Indian section will not be allowed to go away with the impression that Benares brassware, Chennapatna toys, Surat lace, Moradabad art work, and

Madras palampores represent the last word in Indian progress.

At the last three Exhibitions I have mentioned, the Indian section was organized from London by the India Office. In view of the advance in political status of both India and its Provinces, it seems in accordance with the fitness of things that on the present occasion the Government of India and the Provincial Governments should in co-operation with the people of India take the initiative and organize the Exhibition. The lead has now been given by the Indian Legislative Assembly; and the Government in giving effect to its wishes have fully accepted the view that the Exhibition should be organized by India itself.

A question has arisen as to how the division should be made between the Central Government in India and the various local governments in the matter of showing exhibits. The problem was how to combine local initiative and work with co-ordinated effort. The solution arrived at is that exhibits relating to large industries and products of universal commercial importance, and the more important activities of Government which bear upon the development of the Indian nation as a whole, should be shown in a central court which will be occupied by the all-India portion of the Exhibition. Special arts and crafts, cottage industries, manners and customs, modes of living, special institutions and objects of interest from the historical and other points of view will be shown in separate provincial courts. These courts will be self-contained and will be set apart for each Province, though, of course, they would form a part of the whole Indian Exhibition. Such a division would, while facilitating enquiries of business men and serious students of Indian questions and things, be equally helpful to the general sightseer. The Indian States will also have separate courts wherever they desire to have them. A Commissioner for the Exhibition has been appointed in India to advise intending participants, to organize the central court, and to co-ordinate provincial effort.

The work relating to the Indian Section of the Exhibition in England is being attended to by the High Commissioner for India, with the assistance of the Indian Trade Commissioner and an advisory committee. The work is well forward. A fine site in Wembley Park has been selected, and architects and building and decorative contractors have been appointed. Designs of the Indian building are now ready, and when executed the building should be a handsome one of essentially Indian character which should appeal to persons familiar with Indian architecture. It may be added that the Advisory Committee have decided that as far as possible only Indian timbers should be used in its construction.

LONDON,

September 21, 1922.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Far East: "Beyond Shanghai," by Harold Speakman (Laurie); "My Chinese Marriage," by M. T. F. (Lane); "La Chine," Vol. II. (Pekin).

India: "Hindu Gods and Heroes," by L. D. Barnett (Murray); "The Future of Exchange and Indian Currency," by H. S. Jevons (Milford); "The Political System of British India," by E. A. Horne (Oxford Press); "The House Divided: England, India, and Islam," by Khwaya Kamal-ud-din (*Islamic Review*).

Near East: "The Balkan Peninsula and the Near East," by F. Schevill (Bell); "A New Translation of Omar Khayyám," by Jamshedji E. Saklatwalla (Luzac).

French Books: "Angora et Berlin," by Omer Kiazim (Édition Universelle, Paris); "La Cité de David," by Raymond Weill (Geuthner, Paris); "Un poète arabe d'Andalousie, Ibn Zaidoun," by Aug. Cour (Geuthner); "L'École Française d'Extrême Orient" (Hanoi); "Visions Solaires," by Constantin Balmont (Bossard, Paris); "Le Miracle Française en Asie," by C. Regismanset (Crès, Paris); "Histoire de l'Asie" (three vols.), by René Grousset (Crès, Paris).

COMMERCIAL SECTION

TRADE CO-OPERATION BETWEEN CHINA
AND GREAT BRITAIN

BY CHAO-HSIN-CHIU

(Chinese Chargé d'Affaires in London)

It may be thought not very felicitous that I choose this moment for writing on Trade Co-operation between China and Great Britain, in view of the fact that the year 1921 was quite one of the worst experienced in the commercial history of my country. Still, like most other countries which do not seem to have been much better off in this particular period, we probably touched the bedrock of our depression, and slow but steady recovery should now be possible, if all take advantage of the opportunity.

Great Britain has created an enormous trade field in China. In years gone by the opportunities were so numerous, the competition so insignificant, and the demand so great, that British traders held their own, and built up a vast industry almost without any trouble. Things are completely changing now. No doubt the loss of part of Great Britain's trade with China in the last few years was directly due to the war. On this the attention of everyone in this country had to be concentrated, and although there was a certain amount of export to China, just enough indeed to keep the British market in existence, the demand for imported manufactures was mainly filled by others. Since 1918 Great Britain has recovered something of the lost ground, but she has still far to go when it is recollected that in 1913 she imported 11,705,426 pieces of cotton goods, but only 3,489,093 pieces in 1921. Unfortunately the latter total was a heavy reduction on the imports even of the previous year.

It is, therefore, perhaps fortunate that the British manufacturers and merchants are beginning to realize the need

for exceptional effort if they are to hold their own and expand. Fortunately China is a country which permits of great trade expansion, and so there need be no question, for the present, of cut-throat competition to exploit an already crowded market. Few people realize that China can supply, and does supply, an unlimited quantity of raw materials needed in Great Britain in exchange for manufactured products. In 1921 the value of Chinese produce exported abroad was £118,841,914, and would have been a great deal higher but for the fall in the rate of exchange. These exports embraced scores of articles, such as bean cake, beans, wheat, china-ware, meat, coal, raw cotton, eggs (in every form), ground nuts, paper, silk, hides, tea, tobacco and wool. I merely quote a very few out of a very long list, and I do so to show that there is plenty of return trade for goods sent out to China.

There are, however, a few considerations I should like to urge in respect of trade between the two countries. China's economic door is always kept wide open. Its market may be competitive, but it is international. The development of trade with China will undoubtedly, to a great extent, help to solve the British unemployment problem, because this is an industrial country, and China, with a very few exceptions, only buys manufactured goods. To promote trade it is, of course, most essential to keep on good terms with China. Undoubtedly the United States have always recognized this, and their international policy as regards China has invariably been sympathetic. Great Britain, therefore, should play an increasingly active part in the Far East, and this should be done on unselfish lines. There is thus no doubt that the Americans have greatly benefited in every way in China by their return of the Boxer indemnity, and it may well be that Great Britain, sooner or later, will decide to follow this generous example. It would not surprise me, since the reputation of this country for chivalrous and sympathetic policy, when the circumstances dictate it is well known.

Assistance on these lines would undoubtedly be appreciated in China, where the difficulties of finance in the present period of transition are admittedly considerable. A spontaneous act of generosity would undoubtedly promote closer relationship and a better understanding between the two peoples, not merely because of the abandonment of the money claimed, but because in China there is, undoubtedly, much popular resentment at these heavy indemnity payments long after, so it is thought, all legitimate claims have been liquidated. It would, moreover, I think, improve trading relations if the same rate of duty were to be charged on China tea as is now imposed on Indian tea, though to create any decided improvement in this branch of industry I am afraid some essential reduction of the duty as a whole would be required. After all, the greater the market here for Chinese output, the greater the Chinese purchasing power for British goods.

To promote international trade far better knowledge of each other's produce is needed. Many Chinese products have never been introduced into the English market, and it would repay English merchants to send more representatives to China to make their own investigations and open up quite new lines of business. Conversely, many English goods have scarcely yet appeared in the Chinese market. Reciprocal action in both these directions would benefit mutual trade. It is also, to my mind, essential that more representatives of the manufacturers should go to China to learn the customs and habits, the usages and prejudices, the fashions of the day and what has become out of date. It is, of course, well known that many goods have to be specially adapted, both as regards manufacture and marking, to suit Chinese custom, but the time has arrived when a good deal more could be done in this direction. Traders are often a little too addicted to working on stereotyped lines without considering whether these could not be usefully modified or extended. English goods have always borne a good name in China, and so long as the standard

of production remains as high as it is, their popularity will remain unabated, though I am far from denying that cheapness is an important factor nowadays, and in this respect competition is exceedingly keen.

It would also benefit China, as well as Great Britain, if British finance and British engineering ability would interest themselves directly in the improvement of the means of transportation in China, since without this trade can never expand as it should do. It is, indeed, not too much to say that the pioneers of transportation work in China have always, directly or indirectly, benefited other branches of their own home trade. I therefore would urge that British capital should be invested in Chinese railway development, and other industries of a productive character. I do not think that in many cases—most cases—there will be any reluctance on the part of the Chinese to co-operate financially.

Remember that China has always fulfilled her obligations, and it is not too much to assert that she will never incur bad debts. I am quite aware that sometimes there have been deferred payments, due solely to local conditions of a transitional and temporary nature such as one now finds in China. Deferred payments in the case of China never mean default for an indefinite period. What China wants is financial aid, but it must never be forgotten that the country is solvent, that it is a rich country, that it has relatively light taxation and great natural resources. Hence it will never allow interference by foreign creditors, and I think British fairness will admit the justice of this attitude. In short, in dealing with China there must be a "square deal." China will appreciate and reciprocate it. Both countries need trade co-operation, since their activities are complementary, not competitive. I am glad, therefore, to think that there is an increasing disposition, both here and in the Far East, to realize our commercial interdependence.

China no doubt always appears to the Westerner to face

innumerable difficulties, but in the main they can be concentrated on finance. Perhaps there is an impression that the Chinese Government is wasteful and that it is piling up a large debt without much reference to the capacity of the people to bear it. The amount of debt arising out of unsecured loans per head of the population in China is one dollar, or about two shillings. In this country the debt is, I believe, between two and three hundred pounds. For this reason China is endeavouring, according to the Washington Agreement, to secure a $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. increase in the Customs, which would supply the Central Government, not merely with money to carry on administration, but to take in hand, which is essential, a scheme of financing out productive activities on a large scale. It is true that to make the present 5 per cent. Customs Duty effective instead of *ad valorem* is of great value, but it does not go quite far enough. A steady increase of revenue would enable the Chinese Government to undertake measures of economic development which are far too much delayed at the present time. This is noticeable, of course, in connection with the railways. We may need money, but also time in which to use it properly.

No storm-clouds present themselves so far as China is concerned in her foreign relations. An amicable arrangement has just been reached between Japan and China with regard to Shantung; Great Britain has decided, in accordance with the Washington Conference, to evacuate Weihai-Wei; the foreign post-offices in China will all be closed by the end of December—Great Britain closed hers on November 30, thus giving another proof of goodwill to China.

Chinese trade is steadily improving with all foreign countries, including Great Britain, though the latter has to make up a good deal of leeway which was necessarily lost in the war. I have always preached that it would help trade if more Chinese students could be encouraged to come to this country, and I note with pleasure that therein I have the goodwill and assistance of both Sir John Jordan and Sir Ronald Macleay, the new British Minister to China.

It is not as if these students would come here merely to study law and philosophy; we want them to study practical matters; we should like them to study such problems as railway construction and management, engineering, mechanics, mining and the like. To do this great goodwill is needed from the firms concerned, but I am quite sure that the value of Far Eastern trade ought to be enough to induce them to remember that if they train students, these young men will go home and undoubtedly influence business to pass through the channels with which they are personally familiar.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

To the Editor of THE ASIATIC REVIEW

SIR,—With reference to Lord Lamington's letter to you on the above subject, published in your last issue, I may note that in *The Times* of November 13, 1922, there appeared a very thoughtful article on "India as a Career." In a letter published in the same paper on the 21st, I ventured to say how thoroughly I agreed with the writer of the article; and how I wished I had the chance of beginning my career over again, even under changed conditions. But, as Lord Lamington very properly implies, facts must be faced; and, as his lordship says: "There lie before the Indian Civil Service difficulties and many forms of unpleasantness in the future." It is true those who take service now will have to work with, and often under, the sons of the soil, for the benefit of all; and they will have to battle bravely (but I trust good-humouredly) against the unreasoning hatred and baseless distrust of everything British, which have been so long inculcated by false patriots and unscrupulous agitators. The old Service may have had its faults and failings, as it certainly had its admitted and well-paid merits; but the new Service will be obviously wanted as pioneers to aid in preventing "the tyranny of all" (or of a self-chosen few) from becoming worse than the imaginary and remote tyranny of the much-abused bureaucrat; and also, as Lord Lamington puts it, to guide the destinies of the great Commonwealths "on the path of peace and goodwill." Before long, however, the Indian may not need the Briton at all; and there may be (as there is even now) a desire to get rid of him altogether. But the sensible Indian feels and knows (and the masses of the people faintly but firmly realize) that India still has need of unselfish British pioneers, "who seek neither wealth, gratitude, nor personal security," but simply desire to serve and save the land in "the biggest experiment in devolution ever attempted, and to weld East and West firmly together for the benefit of the whole world. But, as must be admitted, this kind cometh not save by long-suffering patience, kindly courtliness, and cordial recognition of the innate good qualities of the Indian peoples, whose whole-hearted confidence must be gained (or regained) by the employment and the services of the right type of man.—I have, etc,

JOHN POLLEN.

November 29, 1922.

NEAR EASTERN NOTES

By F. R. SCATCHERD

L. PRINCE HABIB LOTFALLAH

PRINCE HABIB LOTFALLAH, who has been staying in London on his way to Washington as the first Arab representative accredited to the United States, delivered recently a speech at a public dinner, and has given us the text, from which we print the following :

"The Nashemite Kingdom is now in a delicate position. The Allied Powers have entered into certain engagements, and treaties have been drawn up which, unfortunately, have not been executed. At the present day it would appear that the support of public opinion is needed in order to bring about the ratification of provisions which have been agreed upon and signed. Perhaps we should not be in the position in which we are at present if the agreements between His Majesty King Hussein and the British had been published at the time.

"Our claims then are the same as they are at present, and are based upon treaties. There are two matters which seem to have escaped the attention of the Allies—the Red Sea and the Treaty of 1915. The fact is that since 1915 so many treaties have been signed that this one seems to be forgotten, though it is really the basis of the others. Can it be true that history moves so quickly that the events of 1915, which made victory possible in the Near East, have been forgotten? All that we ask now is that the Treaty of 1915, which was signed in good faith at a time when the world had not yet lapsed into chaos, should come up for consideration.

"In a recent speech Mr. Lloyd George, when still Prime Minister, announced that France was going to renounce her claim to Cilicia, Italy to Anatolia, and Greece to Smyrna. At the same time we learn that the United States would not accept a mandate for Anatolia. We waited in vain for any mention of the Treaty which had been bequeathed to him by his predecessor, Mr. Asquith, for it was in the name of his Government that the Treaty was concluded with King Hussein.

"However, we hope that with the new Government in England a new era has also opened for us. In short, we hope that the engagements entered into in 1915 will be considered.

"I have often been asked what the attitude of the Arab Government is towards the present Conference which is dealing with matters in the Near East. My answer has always been the same—viz., that depends on the attitude which the Governments represented at the Conference take towards us.

"Another question I have been put is to define our attitude towards the Khilafat. The Khilafat Question is purely a religious question, and must be settled between Constantinople and Mecca.

"Now I should still like to say a few words about His Majesty King Hussein.

"He is sixty-five years old, in excellent health, and his energy is indefatigable. He must be numbered amongst those who were the most constant friends of the Allies during the Great War. His sincerity and loyalty are boundless. Having signed a treaty in 1915, he entered the war on the side of the Allies, and hopes that they for their part will respect their engagements. He has four sons: Emir Aly is the heir-apparent, Emir Abdullah governs Trans-Jordan, Emir Feisal is in Irak. The fourth son is Emir Zeid. They all respect him, as well as do Emir Ebin Elsaoud, and all the other Emirs of the peninsula.

"On the day, which I hope is not far distant, when the Allies entrust King Hussein with the organization of his realm and all the problems of local import, peace will soon be established.

"I consider that to be the only formula which can lead to a solid peace in the Near East."

II. THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE

"Lausanne's Christmas-box to the world is the freedom of the Straits," says the *Daily Express* (December 21, 1922), which summarizes the Allied plan thus:

An International Commission under the League of Nations, with a Turkish president to control the Straits.

Free passage for the merchant ships of all nations.

Warships up to 10,000 tons to have free passage in peace time.

Neutral warships of the same size to have free passage in war time.

Areas adjoining the Straits to be demilitarized. Constantinople garrison not to exceed 12,000.

America remains outside, not accepting the view that an international control commission under the League of Nations is the best means of preserving the freedom of the Straits.

The *Westminster Gazette*, commenting on the situation, points out that by agreeing to enter the League of Nations, Turkey has in effect chosen to come back to Europe as a European Power in friendly relations with other European Powers, rather than to remain an Oriental outpost of Soviet Russia, a view not essentially hostile to Russia. For although the Russian delegates have all along been hostile to the rest of the world, it is hoped "that Russia will soon see the wisdom of changing her policy, and the Allies the wisdom of making that change easy for her."

"The peace settlement, bad as it must be admitted to be in some respects, has at least neutralized one of the causes of previous wars, by setting free a number of nationalities. Their freedom, however, will not make for peace unless they will be content with it and begin to cultivate an international mind . . . the issue must be decided by the peoples themselves and imposed by them upon their leaders. 'International peace,' as Lord Grey said, 'can become secure only through the goodwill of all the peoples.' It is useless to do as the Greeks have done, to follow foolish statesmen blindly and enthusiastically, and then to turn and rend the statesmen when the inevitable catastrophe has been incurred" (*Westminster Gazette*, December 21, 1922).

From Greece little news has filtered through. Until the censorship is relaxed, no comment on internal affairs can be of value, but if it be true that the authorities are holding up humanitarian and educational activities as is implied by their rumoured action with regard to such centres of enlightenment as that presided over by Mr. Platon Drakoules and his devoted helpers, then the prospect is dark indeed and pregnant with disasters for the near future.

III. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Lord Robert Cecil has sent the following to the *ASIATIC REVIEW* for publication :

"The favourite charge against the League of Nations is that it is futile and impotent. That is the point on which the *Morning Post* combines with the worker, and Tchitcherin with Sir Frederick Banbury, and yet impartial observers of its actual proceedings are of a different opinion. The latest, and perhaps most striking, witness is Lord Chelmsford, for five years Viceroy of India, and before that Governor of Queensland and New South Wales. No mere dreamer, one would think, and this is what he says :

"When some few weeks ago I accepted the invitation of the Government of India to come here as the first delegate for India, I accepted it because I was ready and willing to serve India in any capacity in which it might be thought I might be useful ; but I am bound frankly to confess that I came here a profound sceptic as to the value and utility of the League of Nations. A fortnight's acquaintance, however, with the working of the Assembly and the Commissions has made me hope my scepticism was unwarranted.

"I found, in the first place, an atmosphere of general goodwill and desire to co-operate which it would be almost impossible to conceive of unless one was living actually in the middle of it, and I believe it is almost equally difficult to convey to those who are outside the League what that atmosphere of goodwill and co-operation is.

"I found, in the second place, the eminently practical handling of the subjects dealt with in the Assembly and in the Committees, a handling which gave the lie to the insinuations which are so often made outside, that the League of Nations lives and moves and has its being in an atmosphere of unpractical idealism.

"I found, in the third place—at least, I hope I have found in the third place—a sincere determination on the part of the countries which are members of the League to accept the resolutions of the League and to carry them out effectively and sincerely. These, it seems to me, are the three conditions precedent to success in the work of the League."

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

A HERO OF ASIA

BY STANLEY RICE

THE average reader brought up in the traditional view of the fierce marauders of Central Asia, who joined religious fanaticism to greed for plunder and the lust of destruction for its own sake, will hardly look to so unpromising a region for one of the world's heroes. Yet scientific history is gradually modifying our views. Tradition will prove in most cases to be broadly in the right; but just because the main outlines have been traced with a firm hand, there is a danger lest we lose sight of some of the secondary features of the picture, and, since the foreground is filled with a theme of blood and fire, concentrate our attention upon these without regard to the civic and artistic life which nevertheless was pursuing its quiet course. We have long ceased to regard Henry VIII. as a kind of royal Bluebeard, whose hobby it was to marry women at short intervals and to dispose of them alternately by divorce and execution; history is teaching us to beware how we regard the story of the nations as one long succession of quarrels and wars, dreary or dramatic as the case may be, and bids us consider the evolution of states, the progress of the arts, and the prosperity of the peoples as the main drama in which an occasional battle or victory is introduced as an episode. Modern research has justified the claim of Zahir-ud-din Muhammad as one of the world's heroes, fit to rank with Cæsar, Napoleon, and Frederick, as a conqueror and a consummate general, not unworthy of at least an equal fame as administrator and man of letters, and on the whole superior to all of them in general amiability of character. In considering the character of Babur apart from his dazzling military career (except in so far as this had an influence upon, and shaped the destinies of, the man), we must first get rid of the notion that Babur had anything to do with India or that he was in the slightest degree the product of Indian culture or Indian civilization. It would hardly seem necessary to emphasize this point were it not that by far the most glorious part of his adventurous career was the year 1526, when the fifth enterprise against Hindustan was crowned by

the decisive victory of Panipat, and, as we may well imagine, the vision of a kingdom in India on the model of Kabul, or, perhaps, of Samarkand, the earliest and most cherished ambition of the conqueror, broadened out into the dream of imperial power, immediately to be realized and to be firmly based in a dynasty which lasted up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the British broke the Mahratta power that had risen upon the ruins of the Moghul Empire. Babur's life was a short one, only forty-seven years in all, but before he was twenty he had crowded into his boyhood as much stirring adventure as would suffice most men for a lifetime. He had won and lost Samarkand; he had reached the zenith of his ambitions at that period and had fallen to the nadir of his fortunes. He was left naked and alone, practically in the hands of his enemies, from whom he escaped by a miracle, and by the age of twenty-one he had again risen to power in Afghanistan, there to remain for some twenty years. The Hindustani section of his life covered five years only, although in this dazzling period were gathered the ripe fruits from the tree of experience which had steadily grown throughout the long season of adversity.

Nor must we forget to examine what was happening in that part of the world which chose to consider itself the exponent of civilization. England, distracted by the Wars of the Roses, was passing through the period of reconstruction to the establishment of the Tudor dynasty. France and Spain were facing one another as rivals on the continent of Europe, with ambitions no less intense and armies more disciplined, perhaps, but hardly less ruthless, than those of these wild tribes of Central Asia. France under Charles VIII. had at the date of Babur's accession but just taken that fatal step of interference in Italian affairs which for so many years was destined to tear Italy in pieces and banefully to affect the tranquillity of Europe.

But Europe had at least begun to settle down into some semblance of national states. The oldest among them—England, France, and Spain—were by this time great consolidated kingdoms, and in the centre of the continent arose the powerful, if ill-knit, inheritance of the Hapsburgs. Germany and Italy, though disunited, were at least divided into well-marked princedoms and duchies. And above all the sun of the Renaissance had begun to rise. Great names in literature—Dante and Chaucer and Petrarca—belong to that splendid period of the revival of letters, and modern music was coming to the birth with Palestrina. Classical learning was revived and painting and sculpture were at the zenith of

their glory, for this was the age of Giotto, of Michael Angelo, of Donatello, of Titian, Tintoretto, and Giorgione.

Very different was the environment of Babur at his birth. The little principality of Ferghana, with the town of Andijan, was only one, and that by no means the most important, of the various unstable and ill-defined territories that were the constant prey of ambitious, warlike, or predatory chieftains. Nor was Babur to be distinguished from them. His greatest ambition was to be lord of Samarkand, and for a brief space he had his desire at the early age of fourteen. But such was the instability of these rapid conquests that within a year he was in danger of losing Andijan, and setting out to relieve it lost both capitals, for Andijan fell before he arrived, and while his back was turned Samarkand had slipped from his grasp.

War, war, and always war! That was the food upon which Babur's boyhood was nourished. As yet there was no hint of the man of letters, of the administrator, of the zealous son of Islam: he had no time for the first and no opportunity for the second, and his enemies were themselves professors of the religion of the Prophet. The mainspring of his life was "ambition for rule and desire for conquest," buoyed up by an unconquerable joy in the life of a man and an unquenchable belief in his own destiny. His energy was amazing and his resolution worthy of all admiration. "I did not sit at gaze," he says, "when once or twice an affair had made no progress." Once only did his courage fail him. He had been driven out of Samarkand; he had been abandoned by all but a faithful few. One by one these dropped away in the flight from sheer physical exhaustion, and Babur was left alone. Betrayed by two treacherous guides, he gave himself up for lost, and was saying a last prayer in the garden when——. We do not know what happened, but some god appeared out of the machine and Babur lived again to rule in Kabul and to conquer Hindustan.

And behind and beyond this dream of empire, this indomitable energy, this gaiety of spirit and even the Wanderlust which, as Babur tells us, impelled him from his earliest youth to adventure a journey into China, lay that strange æsthetic nature, steeped half in the worship of Nature and half in the sensuous pleasures of Art. The awakening seems to have come upon him with a passion for a boy in the camp. Like Werther, he became distracted by this shameful desire, and used to wander "bareheaded, barefooted through street and lane, orchard and vineyard." It was about this time that he began to write odd couplets of verse, trying his strength, as it were, in an art in which he afterwards excelled, for his life

was strangely compounded of poetry and battles, of stirring adventure and quiet odes, of strict orthodoxy and strenuous wine-bibbing. Fresh, as it were, from the execution of a malefactor and, perhaps, the massacre of prisoners, he would sit down to compose an ode in the best poetic idiom, for he prided himself, not without justification, upon the purity of his language; or from the reek of a battlefield or the rapture of a conquered town he would turn to contemplate the serene beauties of Nature and to comment upon the special qualities of the melons and grapes.

Was Babur a type or only a portent? For if he were but a portent he would hardly be worth our study. A portent begins in nothing and ends in nothing: it is a thing apart that admits of no deduction and of no comparison; it is a thing to move our curiosity and little else, as we pay our sixpence to see the Bearded Woman and forget about her five minutes later. Call this exaggeration if you will; the man Babur may, after all, be worth our study for his own sake, yet how much more worthy if the study of the type leads to a reconstruction of our views on Asiatic history. For the outstanding typical hero is he who with only the normal physical advantages does supremely well that which others can do moderately well. The hero is but the product of the age; he is the supreme expression of the normal in his own time, and it is because he is supreme in the normal that we recognize him as a hero, and not because he is abnormal. In that case, as was hinted above, he would merely be a freak. Shakespeare is the supreme expression of the literary normal in the Elizabethan age, and his genius naturally turned to the drama, the then predominant form of the literary art. We should be surprised if in an age of drama Shakespeare had written novels; we should be surprised if in an age of novels Scott had written dramas. Great men in any age seldom initiate a movement. Just as ladies' fashions change at the bidding of Paris, yet no one can say exactly how and when, so there is a movement astir in the age which itself produces the great painter, the great writer, and even the great soldier and sailor, and he in his turn invests that movement with a special glory and a special impulse. Beethoven is the normal descendant of Palestrina through many steps; he is the supreme outcome of an evolutionary process. He could not have appeared as the immediate successor of Palestrina, and if he had he must have been regarded as the lone star in the firmament, guiding no wise men, quite unlike, and therefore in no way typical of, the other luminaries at that season. As well might you expect to see the Southern Cross at the North Cape.

Let us, then, consider Babur rather as the typical expression of his age than as the portentous phenomenon born out of our time. For Babur was, in fact, the true descendant and countryman of Timur, who had swept Asia with fire and sword only a century earlier and had left little behind him save the abomination of desolation and ghastly pyramids of heads. Yet the Court of Samarkand was very far removed from the barbarism of Attila and his Huns. Although the ruling passion was ambition and the lust of conquest (and Babur himself seems to have been fired by the hope of emulating the deeds of Timur), yet religion of the fierce fanatical kind so often to be found among the early Muslims of Central Asia was not altogether without influence, and the more thoughtful and less turbulent of the Turkmans found recreation in the gentler arts of poetry and music. We can almost conjure up the scene: the luxury of the Court contrasting with the Spartan bareness of the camp; the chief, his armour just put off, reclining at ease in the finest silk of Samarkand, while the Court poet, like a later David, sang his praises to the strains of music, and the great nobles sitting round, critical and fastidious, quick to notice a false word, quick to appreciate a noble phrase. And all upon the morrow ready to set out upon some new foray, for it might well be said of such that

“ They drank the red wine through the helmet barred.”

Trade flourished. There were regular quarters established for its different branches throughout Samarkand, and “ the best paper in the world is made there,” says Babur, meaning by “ the world ” the world of his comprehension, just as European writers are inclined to write of Europe as the world and to claim for her the monopoly of the arts and sciences, or at least to treat all others as non-existent. The town was well laid out and adorned with fine buildings. Architecture was well advanced, for there was a monastery with a striking dome, and the mosque was decorated with mosaics. Astronomy was represented by an observatory, and the gardens here and elsewhere are the continual delight of the royal biographer. While Babur ruled in Kabul he found time to plant sugar-cane and bananas in the intervals of his raids or expeditions into Hindustan.

But the vein of savagery that ran through the texture of Timur was still to be found in the warring tribes of Central Asia, and his descendant in the fifth generation was not free from it. Orthodox Muslim though he was, for he had no mercy on the infidels, massacring them by thousands and

raising the typical Timuri pillar of heads to mark his victory, he yet fell into the prevailing vice of drinking wine and drinking it to intoxication. Many a man did the same in those days, most, perhaps, for pure animal love of the liquor, and a few from the sensuous delight of surrounding nature. On the way to Hindustan Babur and his companions floated quietly down the Kabul river, drinking and making verses the while. Yet all the time his conscience pricked him, and at last he swore that in his fortieth year he would drink no more. That was a heroic resolution for one who had fallen under the wine-god's spell, and heroically was it kept all the more, since during the last year of indulgence he drank furiously.

And then came Panipat and afterwards Kanwa. Mussulman and Rajput of India were broken before the impetuous onset, the disciplined valour and the consummate tactics of the invaders from Afghanistan. If we would really understand the Moghul Empire of India we should study these Memoirs of Babur, for just as they are the reflection of the conquests of Timur, of the turbulence, of the culture, of the vices, and of the elegancies of that age, so also do they to some extent explain for us the leading features of the Moghul Empire. As years went on no doubt the Emperors took upon them the peculiar impress of India; the kingdom became consolidated, the power was stabilized, and from the marauding chieftain, conquering to-day and vanquished to-morrow, the Moghul became the paramount prince before whom even the rising fortune of Sivaji some two centuries or more later had to bend in defiant yet diplomatic submission—a submission that was half compulsorily and half contemptuously yielded. In Jehangir and Shah Jehan we can see that love of architecture which was so characteristic of Babur, and which was expressed in many a noble building of the cities of Central Asia. In Akbar, worthiest of all, yet not perhaps more worthy than Babur, the great founder of the dynasty, we discover that broadmindedness which, if intolerant in religion, was yet ever ready to spare a vanquished foe. And finally we reach Aurangzib, the dark fanatic, the Philip II. of India, whose whole soul was so steeped in militant Islam that he could say to those who in despair were taking the symbolic corpse of music to the burial: "See that you bury it deep, that it may never again raise its head." Perhaps we misjudge even Aurangzib, so prone is history to paint in vivid colours, sombre or bright according to the subject. Yet we seem to see in Aurangzib all that was least lovable in the character of Babur—the insatiable ambition, the love of conquest that drove him restlessly from Andijan to Samarkand, from

Samarkand to Kabul, and from Kabul to Lahore and Delhi, and, finally, the fierce fanaticism that massacred the unfortunate people of Bajaur because they were unfaithful to Islam, and the dark ruthlessness that placidly sent a criminal to be flayed alive.

But we need not dwell on the less pleasing aspect of Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Babur. We should always remember that the age of the conquest of Hindustan was also the age of the thumbscrew and the rack, the Blood Council of Alva and the fires of the Inquisition ; and if we can point to the splendour of the Renaissance, let us not forget that in Samarkand, too, there were poets and musicians, unknown to us, perhaps unknown to later generations of their own people for want of an adequate chronicler.

" Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona,
Multi sed omnes illacrimabiles,
Urgentur ignotique longa,
Nocte, Carent quia vate sacro."

Boot and saddle, adventures which took the sweet with the bitter, were as the breath of the nostrils of these men, whose civilization was yet enough to produce music and poetry and architecture, the outward and visible signs of an æsthetic temperament. Few of them, however, could equal Babur. Poet, carouser, conqueror, humane and ruthless by turns, he was the microcosm of the age in which he lived. And we are fortunate, if we have eyes to see and imagination to discern, in that we possess in his unique Memoirs a reflection of the civilization in which he was brought up as well as the picture of the man himself. We prize them chiefly because of their humanity. The tale is told with all the artlessness of a simple nature. The massacres, the extermination of whole peoples, are told with less perturbation of conscience than the story of those wine parties, where men (and possibly Babur himself) were degraded to the level of beasts. Nor were those qualities wanting which endure in every age. There is no single incident which wins our admiration more than that perilous adventure through the snow, when the party had lost their way and the devoted band resolved to sacrifice food and warmth and comfort for the sake of their chief. We do not know which to admire most—the devotion of the band or the magnanimity of the man who refused such devotion, and chose rather to share the hardships and the perils of the adventure with his followers. Can Europe supply a more shining example? Are we still to speak of Oriental barbarity and Oriental despotism in face of such things? Are we so dazzled by the magnificence of the Moghul Emperor that we fail to

recognize the man. Perhaps, after all, if we examine the history of the times impartially and with a just comparison of Europe, we shall discover that here, too, was a civilization special to the Asiatic peoples, yet not inferior to the boasted civilization of Europe. Babur has had many admirers; but admiration must not stop with the man. He is rather to be regarded as the typical expression of the age, greater than others because of his consummate gifts, but heroic mainly because of his supreme humanity.

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

INDIA

AN INDIAN EPHEMERIS,* A.D. 700 TO A.D. 1799.

The monumental work of Diwan Bahadur, L.D., Swamikannu Pillai, bearing the above title, in seven volumes (£6 10s.), and extending over 3,000 foolscap pages, has been published by the Madras Government, and is obtainable in London from the High Commissioner for India. The first volume, which is a revised and enlarged edition of the author's "Indian Chronology" (1911), contains an exposition of the general principles of the Indian calendar system, while the remaining six volumes form a continuous day-to-day panchanga or almanac from A.D. 700 to A.D. 1799. (A separate work, which has been before the public since 1915, and which is now in course of re-publication, continues the Ephemeris from A.D. 1800 to A.D. 2000.) The main purpose of the publication is, as stated in the Preface, to assist epigraphists and historians in verifying ancient Indian dates. The reason for commencing the Ephemeris in A.D. 700 is stated to be the paucity of verifiable dates earlier than the eighth century A.D. While the author does not deny the existence of such earlier dates, he explains that the verification of any new date in the earlier centuries A.D. or in any century B.C. can be carried out by means of his Eye-tables, of which there are four, corresponding to the four principal Siddhantas—the Surya Siddhanta, the Arya Siddhanta, the Brahma Siddhanta, and the Siddhanta Śiromani.

The thoroughly practical character of the work is shown by the numerous examples given from epigraphical, literary, and historical records. In Volume I., Part II., the author has furnished over 1,500 verifications of South Indian dates as worked out by him with the help of the Ephemeris. Of chief interest among these is the work done by the author for elucidating the dates of the medieval Pandyas (A.D. 1130 to A.D. 1380), a period of 250 years which Kielhorn's "South Indian Inscriptions" left in a state of com-

* Published in six volumes by the Superintendent, Government Press, Madras. The Ephemeris for A.D. 1800 to A.D. 2000, which is a continuation of the present work, was published by the author for the Madras Government in 1915.

parative obscurity. The reigns of the Cholas, the Vijayanagar kings, and other South Indian dynasties on which Kielhorn was chiefly engaged are further illustrated in the present work, which incidentally throws fresh light on such old and vexed questions as the date of the Cochin Jews' Grant, and the date of the Kottai Vellalars in the Tinnevely district.

In a series of seven papers collected together in the appendix to Volume I. the author has given certain concrete instances of recognized first-rate importance, in which his method affords a complete means of chronological investigation when other methods were either admittedly incomplete or wanting in absolute proof. The first of these papers vindicates the character of the *Vedanga Jotisha* as a perfect calendar system which regulated Indian time for nearly 200 years before the epoch of Varahamihira (A.D. sixth century). The third paper in the appendix on the chronology of early Tamil literature bearing on the date of *Silappadhikaram* reproduces the first original contribution by the author to Indian literary research, to which is now added an even more important contribution, the investigation of the *Paripādal* horoscope to which the author has definitely assigned a date, June 17, A.D. 634. The results of the author's inquiry into the astronomical details in the Mahabharata and those furnished by the lives of the Ālvars, according to the popular accounts, are mostly negative, but the investigation by an expert hand of even spurious dates like these and of the legendary and semi-mythical Rama's horoscope is not without its value to the student of chronology. The author dwells a good deal on the value and utility of cycles of recurrence in chronological research, and the last paper in the appendix to Volume I., Part I., contains a summary of the results achieved by him in this direction. How far these methods will be used by other persons engaged in historical research it is not possible to predict, but the author has spared no pains in expounding all parts of his method in the clearest terms and in plain language.

It was fitting that a work patronized and supported from the first from the funds of the Madras Government should be devoted in the first place to illustrating the history of political, religious, and literary movements in Southern India from the earliest times which possess a definite though till now latent chronology, but the author has not lost sight of the main issues of Indian chronology as a whole. Thus he has furnished, for the first time, we believe, an accurate chronological interpretation of the dates of Burmese inscriptions from the twelfth to the seventeenth century A.D., and he has devoted over 60 pages of the text and 200 pages of the tables, or a total of 260 pages in all out of 650, to an original attempt to establish in a permanent basis what may be called universal planetary and eclipse chronology. His perpetual planetary almanac (Tables V.a and V.b and the related portions of Chapter V. of the text) is a novel idea, the object of which is to enable anybody who is not an astronomer to fix in one minute or less of time the geocentric place of a planet on any date however ancient or remote. How useful such an almanac is bound to be in chronological research will appear from the author's handling of Rama's horoscope, of the Chinese observation of a planetary conjunction between 2500 and 2400 B.C., of the star that led the Magi to Bethlehem, of the unique conjunction

of planets on September 14, A.D. 1186, one of the years when popular imagination stirred by astrology expected the end of the world to be imminent. For eclipses the author's method is simple but effective, although he admits the superior value of special works on eclipses like Oppolzer's "*Kanon der Finsternisse*."

It is a singular irony of authorship that a writer whose works have been eagerly bought by hundreds of practitioners and students of astrology all over India, and who is regarded in popular estimation as a living advertisement of astrology, should have himself not a good word to say for that science of glorious uncertainties. In assigning to Indian astrology a low place in the astrology of the world and in regarding it as a mere replica of Greek astrology he joins issue with many previous writers on the subject, although he is able to adduce as evidence on his side such authorities as the writer of the article on astrology in the "*Encyclopædia Britannica*" and Dr. Fleet and Burgess. Still it is evident that he has paid much attention to Indian astrology, and the student of that pseudo-science will not find a better exposition of lagna and yogna, and the aspects, conjunctions, lordships, and exaltations of planets than is to be found in the pages of "*Indian Ephemeris*."

INDIA AND HER PEOPLES. By F. Deaville Walker. (Published by the *United Council for Missionary Education*, London.) 1922. 2s. net.

(Reviewed by HARIHAR DAS)

This book has been apparently written for missionary study circles. The writer says in his Preface that "the book seeks to give such information as will create in the mind of the teacher a picture of India and her people," within the limit of 144 pages. It is the outcome of the author's flying visit to India in 1920-21. In the opening chapter Mr. Walker gives us a pen-picture of the Victoria Station in Bombay, with its great crowd, and other descriptions of his first impression, together with geographical features of the country. Then the writer proceeds to deal with the early history of India, but it is a mere compilation and exhibits no originality. In the chapter on "Modern India" his statement to the effect that "in 1599 Queen Elizabeth's Ambassador, Sir John Mildenhall, stood before the throne of the Emperor Akbar the Great" is followed by an imaginary description of the magnificence of the Court and marble halls at Agra. It has been recorded by several historians that Queen Elizabeth dispatched Sir John Mildenhall on a mission to the Court of the Great Mogul, requesting him to grant privileges to the Company she was about to charter, but there is no evidence in support of this statement. It is certain that this envoy never reached India, and the probability seems to be that the Queen's intention to send him was never fulfilled.

Mr. Walker's sympathetic accounts of the "Native States," specially of the Mysore State, is readable, and in his opinion people there enjoy complete "home-rule." He gives a lively sketch of a "North Indian City," from which he derived much of his information of Indian life by visiting some poor huts through the kindness of a lady medical missionary,

who proved herself such an admirable guide in showing Mr. Walker all that is interesting behind the *Purdah*. The author's estimate of Hinduism and its prevailing influence is not always fair and true. He has consistently striven to show the dark side of Indian religious and social life; whereas he is not altogether impartial in speaking of the Indian students, he says that the "majority of these come to England, and at the present time there are something like fifteen hundred in this country. Unfortunately their coming to the West is not an unmixed good, for they see a great deal of the darker side of a civilization that is far from Christian, and often have little or no opportunity of seeing the quiet beauty of the true home life of Britain." Mr. Walker has given Mr. Gandhi a high place in the estimation of Indians—no one can deny it.

There is a bibliography at the end of the volume which is neither very suggestive nor complete. We do not see that there was any necessity for writing such a book in these days of economy, when there is no dearth of books on India, as much more valuable and original works than this have been written for the better understanding of India by men such as Dr. Murdoch, Dr. Farquhar, and Mr. C. F. Andrews. Even their works do not adequately appeal to the soul of India. Perhaps the missionary readers would do well to get a catalogue of the Christian Literature Society for India, S.P.C.K., or of the C.M.S. publications, where they may find much that is useful. For a wider appreciation and real understanding of India we venture to recommend Mr. Walker's readers to get the works of Sir William Jones, Professor Max Muller, Monier-Williams, and Sir Edwin Arnold among early writers, and the works of R. C. Dutt, Sir John Woodroffe, and Sister Nivedita among modern writers on India. We cannot ignore the fact that Mr. Walker has written his book in admirable style for those for whom it is intended, and has shown a spirit which is so conspicuous in missionary literature. The book contains several illustrations, and the "get up" of the book is excellent considering its moderate price.

INDIA'S AWAKENING. By Wilfred Wellock. (*The Labour Publishing Co., 6, Tavistock Square, W.C.*) 1s. 6d.

(Reviewed by J. B. PENNINGTON, I.C.S. RETD.)

I have no idea what qualification Mr. Wellock may have for "stating the facts" about the Home Rule Movement in India, but am quite prepared to admit that he has made a sincere attempt to lay them before the British public, and he has certainly compiled a very interesting and useful volume which the powers that be would be well to consider very carefully.

He sets out with the idea of proving that the purpose of the new revolution is "to free India, and perhaps the whole world, from the materialism which threatens East and West alike"—rather a large order.

It is now almost exactly a century since Sir Thomas Munro, who knew his India perhaps better than any European has ever known it, laid it down that one nation could not govern another for ever; and from his day

to this the best officials and others have been trying to devise some form of self-government for India, without much success. Just now the question is whether the "Montford" scheme is a reasonable step in the right direction; it need hardly be said that it does not satisfy the extremists and their followers.

Mr. Wellock depends largely for his statistics on my friend the late Mr. Hyndman and Mr. William Digby (a very broken reed).

Part III, "The Spiritual Regeneration of India and the World," is too large a question to enter upon at the end of a short article like this, and is worth a separate notice.

WITH THE PRINCE IN THE EAST. By Sir Herbert Russell, K.B.E.
(London: Methuen and Co.) 1922. 10s. net.

(Reviewed by MARY E. R. MARTIN)

The author was Reuter's correspondent throughout the tour, and he presents to us in a series of charming vignettes the principal events of the Prince's tour in India, Burma, Japan, and other places. The series of photographs also serve to impress upon the minds of his readers the extreme picturesqueness of the various state receptions. Sir Herbert Russell has not minimized the political difficulties; he has given unstinted praise where praise is due, and the home reading public are afforded the opportunity of sharing with the Prince the wonders contained in India. There is not a dull line in the book, and we are taken at a rapid pace through the cities and places visited during the Royal tour. After Gibraltar, the next point of interest is Malta, proclaimed by the Prince to be a self-governing dominion.

The arrival at Bombay is described at length. Here, on account of political unrest, efforts had been made to persuade the Prince to abandon the tour, which he courageously refused to do, and he had his reward in the fact that amongst the crowd gathered to witness his arrival "not one note of disloyal utterance was raised." The author thinks that the riots at Bombay had no political significance, being mainly confined to the Byculla quarter of the city, a district of evil repute. Baroda was the first visit paid in Indian India, and here the magnificence of the reception was almost oppressive. Whatever other States might do, Baroda was not to be eclipsed! Udaipur came next, with its great welcome from city and villages. Owing to the indisposition of the aged Maharana, the ceremonial programme was abandoned. From Udaipur the Prince proceeded to Jodhpur, then Bikanir, always associated with the famous Camel Corps.

It is impossible in the course of a review to mention the distinctive features of each visit, for there must be, as the author says, "a certain sameness in all descriptions of Indian splendour, and yet, coupled with this, abundant variety of detail and setting." After Bikanir came in succession the visits to Bharatpur, Lucknow, Allahabad, Benares, Nepal, with its big-game shooting forming a welcome break to official programmes, and Patna, where the Acting Governor received him in the unfortunate absence of Lord Sinha, the only Indian Governor, owing to his retirement

caused by ill-health. Calcutta was determined not to be outdone by Bombay, even in the matter of illuminations, and provided a show of dazzling splendour, due to the "wide variety and artistic concord of coloured lights." The principal events here were the attendances at the Calcutta races, the meeting with the syndics of the University at Government House for the conferring of an honorary degree upon the Prince, the special entertainment on the *maidan*, the opening of the Victoria Memorial Hall, the unveiling of the War Memorial, and not least the visit to the enclosure on the *maidan*, where the Prince saw the poor of the city being fed and supplied with blankets.

The visit to Burma which comes next forms a great contrast to the strenuous time in India; the agitators fall into the background, and this must have removed a great mental strain from the Prince and his entourage. From Burma the Prince returned to South India, to the atmosphere of *hartalism*. At Madras he received a good reception on several occasions, though there was also a certain amount of rowdiness caused by an "infinitely small minority." At Bangalore, Indian India was entered once more, and at Mysore the Prince experienced again the usual course of Indian state hospitality and the spontaneous welcome of the entire population. From Mysore he went to Hyderabad, where the Nizam had prepared a reception on an elaborate scale, worthy of the first Muhammadan ruler in India. The Falak Numa Palace was placed at the Prince's disposal during his four days' stay at Hyderabad, a town which seems to have two special characteristics—namely, a mixed population and the formidable arms they carry! After Hyderabad came Nagpur, then Indore, where a very short official programme included the usual formal visits, a *darbar*, and a review at Mhow. The five days' visit to Bhopal and to its famous ruler, the Begum, must have been of special interest. Bhopal is the only State in India ruled by a woman, and she is a Muhammadan. The Begum made the Prince's visit the occasion of proclaiming her intention of introducing representative government to her subjects. The state ceremonial was limited in order to enable the Prince to enjoy the shooting at Kachnaria. After Bhopal came the visit to Gwalior, where the dazzling pageantry seems to have been eclipsed only by the Delhi *Durbar* of 1911. The Maharajah chose this time to have the King George Park, his gift to his people, opened by the Prince. Another great event was the review of the Maharajah Scindia's troops, many of whom had rendered such fine service during the Great War. At Agra the Taj Mahal was twice visited, and there were no official visits. In Delhi a curious condition of affairs was experienced, as the Congress Committee had cancelled plans for the *hartal*, yet the *basars* were closed and the proprietors did not scruple to flock out to see the sights. Here the Prince was introduced to the members of the two Houses of the Indian Legislature. At the Imperial *Durbar* fine speeches were delivered by several Indian Princes. The Prince laid the foundation stone of the new Kitchener College, the future Indian Sandhurst; and he also received an address from Mr. Gawai, Chairman of the Third All-India Depressed Classes' Conference. In this address was mentioned the need of raising these classes if India was to be

made really fit for Swaraj. Other events included the presentation of colours to the 16th Rajputs, the great banquet given by the Ruling Princes, and the Prince's visit to the People's Fête on the *maidan*, where he received a great ovation. At Patiala, through the thoughtful consideration of the Maharajah, there were few official arrangements. At Lahore the reception given the Prince by the thousands of workers belonging to the North-Western Railway at Mughulpura was "amazing in its spontaneous enthusiasm." The other great welcome was at the Mela. From Lahore to Jammu, further westward to Peshawar, was the famous Khyber Pass and Rawal-Pindi. This finished the Indian tour.

The Prince stopped en route to Japan at Colombo, Kuala Lumpar, and Hong-Kong. Yokohama was reached on April 12. The joyousness of the welcome accorded to the Prince in Japan must have reminded him of his Burma visit, which formed such a pleasant interlude during the strenuous time in India. Politically speaking, it was most important that the right impression should be given, and the Japanese soon found out that they could take the Prince to their heart, in a manner very different from the "sacred exclusiveness" which from time immemorial they had always associated with Royalty. The round of festivities in Tokio occupied a whole week, and amongst the most important were the gala performance at the Imperial Theatre, the review of the Imperial Guards Division, and the great Peace Exhibition at Uyeno. After paying a formal visit to Yokohama, the Prince visited some of the most beautiful spots in Japan, and finally took his leave of the "Land of the Rising Sun" on May 9, to commence his journey homewards by way of the Philippines, Labuan, Penang, Ceylon, Cairo, Malta, and Gibraltar, arriving at Plymouth on the afternoon of June 20. The welcome received by the Prince in his own country formed a fitting conclusion to a tour involving ceaseless labour from the date when it began on October 26, 1921.

One wonders on closing this volume what will be the ultimate result of the Royal tour. Will it lead to lasting goodwill on either side? Will the loving personality of the Prince be the symbol of the best Britain has to offer? From accounts published in a prominent weekly, one almost hopes against hope. Both sides are to blame, and one fears lest the preponderance of blame may not rest on this side of the water. One dares not minimize the difficulties, yet it is true that "what we bring to India of love and insight she returns fourfold." Let us help our Greatest Ambassador in the way he would like best!

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE HISTORY OF MAURITIUS, 1507-1914. By S. B. de Burgh Edwards, F.R.G.S. (*East and West, Ltd.*) 6s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR GRAHAM BOWER, K.C.M.G.)

To most of us the story of Mauritius begins and ends with the loves and sorrows of Paul and Virginia; but the island can show a history quite as romantic as that conceived by Bernardin de St. Pierre. For during the

four hundred years that have elapsed since Mauritius was claimed for the Crown of Portugal, it has seen Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English sovereignty. It has been the home of pirates, of shipwrecked seamen, of privateersmen; and has been governed by eminent statesmen, and mis-governed by men who were neither statesmen nor eminent. It is well that the story of this romantic island, *Stella clavisque maris Indici*, should be told, and it has been told, and well and simply told, in the little book that lies before us. The author deprecates criticism in a Foreword which acknowledges that his age is only nineteen. But the book is a careful compilation, which will serve as a useful *aide mémoire* to older men.

It might be made something more, for the history of Mauritius is a by-product of European convulsions or European politics. The Londoner may watch the rise and fall of Portugal or of Holland, the tragedies of the volcanic eruption that we call the French Revolution, or the long struggle between England and Napoleon; but neither the ordinary student nor the University professor can be said to have learnt the lessons of history until he has made himself acquainted with the effects produced in other continents. A volcanic eruption in South America may produce a tidal wave that will devastate a Pacific island, and a revolution or a war in Europe may affect the lives and liberties of people in the Indian Ocean.

For instance, we learn that in May, 1793, a Jacobin club was formed in Mauritius; that in April, 1794, it arrested the Governor of Bourbon and sent him to prison, and that those Jacobins who called themselves "La Chaumière" erected a guillotine, but that on learning of the fall of Robespierre their terrorist "zeal" suffered a check, for the Colonial Assembly ordered the dissolution of "La Chaumière" and deported thirty of its most dangerous leaders.

But even in war and revolution there are intervals when our better nature comes to the surface. For instance, we read that on August 16 the body of the Count de Malartic, the beloved Governor of Mauritius under the *ancien régime* and the Republic, was brought to its provisional resting-place in the Champ de Mars. The Commander of the British blockading squadron asked under a flag of truce to be allowed to attend the funeral. The request was granted, and his ships came into harbour, hoisted their flags at half-mast, and fired minute-guns in honour of their dead enemy. Nor was this the only act of chivalry and courtesy that Mauritius witnessed during the war, and we may hope that in another edition Mr. Edwards will find space for some of these incidents—as, for instance, the hospitality shown to the wife of the Commander of the blockading squadron by the Count de Malartic.

For the history of Mauritius is mainly a history of three great men—of Labourdonnais, of Malartic, and of Decaen. All of them men of resource, of the highest patriotism, and of sane and wise judgment.

That the island should eventually fall to the strongest sea Power was inevitable, but the efforts of the heroic servants of a dying régime are full of political instruction. Political organisms, whether kingdoms, republics, or empires, die from heart failure: the branches are often healthy when the tree has rotted at the root.

It is hypercritical to notice slight errors in such an admirable little book, but we suggest to Mr. Edwards that in a future edition he should correct the following *lapsus plumæ*: On p. 35 he says that a revolver was fired at Baco, the agent of the French Directory. But revolvers were not in use in the year 1796. On pp. 40-41 he tells us the notables of the island asked the favour of acting as step-parents to General Decaen's child. Surely this should be "god-parents" or foster-parents! Then on p. 103 he tells us that the Council of Government by a very small majority asked for the appointment of a Royal Commission. But if he looks at the votes and proceedings he will find that the request was voted unanimously.

These, however, are spots in the sun. The book is an admirable compilation, which could with advantage be enlarged so as to include some of the many romantic incidents and deeds of heroism that Mauritius has seen.

The little acts of courtesy between French and English during the Great War are creditable to both, and for that reason alone should be preserved; but they are still more valuable to the historian, for the acts of courtesy which were at one time incidental to all civilized warfare facilitated the re-establishment of friendly relations after the signature of the Treaty of Peace.

But these were days when propaganda had not been developed to the perfection it has since attained. How few of us were allowed to know that at the Dardanelles the Turkish batteries ceased fire to enable the British destroyers and torpedo-boats to rescue the crews from the sinking battle-ships. The picture of the two wounded captains, French and English, being nursed to convalescence in the same room and the friendship established between them would have been cut out by the propagandist; but such incidents and the mutual knowledge of such incidents helped to the re-establishment of friendly relations, and laid the foundation of a peace that has lasted 107 years. They survive in the cordial acquiescence in British rule by the French colonists of *l'ancien Île de France*.

THE GOLDEN BOUGH. By Sir James Frazer. (Macmillan.) Abridged edition. 18s. net.

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE)

"The Golden Bough" is not a book, it is an institution. To attempt to review it in detail would be almost as great an impertinence as to attempt to review the "Encyclopædia Britannica." For it has those three qualities so rarely contained in books—that it is at once a delight to read from cover to cover, a solace and a recreation for a spare half-hour, and a continual treasury as a work of reference. But the size of the original book—twelve volumes in all—as well as its price make it difficult for the average man to add it to his library; and everyone knows and has felt the difference between taking down a book from his shelf and borrowing from a public library. Sir James Frazer has done more than well in deciding to publish the work in an abridged edition; he has laid the public under an obligation, and our thanks are also due to Messrs. Macmillan for the enterprise. It is true that even in its reduced form the book is not cheap, but no one can say it is not value for money.

For "The Golden Bough" is not a book for the anthropologist alone, though a careful study of it and the application of its principles may often serve to explain curious customs amongst uncivilized folk, which seem at first sight to be founded on nothing better than caprice, or to have grown up insensibly no one knows how. Take a case in point. In a recent work on the Lhota Nagas of Assam, published under the auspices of the Assam Government, there occurs, not once, but many times, a reference to the enforced chastity of men about to engage on some enterprise, whether of war or hunting or fishing or of some ordinary process of agriculture. The author does not attempt to explain this phenomenon, he simply records the fact. But Sir James Frazer, with his usual wealth of illustration, has drawn upon all parts of the earth to show that this custom prevails in many places and for divers reasons. "An examination," he says, "of all the many cases in which the savage bridles his passions and remains chaste from motives of superstition would be instructive." "The Golden Bough" thus gives to the student of folklore and superstitious customs the opportunity of applying to any given case the principles established by the distinguished author.

Nor is the advantage confined to the anthropologist. It may be said in all seriousness that no theological library is complete without this volume. The Church may hold to its traditions, and to ecclesiastics of a certain kidney it may seem almost sacrilege to dispute some of those incidents which have been as it were incorporated with our childhood, and yet it would be mere bigotry to ignore what Dr. Frazer has to tell us concerning such matters as the origin of Christmas and the doctrine of the Virgin Birth. So wide, too, is the net thrown that students of ancient literature can find instruction in contemplating the conclusions upon such legends as the myth of Adonis or Attis, as Osiris and the gods of Egypt.

It is a book that no library should be without. Especially should it be welcome to readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW, who from the probable course of their lives have been thrown into contact with things Asiatic. For if it is to Asia that we go for our religions—for all the great religions of the world—it is largely upon Asia that Sir James Frazer draws for his illustrations of the numerous customs and superstitions. Indeed, if one can quarrel at all with so much learning, it would be on the ground that evidence is piled upon evidence to an extent that almost bewilders the reader, who in the course of a single page travels from Borneo to Peru, from Peru to New Guinea, and thence, perhaps, to Bavaria or to some remote province of Russia.

RUSSIA TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW. By Paul Miliukov. (*Macmillan.*)

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE)

Those who have taken a prominent part in great movements, and who, feeling strongly, express their opinions upon them, have this advantage over the onlooker, that they speak with intimate and detailed knowledge, and this disadvantage, that they cannot be wholly free from prejudice. M. Miliukov's book exhibits both very plainly. No one, perhaps, is better qualified than he to analyze the causes of the Revolution or to forecast the future, and his readers cannot but be impressed by his insistence upon the

forces which go to make up the character of the Russian people and which have played so large a part in moulding the Revolution into its present shape. At the same time one cannot resist the notion that M. Miliukov, who belongs to the Constitutional-Democratic Party, "through all four Dumas . . . in opposition to the Tsar's Government," has taken a somewhat sombre view of the pre-Revolutionary proceedings, and has painted the Bolshevik Government in colours which, but for his own political views, might have been less black. There is, for instance, very little allowance made for the general state of Europe after the War, and if the decline in trade, the chaotic condition of the currency, and the general prostration of Russia can be charged to the Bolsheviks, it is only fair to remember that no continental country directly engaged in the War can be said to be quite free from the danger of economic collapse, and those violent convulsions such as occurred in Russia, where the wheel has gone full circle from the most absolute autocracy known to Europe to the greatest experiment yet tried in mob-rule, or can expect to escape entirely from the dislocation of finance, of trade, and of all that tends to the smooth working of society.

Nevertheless, when all is said and done, when allowances have been duly made for the partiality of the writer and for external factors, the ruin that the Bolsheviks have wrought is appalling—and the root of it lies in the destruction of all confidence. The system, if system it can be called, is an unorganized travesty of government, a clumsy compromise between the dictatorship of the proletariat and a recourse to the capitalist, who is, however, reminded that he is merely a tool to be thrown aside whenever it suits his masters. You cannot expect the foreigner to trade upon such terms. When there are no laws there are no courts of justice; when there are no rights of property there are no means of asserting such rights. If the sole basis of government is the entire subjection of the individual to the State, it follows that there can be no confidence, and therefore no credit as between man and man.

Many have been the prophecies that the Bolshevik régime was tottering to its fall, and every time they have been falsified. But M. Miliukov still thinks that the "Bolshevist stage of the Revolution is coming to a close," and he bases his conclusion upon "the economic exhaustion and the attitude of the population towards the present power." It is not the proceedings of the refugees, who correspond to the émigrés of France in 1789, that will bring about the change; it is rather the refusal of the peasantry to submit any longer to a tyranny which is proving itself more intolerable than ever was the Tsarist régime or the excesses of the "White" deliverers. Observers have noticed a tendency to break through the "senseless barriers" put up by the Soviet Government and to revert to a system under which men can trust one another, and there is a real and healthy incentive to work. For Bolshevism as painted by M. Miliukov—and with reservations there is no reason for refusing to accept the picture—is a travesty of government, a caricature which, if it were not so tragic, might have served as a subject for Gilbert. M. Miliukov's pages are illuminating: let us hope that he is right and that the dark hours of Russia's night will soon pass into the dawn of peace and prosperity.

POETRY SECTION

WOMEN AND THE CHINESE POETS

BY T. BOWEN PARTINGTON

RECENTLY there was translated some Chinese poems by Mr. Waley, of the School of Oriental Studies, and his translation has aroused great enthusiasm for Chinese poetry both in America and England. The *Times Literary Supplement*, in an enthusiastic leading article, entitled "A New Planet," suggested that "as Europe at the Renaissance found its future in the literature of ancient Greece, our poets to-day may find their future in the poetry of ancient China."

Chinese literature is a rich mine, and contains a mass of diverse materials. It requires an active imagination and a keen intellect to discover uniformity in its diversity, for Chinese writers were never what one calls scientific. There is nothing definite or precise to be said about their doctrines, but they make revelations to you, if you only have the power of understanding and appreciation. Chinese poets hardly ever concern themselves with the theory of poetry; their chief principle is that as literature is the vehicle of truth, poetry should be an instrument for conveying ultimate truth—that is, the truth that would purify the character and exalt the soul. This may be called the orthodox theory, which has been set down by Confucius, and has been handed down to the present day. It is clearly defined by one great Chinese writer in the following words:

"The function of poetry is to express one's feelings, but not passions; to give voice to one's aspiration, but not desire."

Confucius has been the father of Chinese poets, looking after the manner of their poetry, but is it not a question whether they are always obedient children? When they write indecent dramas, they publish them anonymously. Thus you find famous Chinese dramas or novels with the names of the authors unknown. The Confucian system of teaching is a philosophy of moral utilitarianism. You must not do anything or say anything which is not edifying to the moral sense of the people.

This principle has a strong hold on the Chinese poets. Their attitude towards poetry is clearly described by Mr. Waley. In commenting on Po Chu-i, one of the great

Chinese poets, he says: "Po expounded his theory of poetry in a letter to Yaun Chen. Like Confucius, he regarded art solely as a method of conveying instruction. He is not the only great artist who has advanced this untenable theory. He accordingly valued his didactic poems far above his other work; but it is obvious that much of his best poetry conveys no moral whatever. He admits, indeed, that among his miscellaneous stanzas many were inspired by some momentary sensation or passing event. 'A single laugh and a single sigh were rapidly translated into verse.'"

This is a European's view of this great Chinese poet, but it is quite correct. Nearly all Chinese poets adopt the same attitude.

Confucian principles, powerful as they are, can only affect Chinese poets in their idealistic aspect of life, while the realistic remains nature with them. They are realistic idealists and idealistic realists, if I may use such a phrase. "They have ideas, but ideas have not made them blind to things; rather they see things more vividly in the light of ideas," as the writer of "*A New Planet*" suggests. Their idealistic side is invariably seen in their poetry; their realistic side can only be found in their daily life. You cannot judge them by studying one side of them only—this makes the less imaginative English critic draw wrong conclusions in his criticism, while to the best critic it is a puzzle. And there is nothing more puzzling to them than the attitude of Chinese poets towards woman—that is, their attitude towards sex love.

One European critic has said that "to the European poet the relation between man and woman is a thing of supreme importance and mystery. To the Chinese it is something commonplace, obviously a need of the body, not the satisfaction of the emotions." He further affirms that it has been the habit of Europe to idealize love at the expense of friendship, and so to place too heavy a burden on the relation of man and woman. The Chinese erred in the opposite direction, he states, regarding their wives simply as instruments of procreation.

This is utterly false, and the critic has failed entirely to interpret Chinese ideas through their poetry. But what made him so fully to misunderstand the Chinese poets? It was because the Chinese poets are not out-and-out realistic—at least, in their poetry. Such love poems as you read are symbolic; no realistic love poems are to be found among them. Therefore he was led to imagine that the Chinese poets do not make love, and that their love poems are all conventional—because they do not exhibit their

passion or desire, because they do not analyze or enthuse about their emotion :

"I turn back and look at the empty room ;
For a moment I almost think I see you there,
One parting, but ten thousand regrets ;
As I take my seat, my heart is unquiet.
What shall I do to tell you all my thoughts ?
How can I let you know all my love ?

* * * * *
All I can give you is a description of my feelings."

After all, what is love ? It is a question which has puzzled the profoundest philosopher. It cannot be proved—of course, nothing worth proving could be proven. It is said that "love is blind." You may call it the "blind theory of love." Well, to make love is to play with your passion or emotion or sentiment—in Meredith's words, to "fiddle harmonies on the strings of sensualism." These harmonies generally shape themselves into the form of love poetry. Thus a sweet smile, a gracious glance, a soft kiss—

"Her goodly eyes like sapphire shining bright,
Her forehead ivory white.
Her cheeks like apples which the sun had rudded,
Her lips like cherries charming men to bite,
Her breast like a bowl of cream uncruddled.

* * * * *
Her snowy neck like to a marble tower,
And all her body like palace fair "

are all strings on which you would fiddle until your emotion is satisfied or has died down.

"Was this the face that launched a thousand ships,
And burnt the topless towers of Ilium ?
Sweet Helen, make me immortal with a kiss—
Her lips suck forth my soul ; see where it flies !

* * * * *
Here will I dwell, for heaven is in these lips."

What exquisite harmonies are produced by these strings—the kiss and the lips of Helen—through Marlowe's fiddling. If you deny the truth of them you deny the function of poetry. But just ask—Is there actually heaven in these lips ? You lost your soul in your passion ; but you say her lips have sucked it forth and fled away. Such as the above is the general trend of European love poetry. The Chinese, however, would not pretend to be like that. They pose as if they were above such frivolity—certainly they are above it in their poetry, because Confucius tells them not to be

frivolous. Accordingly they value ultimate truth higher than the momentary satisfaction of the emotions. They place the claim for the satisfaction of the soul on one side of the scale and that of the senses on the other—and the former always seems to weigh heavier in the kingdom of their poetry. In their actual daily life they are actually jolly good fellows. They can and do appreciate what you call the "soft torment, the bitter sweets, the pleasing pains, and the agreeable distress," as does everybody else. But they do not make a fuss about them in poetry; they enjoy them in the quiet light of daily life, not in the searching glare of poetry. In their poetry love is symbolic: the harmony of the soul. Here is a poem written by a Chinese general to his wife:

"Since our hair was plaited, and we became man and wife,
The love between us was never broken by doubt,
So let us be merry this night together,
Feasting and playing while the good time lasts,
I suddenly remember the distance that I must travel;
I spring from bed and look out to see the time.
The stars and planets are all grown dim in the sky;
Long, long is the road; I cannot stay,
I am going on service, away to the battle-ground,
And I do not know when I shall come back,
I hold your hand with only a deep sigh;
Afterwards, tears—in the days when we are parted.
With all your might enjoy the spring flowers,
But do not forget the time of our love and pride.
Know that if I live, I will come back again,
And if I die, we will go on thinking of each other."

Can anyone detect any passion in these lines? In circumstances like this, one would expect to see them kissing and embracing, but this does not happen in the poem. They probably did so, but the poet would not put that into his poetry. The absence of kisses and embraces in Chinese poetry make some think that the Chinese have no emotion, and in the above poem, for instance, the general regards his wife simply as an instrument of procreation.

But in fact, if you read some Chinese novels or such poems as cannot bear the searching light of Confucian principles, you will find the Chinese are as love-blind as any European. I remember a number of verses that are probably more realistic than even the most extravagant English love poetry. They are too delicate to be tackled here, and one can hardly render them into English without losing their poetical effect.

One distinction I am tempted to draw between the European and Chinese in their attitude towards women. The Chinese considers the passion and feeling of the woman more than his own, whereas the European values his own emotion more than that of the woman. To the Chinese, the woman really becomes a being superior to man; he admires her because she is angelic to him. To the European, the woman is angelic simply because he admires her, because her beauty has aroused his emotion. The European poet tends to exhibit himself in a romantic light; in fact, to recommend himself as a lover. The Chinese poet has a tendency different, but analogous. He recommends himself as a friend.

Why does he recommend himself as a friend, but not as a lover? It is because he is concerned less with his own passion or emotion than with that of the woman; because he holds her in higher esteem. It is not that he is less romantic. In fact, his view of woman is as fanatical as that of the European.

The author of one of the most brilliant Chinese novels—of which Professor Giles, Professor of Chinese at Cambridge, gives a good account, and many of the poems of which are rendered into English in his "*History of Chinese Literature*"—describes his hero in the following words:

"He was a bright and clever fellow and full of fun, but very averse to books. He declared, in fact, that he could not read at all unless he had a fellow-student, a young lady, on each side of him to keep his brain clear, and, when his father beat him, as was frequently the case, he would cry out, "Dear girl! dear girl!" all the time, in order, as he afterwards explained to his cousins, to take away the pain. Woman, he argued, was made of water, with pellucid, mobile mind, while men are made of mud—mere lumps of un-informed clay."

Such is the author's notion of woman—of course, just a bit of sentimental rubbish. Yet this book is widely read and admired by Chinese scholars. It was published under a false name, though the author is known to many. But it shows that the Chinese poets know how to play with their emotion as fancifully as any English poet. And I am inclined to say that they play in a rather refined manner. If they do not write sentimental love poetry, it is because they refrain from doing so on principle, not because they cannot appreciate the "satisfaction of emotion," still less because they hold women—as European critics assert—as "mere instruments of procreation."

EDUCATIONAL SECTION

THE INDIAN STUDENT*

BY JOHN POLLEN, C.I.E.

It may fairly be claimed that it was mainly owing to Sir Charles Elliot, then a Member of the E.I.A. Council, that some amelioration in the conditions surrounding the Indian student in 1907 was attempted.

Unfortunately, other counsels prevailed, but had his advice then been taken there would perhaps have been no necessity for the committee over which Lord Lytton lately presided, and which is the subject of this review. In effect all that the latter committee ultimately recommends is the abandonment of most of the conclusions of its predecessor, and the graceful closing of the well-meant, but unfortunately somewhat official, Hostel at 21, Cromwell Road. Virtually Lord Lytton's committee now proposes to follow the course which the East India Association originally ventured to suggest, and that course is that (as in the case of other students) the care of Indian students should, where needed, be entrusted to private friends and institutes without the shadow of any official or quasi-official organization whatever! Years ago it was found that, rightly or wrongly, "officialdom" had become in the eyes of the Indian student a "deadly taint," and that, for some reason, or no reason, the India Office had become for them a thing to be avoided. This attitude was certainly one to be deplored, and every effort was made to remedy matters and restore right

* Report of the Committee on Indian Students, 1921-22 (dated September 14, 1922), and the Report of the Indian Students' Department, 1921-22.

feeling. But distrust and suspicion, once created, are not easily overcome, and with the unwise suppression of the Lee-Warner Report these feelings increased, and the advisory committees and other measures devised and sustained by the India Office became more and more unpopular amongst certain classes of Indian students. These, like British collegiate youths, probably expected their undergraduate days to be the freest and most unhampered in their lives, and were therefore intolerant of control of any sort or description whatever. Long ago much of this was foreseen, and with the encouragement of Sir Henry Sumner Maine, Sir Lepel Griffin, and other kind friends who knew India and understood Indian students well, Dr. Leitner—the Principal of the Lahore College and a Member of the East India Association—established a guest-house for Indians at Maybury, and founded an institute there. For some time this scheme went well, but subsequently (it is said from want of due support) it fell through. Indian students, however, still continued to come to England, and I was able to testify from personal experience that Homesh Chunder Dutt, Bihari Lal Gupta, and many who went up for the open competition in 1869-71 and in subsequent years, were steady, hard-working students, and that better-behaved sons no parent could desire to have.

Later on, in subsequent years, I was able to assert from personal observation that, on the whole, the tone of the Indian students at the Temples was in every way worthy of the best traditions of the ancient Inns. Most of the Indians met there were "self-respecting youths who expected to be respected, and were respected, by their fellow-students." Some were certainly not free from what Lord Ampthill calls "the fantastic ambitions of youth," but Mr. Thorburn has rightly contended that "every broad-minded and reasonable Englishman must sympathize with the reasonable aspirations of their Indian fellow-subjects"—and many of the aspirations of these Indian students were reasonable enough, and commanded sympathy. This was true of the students on the whole, but there can be little doubt that, in some cases,

immature youths from India were compelled, both to their own and their parents' loss, to come over to England—

- (1) To get called to the Bar ; or
- (2) To get into the Civil Service ; or
- (3) To obtain proper technical and commercial education in Great Britain for business careers.

This ought not to have been so, and Lord Lytton's committee has done well in giving prominence to the necessity for the adoption of remedial measures in India, and more especially in expressing approval of Lord Haldane's suggestion with regard to the desirability of establishing an Indian Bar in India itself. The establishment of such a Bar is one of the crying wants of the Great Peninsula, and there can be little doubt that provision for such a Bar should have been made long ago.

It is, however, true that the whole elaborate and expensive English judicial system was suddenly imposed by the self-satisfied West upon the reluctant and unprepared East, and there are many who even now hold that the complicated and extravagant High Court and Civil Court systems, with their horde of barristers and "hungry scriveners" (though comparatively harmless in the big towns), are quite unsuited to the vast country-side and to rural India. But, be that as it may, it must be admitted that it was, and is, quite unnecessary, and even a great mistake, to compel the youth of India to come over to this country to qualify at the Inns of Court, in order chiefly to take precedence over men who, as pleaders or vakils, know more of the laws and traditions of their native land than English barristers, and who are more intelligible in all courts (except in the High Courts, where English judges of the ordinary barrister type have never taken the trouble to learn the language of the land). Further, in common fairness to India, it must be admitted by all clear-minded critics that simultaneous examinations and the highest technical and commercial training and education ought to have been provided in India itself long years ago. Had such reforms been introduced earlier, India's sons would not have been compelled to

hurry over to England or abroad in the way they have done, and the need for India Office interference, and for the official "Lee-Warner" and the present "Lord Lytton" committees, with their long reports, could hardly have arisen. But, things being as they are, the great question is, What should now be done? And it would seem that in all the circumstances of the case the various Governments of India cannot do better than follow strictly the suggestions of Lord Lytton's committee. The members of this committee are quite right about the folly of attempting the resuscitation of the somewhat futile advisory committee. Such a committee is no longer required, and the High Commissioner himself, as the servant of the Indian peoples, should be amply able to see to the interests of the students, and to attend to all those persons whom he directly and indirectly represents, just as other High Commissioners for Dominions do.

If grants-in-aid are necessary, he can get them from the proper sources, and can obtain all needful information and directions from the Indian Legislatures who are responsible to the Indian communities. The India Office itself should not, of course, be called upon to interfere in any way as of old. Hospitality and entertainment should, as Lord Lytton's committee very properly advises, be spontaneous and independent; and private friends and Indian parents and guardians, in unison with Indian universities and the High Commissioner's office, should be left to negotiate, when necessary, directly or indirectly, with universities and training colleges and trading or manufacturing concerns in Great Britain or her Colonies or elsewhere. As long ago as in 1908 it was foretold by speakers at a meeting of the East India Association that any movement to bring Indian students even indirectly under the seeming control of the India Office would be a mere "mechanical remedy" for the evils then feared, and this view has been amply confirmed by the conclusions and recommendations of Lord Lytton's committee. They took far-reaching evidence on the subject, and held meetings at universities and colleges in all parts of the country, and even dipped, in a fragmentary

manner, into India itself, and consulted all kinds of representatives (as the voluminous evidence attached to their report indicates), and their conclusions, although termed by themselves "tentative," ought, in the interests of all concerned, to be regarded as final. Amongst other things, it is pleasant to note that the committee cannot support the allegations that race prejudice against Indian students is at all general in the United Kingdom; but at the same time that they recognize the obligation of Government to assist Indian students to secure admission to British universities "so long as the methods or conditions of recruitment to the Indian public services involve any necessity for study outside India."

Indeed, from a report we have just received, dated July 26, 1922, on the Indian Students' Department for 1921-22, submitted for the information of the High Commissioner, it would appear that Government had in some measure already anticipated some of the recommendations of Lord Lytton's committee. For it would seem that what was once the Students' Department had "*in its full activities*" been transferred to the High Commissioner for India! This report may therefore be regarded as a report by the High Commissioner to the High Commissioner himself on the working of the Department for which he himself is now responsible to India. The report is somewhat roseate in hue. All facilities possible have been afforded to overseas students, and no difficulty has been found in securing admission for the duly qualified graduate, while careful and sympathetic consideration has been accorded to all concerned.

But parents and guardians in India are warned that they should take care to make proper preliminary arrangements. Excellent reports, too, are given of the ability and industry of Indian students, and of the interest they take in the social life of their surroundings. Further, wherever these students have been in any way handicapped by the lack of practical facilities, it was found that "*the question of race and nationality was rarely a factor in the refusals received.*" On every side there was evidence on the part of professors and lecturers of a

general readiness and goodwill to do all that was possible to smooth away the difficulties lying in the path of young students who had come so far across the seas, and to make them feel thoroughly at home in their environment. On the other hand, it was distinctly encouraging to learn that the Indian students on their side were showing "by their more active participation in games, and in all the various social activities that go to the making of student life in this country, that they were doing their best to get the utmost possible value from their university education." It was further found that Indian students everywhere were identifying themselves much more than heretofore with the common and corporate life of the colleges. It was necessary, however, to draw the attention of parents and guardians to the failure, in some cases, to send regular remittances, and also "to the very urgent necessity for avoiding inevitable waste of time and money, unless students pass an intermediate Arts and Science examination in India." The High Commissioner himself seems, during the year, to have gone to Oxford and Cambridge, discussing questions concerning Indian students with heads of colleges and professors. He also visited various clubs, and gave suitable addresses, and Mr. Sen, one of his joint secretaries, seems to have done admirable work for Indian students on his visit to India, and to have had encouraging interviews with the Earl of Lytton, Governor of Bengal, and the Earl of Reading, Viceroy of India. He seems to have impressed upon them both, and upon all concerned, the unfortunate lack in India itself of satisfactory facilities for obtaining public-school education of the best type—"a lack which necessitated the coming over to Great Britain of so many boys at an early age." This sad lack has been frequently deplored by the East India Association, and it is to be hoped that it will receive due consideration from the High Commissioner in Great Britain, and from the various governing bodies in India. If this lack can be somehow remedied the labours of Lord Lytton's able committee will not have been undertaken in vain.

ARTS AND CRAFTS SECTION

THE JAPANESE COLOUR-PRINTS AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM : A COMPARISON

BY W. GILES

ALTHOUGH the present exhibition does not add materially to our knowledge of the Japanese colour-print, a given period treated more exhaustively has a greater instructive value than a permanent but limited exhibit would otherwise have.

The period under review belongs to the close of the eighteenth century, when the figure was the vogue ; landscape began tentatively as a background, as was the case in Italian art. Although landscape came late in the evolution of the Japanese colour-print, it occupied a glorious place in the early history of Chinese and Japanese painting.

Colour-prints were a popular and inexpensive expression of the people's art, and were first utilized as posters for the theatre, and devoted exclusively to actors in character. They appealed to the merchant and the peasant, and, catering to their diversions, came under the anathema of the classical painters, who belonged to the priestly caste.

This democratic art was designated the Ukiyoye—the mirror or picture of the world's mirage. Nevertheless, the colour-prints developed, and ultimately had, and are having, an enormous influence on Western art ; the fact is realized, but the complex causes are not.

In the first place, they are a compromise between their own classic art of the past and a modern realization. Their intercourse with the Dutch traders had made the sea-coast no longer their horizon, but the highway to a world beyond.

A painting, in the central case, of a European soldier by

Skiba Kokan in Japanese armour against an architectural background, in our own classical style with a dado decoration in Japanese, is a glaring instance ; on the angle column a Dutch clock is hung !

Skiba Kokan was a pioneer in several respects : he not only had an archæological passion for European motives, but for our techniques : he experimented in both copperplate engraving and oil-painting, and all are equally bad. Skiba Kokan never had followers so wholehearted and incongruous as himself, yet the Dutch traditions permeated amongst the people, whose hearts were set upon a future rather than the past ; perspective and realism were becoming facts, and the landscape prints by Hiroshige we so appreciate as examples of true Japanese art have been made more palatable to our taste than we generally suppose.

Since those days East and West can scarcely accuse each other of plagiarism, slowly as we understand the reciprocal lure, is our education in art advanced, and each was trying to enrich its art with something it lacked.

In the æsthetics of colour these prints gave us a grammar of the decorative ; they had a charm in common with the Italian frescoes—the silk-like paper of the one was a counterpart of the mellow-toned plaster of the other which contributed so considerably to enhance the luminous colours of both. The lesson which only the travelled few had learnt, with the advent of the print, came to be universally understood.

The domination of chiaroscuro darkness, the art of Rembrandt and the Dutch, was broken ; colour for colour's sake began to exert an ever-increasing influence.

Our study of comparison is made more easy because on the walls adjacent to these colour-prints are hung examples of the work of our own contemporary water-colour painters—J. Cozens and T. Girtin.

The Japanese democratic school was trying to express its aspirations as the English water-colourists were emerging from the thralldom of the topographical draughtsmen to the freedom of a new and living art—landscape-painting, which demanded

new art canons entirely distinct from the accepted rules laid down by the academic studio traditions.

Both were forced to ignore the past. The Japanese, reproducing the every-day life around them, appealed to the masses and not the rich but limited few, and the print was an economic factor and a boon while simplicity was a necessity.

To the English water-colourist transparent pigments meant purer and more luminous colour, and this slowly educated us to depreciate the heavy and black oil-paintings which, suitable as they may have been for portraits, were entirely unsuitable for atmospheric outdoor effects.

It is true that in the early water-colours by Cozens we see neither dignity of tone nor glamour of colour, nor is there a sense of decoration, only a dumb appreciation of Nature.

In the water-colours of Girtin a consciousness of the dramatic and decorative dawn; there is a soul born of atmospheric change.

Such was the state of our English school when Japan was producing such colour-prints as are here exhibited.

It will be noted that the majority of these figure prints have no backgrounds; also that the figures are mere outline supports upon which kimonos or brocaded garments are draped in rhythmic masses, deprived of the colours which belong exclusively to the kimonos—there is absolutely no colour.

They resolve themselves into a patterning distributed harmoniously over a vertical plane, devoid of either depth or perspective. The choice of colours was only limited by the pigments at their command, and these they interchanged in kaleidoscopic intricacy. Gradually landscape was introduced as additional masses of colour subordinate to the figures. When landscapes were desired exclusively for their own sake, brocaded garments were not substituted by flowering plants or such-like accessories; landscape had to justify itself along independent lines, and this was accomplished in the beginning of the next century. We will rapidly review the prints down to this time. Most persons are vaguely familiar with the

characteristics of individual artists ; the elegant and lithe grace of one, or the deliberate line of another. Masses of black were used for an æsthetic end ; thus, in two prints the black mass of the kimono in one is the counterpart of a black sky in the other. Carefully inspecting the one, we see that the black sky symbolizes night, but not in the other : objective truth as we understand it is ignored, and in spite of it they have an undeniable beauty.

In the prints by Shunman a restricted treatment of *chiaroscuro* effect is employed with the introduction of three tone-printings of Chinese ink, the darkest being the modulated black outline, reminiscent of a brush-stroke spontaneity ; the texture detail has a charm of its own independent of colour, especially in the print of the Tamagawa River. The supplementary colours are quite a secondary consideration ; one should compare this print with a painting by him in the central case.

These tone-printings in Chinese ink were rarely used in colour-prints, neither a modulated black outline.

Utamaro, who stands out as a supreme colourist, reduced his black line almost to the point of invisibility, and concentrated on the full glory of the colour ; note his "Six Poets," also his books in colour of plants and birds, remarkable for their refined drawing and tender colour.

The fragile outline was the general practice with the colour-print artists. Should we try to define the pigments they used, we should find ourselves thinking of the bloom on flower or fruit or some elusive mineral hue, yet the average number of pigments employed are few and seldom exceed eight, printed either in flat tones or graduated brush-washes ; secondary colour was never dropped into these liquid washes, as in the case of a series of Chinese colour-prints of fruit and flower pieces shown in a former exhibit. This would demand a more consummate skill on the part of the printer ; and here it should be pointed out that every colour-print was the production of three distinct men—the artist, the wood-block-maker, and the printer.

Before we reach the close of the eighteenth century we see that landscape is being freely introduced as a background, as in Kiyonaga's "Pleasure-Party," for example, with its distant and dark-green island rock.

The well-known landscape prints by Hiroshige belong to the next century and are contemporary with the English water-colours exhibited by John Cotman.

Distinct as these two artists are, they have much in common; each realized the importance of a schematic and decorative choice of colour. In truth, colour and tone are antagonistic—tone is the negation of light and colour. Hiroshige was happy in having those virgin colours which had an inherent beauty high up in the chromatic scale, whereas Cotman was low down among the siennas and the browns, the heavy inheritance of the oil-painters. Yet out of these Cotman revealed himself a true colourist in his supreme abstractions—golden ochres set like a jewel in a field of blue, or mellow greens locked in transparent browns. It is true he had to hover around the sunset-hour, when gloom and shadow is enshrouding all with an added passion of chiaroscuro, born of storm and change. His "Lincolnshire Mill" shows what he might have given us in colour-prints had he only known the Japanese technique.

Hiroshige soars in his noonday iridescence of light lemon yellows, sky-blues, amethysts, violets, and greens of emerald and malachite. Japanese colour charm approaches a glory of local colour, bathed in a steady mellow light; there is no mystery, all is manifest, while the print reduces all things to precise terms. Landscape demands depth and a mystery of receding planes. Cotman in his painting merged his planes with shade, yet he saw powerfully in silhouettes and planes of rhythmic mass and cohesion.

With Hiroshige the landscape in the Japanese colour-print died; in England it was not yet born. Turner had not shown us in his exquisite water-colours the iridescent heights of the chromatic scale.

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

CONTENTS: *East India Association—The London Brahmo Somaj—The Indian Women of To-day—The Persia Society—The Near and Middle Eastern Association—Save the "Victory" Fund.*

The East India Association will hold a conversazione on the afternoon of Tuesday, January 16, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster. Their next lecture will be on "The Present and Future Management of Indian Railways," by Sir Robert Gillan. Sir John P. Hewitt, G.C.I.E., M.P., will take the chair.

THE LONDON BRAHMO SOMAJ.

The celebration in London of the birthday anniversary of Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen took place at 21, Cromwell Road, on Sunday, November 19. An interesting address of personal reminiscences was given by Mr. Bhupendranath Basu. He knew Keshub in India before his death in 1884, and said that those who came under his personal influence could never forget his charm, his dignity, and his simplicity. He founded the Church of the New Dispensation, the basis of which simply is the belief in God. He made his followers realize the purity and loftiness and high moral value of the old Hindu teachings, and sought to bring about a reconciliation between Hinduism and Christianity and Islam. He preached the education and emancipation of women, and won back to a purer social life the youth of Bengal, who were being led to copy the less desirable features of European life.

Mr. Arthur Diosy's memory went back to 1870, when he heard Keshub Chunder Sen speak in London on the work of Raja Rammohun Roy, the founder of the Somaj: a discourse, said Mr. Diosy, fascinating in subject, delivered in admirable language and perfect English, and with great personal charm. The religious influence of the Somaj had had very great effect on most movements of social advance in India during the last half-century. Europeans had not given the support to it they should—they failed to understand the importance of the reform of Hinduism from within. He drew a comparison with Japan, whose growth had been marked by a considered process of selection from the West—they have not adopted, but adapted.

Mrs. Rustomji Faridonji, speaking from the Zoroastrian point of view, felt that all religions are one, with the same fundamental belief in God: the modern movement among men and women towards spiritual understanding will some day make the whole world one great brotherhood.

Professor S. N. Roy, of Lucknow, and Mr. Nirmal C. Sen also spoke, and Bengali hymns and songs from Rabindranath Tagore were rendered by Miss Mallick.

THE INDIAN WOMEN OF TO-DAY.

At a recent meeting held under the auspices of the Sesame Club, Dr. Kate Platt, after referring to the extraordinary advance made in late years by the nations of the Far East, said that it is of the utmost importance that we, as a nation, should regain the confidence of India. The impassable barrier that is said to exist between the East and the West exists perhaps mainly in the imagination and is based on a lack of comprehension and sympathy. We Englishwomen have in the past not done our part in attempting to break down this intangible barrier. The qualities of pride and shyness, conspicuous in both nations, though manifested in different ways, and, in the case of the Indian, accompanied by undue sensitiveness to criticism, have come in the way of a mutual understanding, and the women have never got to really know each other. It may be that the key to the situation is in the hands of the women. Understanding, arising from knowledge, will enable each to appreciate the qualities of the other.

Indian women have fine traditions of devotion, courage, and ability. They have not always been "behind the curtain": long years of life in seclusion have, however, developed in them certain qualities which supplement and render more effective the actions of the men. Though the modern educated Indian women are of varied race and religion, patriotism is in one and all a dominating motive. They may not, as yet, often be seen or heard in the political world, but many are quietly preparing themselves to take a leading part in the destinies of their country. Their eloquence and enthusiasm, combined with charm, make them most attractive as public speakers, though their most lovable qualities come out in domestic life. As friends and co-workers, Indian women of the best type are very desirable; as allies of our enemies they are formidable, and their influence is not to be under-estimated. In conclusion, Dr. Platt urged that every Englishwoman coming into contact with her Indian sisters, either at home or in India, should do her utmost to sink all racial distinctions and by emphasizing common interests, really get to know them: that, in doing this, she will not only obtain pleasure and satisfaction, but will be helping in the unification of the Empire.

On November 28 Major-General Sir Edmond Ironside delivered an important lecture before the *Persia Society* at Burlington House. He explained that when he took over from General Champain in the autumn of 1920, he found that the British Minister at Teheran was under the Foreign Office, the Political Agent under the Colonial Office, and the Persia Force under the Commander-in-Chief in Mesopotamia, who in turn was under the War Office! The lecturer also threw light on the military condition of the Cossacks. Their officers were Czarists of the old Imperial Army, and were apt to advance too impetuously. As their presence encouraged the war-like plans of the Bolsheviks it was decided to disband them. After their departure the evacuation could be performed more methodically. The General paid a special tribute to the Indian units under his command and the work of Colonel Lakin on L.O.C.

In the subsequent discussion General Champain pointed out that whilst

he was in command he had yet another Government department which furnished him with instructions—viz., the India Office! Commodore Norris, who was in charge of the ships operating in the Caspian Sea, expressed his belief that the defence of Persia was really a naval problem connected with the command of the mouth of the Volga where enemy supplies could be stopped.

This meeting was, in the absence of Lord Lamington, presided over by Sir Hugh Barnes.

Mr. Felix Valyi, in lecturing before the Near and Middle Eastern Association on December 12 on "The Reform of Islam and the Turkish Problem," said: "Before the War, hatred of Christianity had practically died out among intellectual Mussulmans, and if the moral direction of the West is now contested by thinking Mussulmans, the fault lies with those who failed to capture and retain the youthful Mussulman enthusiasm which was ready to be guided by the West.

"A lasting reform cannot be made under European pressure, and it must be derived from a strong and independent Mussulman nation. Fundamentally, the present French attitude is a resumption of the ideas of the Englishman, David Urquhart (1830-1860), which Beaconsfield could not bring about, owing to the opposition of Gladstone.

"The reform of Islam can only come from a Mussulman nation, the prestige of which is intact in the eyes of all Islam, and the independence of which is guaranteed by its own force and its own institutions. Those who affirm that Islam is rigid in its dogmas, and that every effort is condemned which tends to free the stereotyped traditions which conform but little to the exigencies of modern life, forget that the thesis of an immobile Islam has never been true, that for all time Islam has been helped by all the movements of historical ideas. Its jurisprudence, which is to be reformed to-day, discloses the influence of Roman law. Its development of dogma is earmarked by Greek ideas, and its philosophy shows the appropriation of current neo-Platonic and Indian ideas.

"The Turks are a political race *par excellence*. For centuries they have been the intermediary between East and West—long before Japan—and are essential to Near Eastern equilibrium and to that between East and West. For economic reasons, however, the Turk can no longer refrain from reorganizing his social, judicial, and financial institutions, his agriculture, and his methods of general culture. Europe, however, must remain neutral in this struggle of the new Mussulman forces in this effort to adapt their institutions to modern principles. The Angora Assembly is not the last stage in Turkish evolution."

In the subsequent discussion speeches were made by Sir Thomas Arnold and Prince Soumbatoff.

We have been invited to give the publicity of our columns to the following appeal:

The *Victory* was Nelson's flagship at Trafalgar. It was in her that the great Admiral conducted the wonderful campaigns which saved Britain

from invasion. It was in her that he proclaimed the deathless message of "Duty," and received his mortal wound.

Before Nelson's day this wonderful ship had carried in turn the flag of Keppel, of Kempenfelt, of Howe, of Hood, and of Earl St. Vincent. Since those classic days she has stood as the emblem of that Sea Power upon which the safety, honour, and welfare of the Empire depend.

And now, with the unique record of service on the active list for a longer period than any other ship, she is grievously in need of repair. She has already been moved into dry dock, and everything that ingenuity can devise has been done to prevent decay from spreading. But more than this is needed if she is to survive. The *Victory* requires to be restored immediately, and this will cost many thousands of pounds.

Financial stringency precludes the Government from voting money except for immediate necessities. The value of the *Victory* is no transitory thing. She must be preserved in order that our children's children may draw from her the same inspiration that we have drawn ourselves, and our fathers before us.

The Society for Nautical Research has been authorized by the Admiralty to appeal for funds to save this noble ship and to restore her, so far as money will permit, to her condition at Trafalgar.

As President of the Society, I am quite sure that I shall not appeal in vain to the countrymen of Nelson, for they have made this watchword "Duty" their invariable guide ever since the call first flew at the masthead of H.M.S. *Victory*.

F. C. D. STURDEE,
Admiral of the Fleet.

Subscriptions will be received and personally acknowledged by Admiral of the Fleet Sir F. C. Doveton Sturdee, Bart., G.C.B., K.C.M.G., C.V.O., LL.D., *Victory* Offices, 233, High Holborn, W.C.1, or they may be paid to all Branches and Agents of the London Joint City and Midland Bank, Ltd.

The Right Hon. Reginald McKenna (late First Lord of the Admiralty), Chairman of the London Joint City and Midland Bank, Ltd., has kindly consented to act as Hon. Treasurer to the Fund.

On October 28, 1918, the Czecho-Slovak nation recovered its independence after three hundred years of oppressive Hapsburg rule, and the fourth thanksgiving service was celebrated on Sunday afternoon, October 29, at Christ Church, Westminster Bridge Road. Among those present were H.E. Dr. V. Mastny (Minister) and Madame Mastny, Consul Dr. Pavlasek, Professor and Mrs. Seton-Watson, Professor Caldwell (Toronto), Mr. F. P. Marchant, Dr. Vocadlo (King's College), Mrs. B. O. Tufnell (Anglo-Czech Society), and many others. Prayers and the lesson (Isa. lxi.) were read in English and Czech by the Rev. T. Hunter Boyd (Presbyterian Church in Canada) and the Rev. T. B. Kaspar. Mlle. Tonci Urbankova and M. Mischa Leon sang sacred solos in the native language. An address was given by the Rev. Dr. W. C. Poole, Minister, on the principles of real democracy. A collection was taken for child-welfare work in Czecho-Slovakia. The service concluded with the British and Czech national anthems.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

APRIL, 1923

SIR BASIL BLACKETT'S FIRST BUDGET

I

THE full text of Sir Basil Blackett's statement introducing the Budget is just now available in this country ; but until the detailed Budget and the Report of Lord Inchcape's Retrenchment Committee can also be studied, nothing but a summary review is possible of the Indian Government's financial proposals for 1923-24. The earlier Press reports, telegraphed from India, gave reason to hope that they would receive a favourable reception by the Assembly. It was, of course, only to be expected that the doubling of the salt tax would again, as last year, provoke much controversy, but there could have been few who would have anticipated that, rather than agree to the enhancement of the salt duty—to which, on economic periods, the objections raised are really without substance—the Assembly would have turned to such doubtful expedients as refusing to vote the railway annuities from revenue. "The acid test of any country, as of an individual, is finance," as Mr. Baldwin has reminded this country. Whatever views the Assembly may hold as regards the sufficiency of their control over expenditure, and however much they may feel themselves justified in challenging the constitutional questions involved in the removal from their criticism of the Military Budget, it is idle for them to shirk the issue which has been bluntly and frankly put before them by the Finance Minister. The future solvency of India is dependent on her balancing her

income and her expenditure, and on the restoration of her credit by the discharge of debt. Five years' neglect of this cardinal principle of sound finance has resulted in recurring and growing deficits which aggregate the formidable total of 100 crores ; in the piling up of a rupee debt of 275 crores, and in the accumulation of a sterling debt of £63,000,000, India has hitherto enjoyed high credit in the financial world. Save in 1915-16, when, indeed, the outbreak of the Great War violently but only temporarily dislocated the financial arrangements of the Indian Government, there was until 1922-23 no occasion in the financial history of British India when expenditure has been proposed which was not estimated to be covered by revenue. Again, until quite recently, the vast bulk of Indian borrowings had been almost invariably for the purposes of capital development, and India had always shown an admirable example of applying an adequate share of her revenues towards the discharge of her debt. The recurring deficits of the last five years have to some extent impaired this credit ; more particularly, comment has been provoked by the deliberate adoption by the Assembly in March, 1922, of an uncovered Budget in 1922-23, but even so, criticism was withheld when it was known that a mandate was to be entrusted to a strong and authoritative committee to examine searchingly the possibility of, and to propose economies in the administration. The situation to-day is vastly different from that of a year ago. Lord Inchcape's Committee have made their recommendations. These have been adopted and embodied in Sir Basil Blackett's Budget, which, even with the assistance of these large economies, can yet be balanced only by the imposition of fresh taxation. A second uncovered Budget this year cannot fail to leave behind it reactions prejudicial to India's financial credit.

II

Let us very rapidly run through the chapters of Indian financial history for the last five years.

The earliest indications of the gathering of the clouds on the Indian financial horizon began to appear in the closing months of 1918-19. That year, which was estimated to close with a surplus of nearly four crores, actually resulted in a deficit of 6 crores. In framing his Budget for 1919-20 Lord Meston, then in charge of the Finance portfolio, anticipated a slight excess of revenue over expenditure. But the hope of a surplus was rudely shattered by the occurrence of the Afghan War, and Sir Malcolm Hailey, who, as Lord Meston's successor, had to guide Indian finances through the three following years, was left with the unenviable duty of reporting to the Legislative Council in March, 1920, a deficit of no less than 24 crores. Forecasting the results of the year 1920-21, Sir Malcolm Hailey again budgeted for a small surplus ; and again, and for the third year in succession, disappointment followed, the deficit on this occasion being 26 crores. Under the cumulative pressure of these recurring deficits the Indian Government had reluctantly to recognize the necessity of imposing fresh taxation. With the assistance of enhanced Customs duties, enhanced income and super taxes, and railway rates on freight, it was hoped that revenue would so far exceed expenditure in 1921-22 as to leave a small surplus of 71 lakhs. As the year progressed it became evident that these estimates would never be realized, and the ultimate result was a deficit of 34 crores.

What were the causes of these successive deteriorations ? Primarily, no doubt, the finances of India, as those of all other countries, were deeply affected by the aftermath of the War. Military expenditure, as also other expenditure more or less directly connected with the War, only very

slowly reacted to peace conditions—and, as we have seen, the close of the Great War was almost immediately followed by the Afghan War, which threw a large and unexpected burden on India. It is, of course, at least arguable whether the cost of this war should not have at once been recognized as justifying new taxation, more particularly as signs were already appearing that the revenues of the Government of India were likely in the near future to be called upon to assume entirely new burdens. The new constitution which was to be granted to India was then gradually beginning to take shape. Among its prominent features it included the separation of central from provincial revenues, by which means alone the local governments hoped to secure that measure of financial autonomy and immunity from financial interference for which they had for years been clamouring. Large and important heads of revenue were to be transferred to them from the Central Government, who, however, were to be recouped by a system of provincial contributions for the loss of the incomings from land revenue, stamps, excise, forests, and irrigation. The detailed proposals ultimately adopted were based on the report of a committee presided over by Lord Meston; but it may be said, without exaggeration, that the scheme thus elaborated met with universal disapproval. It could, indeed, only have been tolerated had it coincided with a period of large surpluses in the Indian Budget, which could have provided a means for the gradual extinction of these provincial contributions. But of such extinction there could be no hope so long as the Central Government were annually piling up growing deficits.

The fact, however, is that during the early months of the post-war period the attention and thoughts of those responsible for the direction of the affairs of India were engaged—it might almost be said to the exclusion of all

other questions—on the framing of the new constitution. The warnings of those whose association with Indian finances entitled them to speak with authority, as to the direction in which Indian finances were tending, passed unheeded. Taxation would, it was felt, impede the passage of the reforms schemes. And simultaneously, it must be observed in common fairness to the Indian Government, the internal situation in India was full of distracting anxieties, which, it was feared, additional taxation would certainly aggravate. Meanwhile, with the removal of the restraint which war finance had necessarily laid on civil departmental expenditure, schemes for expansion and reorganization were brought out from the pigeon-holes in which they had been resting for the previous five years and carried into operation. Trade and commerce, on the other hand, after the first outburst of the post-Armistice boom, were beginning to feel the effects of the depression in which the whole world ultimately was caught. The export trade was the first to be affected, and with the contraction becoming daily more and more marked in the foreign demand for Indian produce, exchange fell rapidly away from the summits to which it had attained; while imports contracted for in the first few months after the cessation of hostilities continued to pour into India, to find no market for their consumption. These trade conditions reacted on the revenue; the expansion which they had been showing in the latter half of the war period was arrested, and the receipts from both indirect and direct taxation and from railway traffic began to fall away. At the same time the hopes which an appreciating rupee had raised of a reduction in home charges were brought to the ground; indeed, an additional burden had to be shouldered, as with the falling away of exchange an attempt—ineffective as it proved to be—was made to fix it at the high level which was to bring the desired relief.

III

The tale which Sir Malcolm Hailey had to unfold at the Budget session of March, 1922, was a truly melancholy one. The accounts of the year then closing were estimated to show a shortage of 34 crores, while the forecasts for the coming year 1922-23 anticipated, on the basis of the taxation then in force, a shortage of $31\frac{3}{4}$ crores. An increase in the passenger fares, which the Government proposed to introduce by executive order, would, it was estimated, reduce the gap between income and expenditure to $25\frac{3}{4}$ crores. This was to be met by an enhancement in Customs duties, including a corresponding increase of the duties on cotton goods locally manufactured, by a raising of the income tax and super tax, and by doubling the salt duty. Even then the estimates would leave an uncovered gap of $2\frac{3}{4}$ crores. Sir Malcolm Hailey brought out the point, to which we have already referred, that this was the first occasion—save that of 1915-16—on which the Executive had met the Legislature with an uncovered Budget. He appealed to the Assembly to give their support to the fiscal measures proposed, in the assurance that the Government had spared no efforts to secure economies, and were determined to cause a searching inquiry into the possibilities of effecting further economies in their administration.

The appeal fell on deaf ears. The Assembly refused flatly to accede to the increases in the cotton excise and in the salt duty. Ostensibly the opposition to this last measure was based on the alleged inability of the Indian consumer to bear this additional burden. How much, or rather how little, substance there was, and is, in this argument was pitilessly exposed by Mr. Innes, who pointed out that the enhancement in the salt tax would only take this impost to the level at which it had stood for fifteen years

before 1903, when years of fat surpluses enabled, if they did not actually compel, the Indian Government to reduce this particular form of tax. The annual consumption of salt per head of population is 6 seers: an increase of 20 annas per maund would thus result in an annual additional payment of 12 annas per household of four. It was idle to suggest that the Indian consumer of salt, who had borne this burden throughout the nineties, when he was immeasurably worse off than he is at present, could not now support this inconsiderable additional demand. As to the proposals regarding the cotton excise duties, the rejection of these, of course, proceeded from the desire to protect the Indian cotton industry against the competition of Lancashire. The cotton excise duties have always been looked upon with bitter hostility not only by the Bombay mill industry, which is most directly concerned with them, but by all Indian opinion, which sees in Protection the most direct method of industrializing India. These considerations apart, there is reason to believe that, *au fond*, the Assembly in their rejection of the Budget proposals were influenced by a desire to challenge the Executive on a constitutional issue. The vast bulk of the Government's expenditure is in the Military Budget. In the estimates of 1922-23, it represented over 50 per cent. of the revenue. Over this expenditure, as over any expenditure on reserved subjects, the Assembly has no control: it has to accept the votes proposed by the Military Department. It is not unnatural, therefore, that the Assembly should chafe at the conditions in the Indian Constitution which, while they impose on them the responsibility of voting the taxation required to produce the funds which the Administration claims to be necessary, deny them the power of effectively checking expenditure on reserved subjects. The Assembly may have hoped that Lord Reading would exercise the

Governor-General's power of "certifying" the Finance Bill. If this was their hope, they were disappointed, and the Budget emerged from the Legislative Assembly with the salt duty, the excise duty, the duty on machinery and on cotton piece-goods excised from the Finance Bill. The result was an uncovered deficit of 916 lakhs.

It was in these circumstances that the Indian Government summoned to their assistance Lord Inchcape and his Retrenchment Committee. The task before them was an unusually difficult one; if it was to have effective results, their scrutiny of the Central Government expenditure must be completed in time to admit of the embodiment in the Budget for 1923-24 of their proposals for economy. The Committee discharged their duties with the effectiveness and promptitude which were expected of their Chairman. The full text of their Report has not reached this country, but Press reports state that their proposals are calculated to achieve a reduction in expenditure of 19 crores, of which the bulk will be in the Military Budget, substantial economies being also effected in the Railways and Posts and Telegraphs Budgets. The full effect of these economies cannot naturally be immediately realized; but to the extent that their proposals can be applied at once, they have been incorporated in the Budget which was placed before the Assembly on March 1. The anticipated deficit of 9 crores is now likely to be nearly doubled to $17\frac{1}{2}$ crores. Despite savings of 4 crores in expenditure which include a small saving of 50 lakhs in the Military Budget, the revenue position shows considerable deterioration under Customs, Income Tax, Posts and Telegraphs, and Railways, amounting in all to $12\frac{1}{2}$ crores. Gross railway traffic receipts are short by $7\frac{1}{2}$ crores, and, despite some savings in working expenses, the year's working will show a loss of 1 crore where an estimated profit of 5 crores had been looked for.

In the coming year the estimates anticipate a revenue,

on the basis of existing taxation, of $198\frac{1}{2}$ crores, and an expenditure of $204\frac{1}{3}$ crores. In the non-military portion of the Budget economies of 4 crores are to be effected, while military expenditure is to be reduced by $5\frac{3}{4}$ crores to 62 crores. The reduced military expenditure is, however, contingent on the acceptance by His Majesty's Government of proposals, still under discussion, for a substantial reduction in the strength of British and Indian troops. The full application to the military expenditure of Lord Inchcape's proposals would have brought the Military Budget down to $57\frac{3}{4}$ crores.

There will then be, on these estimates, a deficit of 5.85 crores—a figure not so far differing from the further economy which might have been possible if full effect could have been given to the Axe Committee's recommendations. But Sir Basil Blackett proposes to bridge this gap in other ways. He renews the proposal to double the duty on salt, which will bring in an additional $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores; while to meet the balance he proposes two measures, both of which mar the otherwise severely orthodox character of his Budget. Revenue is to be credited with the interest on the securities held in the Gold Standard Reserve. This reserve, which has been built up at the expense of revenue it is true, mainly out of the profits on coinage, was created to support exchange; and, save on one occasion, when £1,500,000 from the reserve were diverted to railway capital expenditure, has been allowed to retain the interest which the securities held therein are earning. Looking to the present circumstances of the Indian Home Treasury balances, the application to revenue of the interest on these securities can be justified, but only on the ground that *pro tanto* there will be a reduction in the amount of the remittances which the Indian Government will need to make to London; and, from this standpoint, the reserve is literally being utilized for the functions it was created to

serve. The second measure is the crediting to revenue of the interest on the securities held in the Paper Currency Reserve. The effect of this measure, which was approved by the Assembly in 1922, will be to relieve the Indian Treasury of the payment of interest on its borrowings from that reserve; and will preclude the cancellation of a corresponding amount of the note circulation. Neither of these measures will commend itself to the financial purist; but the exigencies of the moment call for extraordinary expedients, and that these should find a place in a Budget framed by so distinguished an authority as Sir Basil Blackett is sufficient indication of the complexities which are now surrounding the Indian financial problem.

IV

The balancing of revenue and expenditure represents only part of the problem which faces the Indian Treasury. An almost equally important matter is that of making provision for the funds needed for capital outlay during the year, and for the continuous financing during the year of the transactions, whether on capital or revenue account, in London as well as in India. A deficit Budget, of course, adds to the difficulties of this part of the financial problem, and inasmuch as the Ways and Means programme of the Indian Government—as this portion of the Budget is known and described in the Financial Statement—is closely connected with, and is really largely dependent upon, as well as influences, the course of exchange, much interest centres in that section of the Finance Member's speech which forecasts the capital expenditure of the coming year, and the methods whereby finance therefor, as for the other transactions of the year, is expected to be found.

During the War, save for the first eighteen months, the difficulty before the Indian Government was to secure rupee

funds in sufficiency to meet disbursements in India. They were releasing, as will be remembered, vast amounts of Indian currency on behalf of the British Government to pay for the service of troops in India, Mesopotamia, and elsewhere in the East, and for the purchase of war material and foodstuffs bought in India. Against these disbursements the Indian Government were repaid by the British Government in sterling in London. As a result they found themselves with constantly increasing sterling balances and credits, while their rupee resources were *pro tanto* being depleted. Despite the enormous purchases of silver in London, Australia, and America, with which they sought to fill the void in their rupee funds, the Indian Government were left at the close of the War with very considerable sterling balances. They had also created a reserve of £20,000,000 to be applied to railway capital expenditure as soon as the cessation of hostilities should release the activities of British manufacturers from the making of munitions, and enable them to divert their plant to the supply of the railway material which India sorely needed. This reserve was, however, very soon exhausted, and, with the depletion of their sterling balances, chiefly as a consequence of the sales of Reverse Councils, the Indian Government within three years of the Armistice found themselves confronted with a situation radically different from that which was the cause of so much anxiety during the War. Their Home Treasury balances fell to a very low level: the fall in exchange made it impossible for them to make remittances from India to replenish these balances; and with the urgent need of rehabilitating the Indian railway system which had been starved of the necessary equipment during the war years, they were forced to come to the London market for the requisite sterling funds. Indian sterling loans were thus placed in London: the first of £7,500,000 at 7 per cent.; the second in two series,

aggregating £22,500,000 on a $5\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. basis ; and the third of £20,000,000 on a $5\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. basis.

In the coming year, 1923-24, Sir Basil Blackett estimates that fresh sterling borrowings will be needed, and for estimate purposes he takes these at £15,000,000. Over and above this large sum the Government will, he anticipates, require to remit £27,000,000 to London. It is clear, therefore, that the financing of the transactions of their Home Treasury will strain the resources of the Indian Government very seriously. No indication is, however, given as to the particular method whereby will be effected the large remittance required to keep the Home Treasury in funds ; but, whatever course is adopted in this connection, the task will not be an easy one. It will be vastly facilitated or impeded by trade conditions, by differences in the rates for money in India and in London, and by the policy which the Indian Government may adopt in the current year in regard to their floating and short-term debt, and in regard to their note circulation.

It is not possible, within the limits of a summary review of the whole of Indian finances, to analyze in detail the implications of these several subsidiary issues. Indian trade conditions have begun to swing round towards the "normalcy" of an excess of exports over imports. In the nine months April to December, 1922, exports of merchandise, Indian and foreign, exceeded imports by $53\frac{1}{2}$ crores ; net imports of gold and silver in the same period, however, reduced this excess to just under $35\frac{1}{2}$ crores ; and it is on the movement into India of precious metals that will hang, to a very large extent, the possibility of a firming up of rupee exchange sufficiently marked to justify the Indian Government to resume their sales of Council bills and transfers, which represent the normal method whereby they effect their remittances to London. A judicious and skilful beginning in this direction was made in January and

February of this year, when, taking advantage of an upward movement in exchange caused by a spasm of monetary stringency in Bombay, the Indian Government sold rupees to an amount of £2,000,000. As this temporary condition passed away, these sales of rupees have been discontinued, and the near advent of the slack season suggests that their resumption will need to be postponed until the autumn; and even then much will depend on the strength and distribution of the monsoon, on a recovery in the trade conditions of the world, and, as just indicated, above all, on the continuance of the Indian demand for gold and silver. Nobody, we imagine, would be rash enough to forecast events in regard to this latter point. In the last ten months India has absorbed no less than £30,000,000 of gold and silver, and there is at present no sign of any abatement in her takings of the gold which is weekly placed on the London market. It is, however, easy to realise how any sensible diminution in her requirements for precious metals can affect the course of exchange. Against an import of merchandise of 166 crores there has been an import of gold of nearly 25 crores; a decrease in these imports, assuming no change in the volume and value of exports, would sensibly affect the gap between imports and exports which it would be the function of exchange to correct.

Money conditions in India have, in recent years, been greatly influenced by the Government's policy in regard to their sales of Treasury bills. These represent a novel feature, introduced in 1917 by the late Sir William Meyer—and may quite conceivably be retained as a permanent method for the financing of the Indian Government transactions during the lean months of the year, when Exchequer receipts fall short of outgoings, and the Indian Treasury needs to anticipate the ingathering of tax revenues. They have, of course, in the last five years, been utilized for quite

different purposes : as a means of raising funds they have, perhaps, been too readily resorted to ; and certainly the method of selling them, at a fixed rate determined by the authorities, has been criticized as being extravagant. Latterly, however, they have been put up for tender, as British Government Treasury bills have in the last eighteen months ; a welcome reduction has thereby been achieved in the cost of this finance to the Indian taxpayer, and, what is even more particularly satisfactory, the outstandings have now been brought down to the manageable figure of 20 crores, as against 53 crores in March, 1922. In 1923-24 Sir Basil Blackett assumes a further reduction of $5\frac{1}{2}$ crores ; but there is, of course, no significance attaching to this particular figure, which is assumed merely for estimate purposes. Far greater weight will attach to the reduction, in the last twelve months, in this form of borrowing, which has apparently been effected by the cancellation of floating debt through a successful flotation of short-term bonds maturing in five and ten years. In the coming year a rupee loan is to be raised to yield 25 crores, and, since the discharge of funded rupee debt to the extent of 5 crores must be provided for during the year, the possibility is indicated that the reduction in the outstandings of floating debt may even exceed the estimated figure of $5\frac{1}{2}$ crores, though, since there will be more than a corresponding increase in other short-term rupee debt, the net effect will be only a postponement of the time when the Indian Government engage to meet their obligations.

The figure just quoted of the outstandings of Treasury bills refers only to that portion of their floating debt which the Indian Government have borrowed from the public. They have also incurred an obligation, in the same form, to the Paper Currency Department, and this obligation amounts to 57 crores. This figure, in fact, represents that portion of the note issue which is backed by the Indian

Government I.O.U.'s. These have been reduced in the past year by 8 crores, but in 1923-24 no provision is made for the retirement of these I.O.U.'s. Indeed, as we have seen, even the payment of the interest on these I.O.U.'s has been suspended, and is again this year to be suspended. The impossibility in the present state of Indian finance of purging the note circulation of this uncovered portion, of course, directly influences the course of exchange, and prevents the application of one of the methods by which the State can intervene to assist in an appreciation of its currency.

Whether, in the event of an improvement in Indian finances, the Indian Government would proceed with a cancellation of these uncovered notes is a question at present purely academic, but it has some bearing on the question of stabilizing exchange—a question on which a vast amount of ink and oratory have been poured. There is in Sir Basil Blackett's speech a brief reference to his views on this very difficult issue. We are told that while stability should, in his view, be the goal to be aimed at, and while State finances would be advantaged by a higher rate of exchange, violent measures to force up this rate should be avoided, and in any case the time had not yet come to attempt stabilization. Sir Basil, it will be remembered, was associated, as Secretary, with the Chamberlain Currency Commission of 1913; he is known to have given much study and attention to the vexed questions connected with Indian exchange, and his experience in connection with the sterling dollar exchange during and after the War adds special weight to his views. No part of his first Financial Statement as India's Chancellor of the Exchequer will command more interest than that which deals with questions of currency and exchange. For nearly two years the State has stepped aside and allowed Indian exchange to respond to the law

of demand and supply. This is what for many years a certain section of Indian trade interests have been loudly clamouring for. The Indian bullion market has enjoyed complete freedom and exemption from State interference in the matter of movements to and from India of gold and silver; the duty on silver has been removed—a measure which was incessantly pressed on the Indian Government ever since its imposition in 1910. Stabilization can only be effected by a reversion to the state of affairs when the Indian Government assumed a responsibility for keeping exchange from rising or falling below certain fixed points. It is therefore not consistent with that freedom from State interference with exchange which has so often and so insistently been pressed for; and in present circumstances it may be suspected that those who are so vocal in the cause of stability are really concerned, not so much with stability, but with the revision of the ratio at which the rupee has been standardized by statute.

G.

THE RECORD OF THE KATO ADMINISTRATION

BY T. OKAMOTO

THE Cabinet formed by the Japanese Premier, Admiral Baron Tomosaburo Kato, in June, 1922, can already look back with some justification for pride upon its record of activities during the nine months it has been in office. The Premier, it will be remembered, was one of the Japanese delegates to the Washington Conference, and was popularly credited in Japan with having taken at least his fair share in the conduct of negotiations. It was natural, therefore, that his Government should have been regarded as pledged before the whole world to carry out, both in the letter and in the spirit, all the international engagements entered into at Washington, and this view has been justified by the event. Apart from the settlement with China of such a difficult problem as the retrocession of the leased territory of Kiaochow, the Government also deserve recognition for their courage in completely withdrawing the Japanese forces from Siberia. It is no longer of interest, in view of the *fait accompli*, to recapitulate the reasons for which this military expedition was originally jointly undertaken with certain of the Allies, nor why it eventually became the topic of so much adverse comment, both at home in Japan and abroad, but it is, unfortunately, still necessary to observe that, pending a final settlement of the Nikolaievsk affair, Japanese relations with Russia cannot be entirely satisfactory. In this connection one may recall the guarded words of the Premier at the resumed session of the Japanese Diet on January 23, 1923, when he briefly reviewed the foreign relations of Japan :

“ . . . In the Far East affairs have recently somewhat improved. Conditions in Russia have shown gradual improvement, and in Far Eastern Russia the political situation has tended likewise towards stabilization.”

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Yasuya Uchida, who addressed the Diet on the same occasion in a speech of considerable importance, was also non-committal in his remarks upon Russo-Japanese relations, although he traced the course of recent events with candour and in some detail.

He said :

“ Towards Russia Japan has always followed the fundamental policy of non-interference in her internal political affairs. We hope that, so soon as political conditions in that country are stabilized, we may be able to settle various questions, maintaining accord so far as possible with the other nations concerned. While the Far Eastern Republic was still in existence, Japan sought to open commercial relations with that country and promptly withdraw her troops from Siberia, and our representatives met those of the Chita Government at Dairen and negotiated several months with a view to reopening commercial relations with Siberia, but the Conference ended in no agreement. Political conditions in the Far Eastern Republic having shown indications of gradual improvement, the Government decided to withdraw all Japanese troops from the Maritime Provinces at the end of last October, and at the same time to endeavour once more to revive commercial relations with the Republic. On condition that negotiations should be conducted on the basis of those agreements reached at Dairen, our representatives met the Russian representatives at Changchun, but the friendly and conciliatory attitude of our representatives was not reciprocated by the Russians, and the conference adjourned without agreement being reached. The Japanese Government, nevertheless, carried out their decision to withdraw the troops entirely from Siberia and North Manchuria. From the beginning our Russian policy has been animated by a spirit of fairness, and the withdrawal of our troops in conformity with previous declarations amply demonstrated the sincerity of our intentions. Soon after the

withdrawal, the Far Eastern Republic, having been incorporated with Soviet Russia, ceased to have an independent existence. It is the earnest hope of the Government that conditions, both in European Russia and in Siberia, will soon be stabilized, and that Russia will properly appreciate her responsibility for the unfortunate affair of Nikolaievsk, and change the attitude she has hitherto maintained, so that the opening of commercial intercourse may thereby be hastened."

The passage in the above speech referring to the incorporation of the Far Eastern Republic with Soviet Russia is of peculiar interest. When, in August, 1921, the Japanese representatives met the representatives of the Far Eastern Republic at Dairen for the purpose of clearing up all outstanding questions regarding Eastern Siberia, it was nominally the Chita Government and not the Soviet Government of Moscow with which they had to deal. Moreover, the Chita Government had declared itself non-communistic, and claimed that it was influenced by purely democratic principles. Considering the hesitation generally displayed at that period by European Governments to enter into direct negotiation with Moscow at the conference table, and that Tokio was no exception in this respect, it must be assumed, by the light of subsequent events, that Chita made use of the democratic atmosphere with which it sought to surround itself to induce the Japanese Government in the first place to enter into negotiations. In the course of the Conference it was made clear, however, that the influence of Moscow was predominant, and, after nearly eight months of futile discussion, the Dairen Conference broke up in April, 1922, without any agreement having been reached. An official statement, which was promptly issued by the Foreign Office at Tokio, showed that the Japanese Government had included among the conditions preliminary to the establishment of commercial relations with the Far Eastern Republic the non-enforcement of communistic principles in the Republic against Japanese and the prohibition of Bolshevik propaganda. Other conditions were the abolition of menacing military

establishments and the adoption in Siberia of the principle of the open door, together with the removal of industrial restrictions on foreigners. The Chita representatives, on their part, had pressed for an agreement that a committee should be set up to revise the fishery conventions, and that Soviet Russia should be represented on this committee, whilst the Japanese delegates desired that this proposal should coincide with the acceptance by Chita of a draft military agreement regarding the withdrawal of the Japanese troops from Siberia. As regards the very sore point of evacuating her troops from North Saghalien, Japan declared herself prepared to negotiate for a settlement of the Nikolaievsk affair as soon as a basic agreement had been reached at Dairen. She promised then to withdraw from North Saghalien and meet Chita's wishes with regard to the transfer of property there which was still in Japanese hands.

Up to this point there seemed no reason why the Dairen Conference should not succeed in its objects, but the hopes which had been raised so often during its progress were once more doomed to disappointment. The fateful issue was reached on the question of the Japanese withdrawal from Siberia. Japan offered, if agreement were achieved at Dairen by the middle of April, to withdraw her troops instead of providing the relief forces which were due at that time. Chita insisted not only on fixing a time limit for the withdrawal, but that it should take place immediately, and that she should send her own troops forthwith to Vladivostok. The Japanese Government refused to consent to this proposal, regarding it as indicating a lack of belief in Japanese good faith. The deadlock was thus complete, and the Conference broke up.

Such was the position of affairs confronting the Kato Administration on taking office, and the decision which it announced shortly afterwards to withdraw from Siberia and other points on the mainland by the end of October was, under the circumstances, both generous and wise, and was probably not without effect upon the Chita Government. In any case, proposals for a new Conference were received from Chita by

the Japanese Government towards the end of June, 1922, and this time the inclusion of delegates of the Russian Soviet Government was openly put forward by Chita. These proposals were eventually accepted by Japan, but she declared that the Dairen negotiations must serve as the basis for the new Conference. The Conference duly opened on September 6, 1922, at Changchun (Manchuria), the Soviet Government being represented by M. Joffe and the Far Eastern Republic by M. Janson, while Japan sent Mr. Matsudaira, Chief of the European and America Department of the Foreign Office, and Mr. Matsushima, formerly Consul-General at Harbin, the latter having also acted as a Japanese delegate at the Dairen Conference. All went well for the first two weeks, and a considerable measure of agreement was reached upon such matters as mutual abstention from propaganda and hostile actions, liberty of entry and travel, and safeguards for the lives and properties of respective subjects and citizens. Questions regarding rights to engage in commerce, industry, and the professions, freedom of trade and navigation, the revision of the Russo-Japanese Fishing Convention, etc., were also in a fair way to being solved when M. Joffe brought matters to a sudden climax by requesting the Japanese to fix a date for the evacuation of North Saghalien. Whether the Soviet representative desired to wreck the Conference, or whether he interpreted the spirit of conciliation which the Japanese delegates had manifested throughout the proceedings as a sign of weakness which warranted an attempt to force their hands, it is impossible to say, but he should have known that the one thing which no Japanese would concede was to evacuate North Saghalien before satisfaction had been received for the Nikolaievsk massacre, than which probably no event in their long history has moved Japanese of all classes and of all shades of political feeling more profoundly. M. Joffe's demand met with a firm refusal, and the Conference broke up.

It has been necessary to describe the course of events at Dairen and Changchun thus fully in order to make it clear that

the Japanese Government's Far Eastern policy has been gradually adapting itself to the change brought about by the development of the Russian Soviet Government's influence in those regions. As remarked above, it was not the fashion at one time to engage in diplomatic conversations with Soviet Russia's representatives round the conference table, but fashions change, and the Japanese Government were perhaps not unmindful of the precedent set at Genoa. Nevertheless, in spite of their disappointment at the negative result of both attempts to settle satisfactorily by direct negotiation the Eastern Siberian question, the Japanese Government maintained its policy of withdrawal, and the whole of the Japanese forces had left Siberia before the end of October.

What will now be the next phase in Russo-Japanese relations? Will the Kato Administration remain passive, or will it endeavour to resuscitate the question of concluding a treaty of amity and commerce?

It is not impossible to hazard a guess at the direction towards which events are moving, and, curiously enough, interest again centres round the person of M. Joffe, the Soviet representative at Peking, whose dramatic intervention, as recorded above, in the Changchun Conference was productive of such unfortunate results. Some weeks after the break-up of this conference, M. Joffe was stated to be suffering from a nervous breakdown, and in January this year it was reported that he had received, and accepted, an invitation from Viscount Goto, the Mayor of Tokio and President of the Russo-Japanese Association of Japan, to visit that country in order to recuperate. Rumours became current that M. Joffe's ill-health was not sufficient to interfere with his activities in certain influential circles in Japan, and early in February various interpellations on the subject were addressed to Count Uchida, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in the Diet. Once more the Government policy was emphasized that their troops would be withdrawn from North Saghalien immediately the Nikolaievsk affair was settled; but, Count Uchida remarked, the Government did not share the opinion which had been expressed that the con-

clusion of a Russo-Japanese commercial treaty was impossible so long as the troops were retained. The Government view was that the withdrawal and the conclusion of a commercial treaty were two entirely distinct matters to be settled separately. Referring more particularly to M. Joffe, the Foreign Minister stated that although the Government were alive to the necessity of holding a third Russo-Japanese conference sooner or later, he was unable to say at present whether such a conference would take place, as M. Joffe was in Tokio in a private capacity. In his reply to a further question, Count Uchida stated that as Mr. Kawakami, the Japanese Minister at Warsaw, had been permitted to travel through Russia as a private individual, the Government had no grounds for refusing permission to M. Joffe to visit Japan, *particularly in view of the necessity for a resumption of trade relations with the Russian Government.* The italicized words are the most definite official statement that has yet been made of the views held by the Japanese Government, and have served to strengthen the belief that M. Joffe may play a more peaceful rôle in the future as regards Russo-Japanese relations than he has in the past. For the moment, however, his health appears to be seriously affected, as a bulletin issued in March by three doctors who are attending him at Atami, the well-known Japanese Spa near Tokio, declares that he is suffering from sciatic gout, and that relief has had to be given by means of narcotics and frequent injections. In any case, M. Joffe's convalescence and the recovery of his full powers will be awaited with much interest both in Japan and elsewhere.

Just before the Kato Administration came into being the representatives of Japan and China had formally exchanged ratification of the Sino-Japanese Agreement on Shantung which had been signed at Washington on February 4. The Kato Government lost no time in appointing their members for the joint Sino-Japanese Committee who were to negotiate at Peking the details of the Agreement, and on December 1 the agreement covering the details of the retrocession of the leased territory of Kiaochow was signed at Peking by the

delegates of China and Japan. Five days later the Shantung railway agreement was signed, the value being fixed at forty million yen and the rate of interest at 6 per cent. Quite unceremoniously, and without that flourish of trumpets with which, perhaps, the Japanese Government might quite justly have ushered in such an important event, the civil administration of Tsingtao was formally transferred to the Chinese Government on December 10, and the Japanese troops, the civil officials and their families, boarded transports in the harbour and sailed for Japan on December 17.

Referring to these events a few days later, Count Uchida remarked that, although Tsingtao was formerly only a small fishing village situated in a remote corner of Shantung, the Germans had foreseen its possibilities for the future, and had made comprehensive plans for improving both the town and the harbour. During the eight years that the territory was under Japanese management, the plans for improvements had materialized, and Tsingtao had been developed from an unknown fishing hamlet to one of the greatest commercial ports in the Orient. Count Uchida expressed the hope that China would be able, now that the control of the port was in her own hands, to take full advantage of its commercial possibilities.

The Government's action in relegating to the limbo of the past the two great questions of Siberia and Shantung met with approval both at home and abroad, and, commenting thereon, the *Japan Advertiser* remarked in December that two of the most effective weapons in the armoury of anti-Japanese propagandists had been rendered useless, and that Japan had given official proofs of her generous intentions towards her neighbours on the Asiatic mainland.

In China itself the Tsingtao settlement appeared to have had a good effect, and early in January the Students' Association at Swatow (South China) passed a resolution to cancel the boycott against Japanese goods on the ground that, inasmuch as Japan had treated China as her friend by the restoration of the Tsingtao territory, China was under the obligation to treat Japan in the same amicable spirit. It frequently

happens, however, that popular sentiment and the movements of high politics do not coincide, and as the result of pressure brought to bear in the Chinese Parliament, on March 10, 1923, the Chinese Government addressed a note to Japan expressing a desire for the abrogation of the Sino-Japanese Treaty of 1915 embodying the famous Twenty-one Demands, alleging that the Treaty had been consistently condemned by public opinion in China from the commencement, and that, under the pressure of this public opinion, China considered it proper, in view of the imminent expiration of the lease of Port Arthur and Dairen, to improve the relations between China and Japan by formally declaring the whole agreement abrogated. This sudden demand on the part of the Chinese Government created something of a sensation, and it was even reported in a telegram despatched by a foreign news-agency at Tokio that the Japanese Foreign Office had refused to accept delivery of the Note. This rumour was, of course, unfounded, and the official reply of the Japanese Government was handed simultaneously to the Chinese Chargé d'Affaires at Tokio and to the Chinese Government by the Japanese Minister at Peking on March 14. The note consisted of a polite but firm refusal to consider the abrogation of treaties concluded and notes exchanged in 1915 which had been formally signed by Japanese and Chinese representatives, properly invested with full powers by their respective Governments, and which had been duly ratified by the respective heads of the States concerned. Moreover, new arrangements had recently been made between Japan and China on certain matters, stipulated in these treaties and notes, and the Japanese Government declared that they found absolutely nothing in the treaties and notes which was susceptible to further modification.

In well-informed political circles in Japan, the Chinese *démarche* had not been regarded too seriously, opinion inclining to the view that internal necessities, rather than other causes, had dictated the course taken. Latterly signs of a recrudescence of anti-Japanese agitation, combined with some

fantastic machinations in certain Chinese circles, have become manifest, and a connection between the *démarche* and the renewal of this agitation is suspected. Japan is taking the whole matter calmly, but in any case it seems a pity that the improvement in Sino-Japanese relations, which had undoubtedly set in towards the beginning of the year, should be imperilled.

An incident occurred in January in connection with some remarks of the Japanese Premier in replying to interpellations in the Diet with reference to the execution of the Washington Naval Treaty which gave rise to some comment abroad. Admiral Baron Kato was reported to have stated that an understanding existed between the British, American, and Japanese Governments regarding the steps to be taken in the event of other countries not ratifying the Washington Naval Agreement. Admiral Baron Kato actually said that if it should happen that France and Italy did not ratify the Naval Treaty an agreement of some sort might be reached between the United States, Great Britain, and Japan, but that, apart from this question, the Japanese Government intended for the purpose of economizing expenditure in the spirit of the Washington Conference, to carry into effect the Budget estimates framed on the basis of the Washington Naval Treaty. Viscount Kato, the leader of the Opposition, who had elicited the above statement from the Premier, then asked whether the Japanese Government had not consulted the British or American Governments in regard to the steps to be taken with reference to the Budget estimates for the coming year, should ratification be delayed by France and Italy. To this the Premier replied that no official negotiations had been in progress with either the American or British Governments, but that the three Powers had been in close touch, informally, and not as a measure of official procedure, on the subject of naval budgets through their respective representatives and naval experts.

It is of interest to note that political party leaders in Japan also were considering the question of the surplus to be obtained by the reduction of the armament estimates. In January,

Viscount Takahashi, the immediate predecessor of Admiral Baron Kato in the Premiership, and now the leader of the Seiyukwai (Liberal Party), in the course of a speech to his supporters, suggested that the surplus derived from the reduction of armaments should be used for increasing the state grant for elementary education and also for river conservancy works. Viscount Kato, leader of the Kenseikwai (Constitutionalists) and also of the Opposition, speaking at a party meeting in the same month, suggested that the Treasury surplus should be devoted to the relief of the farmers who were in a bad way. The Government's views on the question of the employment of this particular revenue surplus have not yet been made known, but they are proceeding to carry out the programme of retrenchment and reform announced by Admiral Baron Kato, when he assumed the Premiership, with great firmness.

It is not generally known what a drastic view Baron Kato took of this question, nor that he circularized his colleagues at the head of the various Departments of State that a reduction of at least 20 per cent. was to be arranged in their departmental estimates for inclusion in the next Budget, and that, with regard to the Army and Navy estimates, the reduction was to be still larger than 20 per cent.

It might be considered, judging from the foregoing, that the spirit of economy was paramount in Government circles, but this is hardly borne out by the announcement that Count Uchida has introduced a Bill in the House of Representatives with the object of using forty-four million yen from the Boxer indemnity and fifteen million yen from the sale of the Shantung railway for the purpose of promoting Sino-Japanese relations and for grants in aid of Chinese students in Japan, the mutual exchange of lecturers, and the upkeep of Japanese schools in Tsingtao. Thus, whilst exercising the strictest economy at home, the Kato Administration appears to believe in the relaxation of the purse-strings when such a procedure can assist, however indirectly, in the maintenance of friendly relations abroad.

THE FRENCH COLONIES AND BRITISH TRADE

BY ROGER DE BELLEVAL

THE French Colonial Empire is, after the British, the most extensive and the richest in the world, yet it is largely undeveloped. In Africa the difficulty is chiefly shortage of labour; in Indo-China the rise in the value of the local currency has prevented the establishment of large French firms. It follows, therefore, that in order to develop these colonies it is necessary to extend their trade with the outside world. At present the trade of the French colonies is very largely with the mother country. From the point of view of sentiment this is desirable, but, nevertheless, the French market, to be frank, cannot be expected to be the sole, or even the largest, recipient of French colonial produce.

Before the war there was a large amount of German enterprise in the French colonies, and there is no reason why England should not now take her place, and help in those spheres which are beyond the power of French commerce. In point of fact, England already has an important position in this respect. In the case of West Africa she occupies the second place, immediately behind France. In 1919 the amount of English shipping that entered and left those ports amounted to a tonnage of 2,220,000—*i.e.*, 26·4 per cent. of the total—whilst the value of the goods shipped and discharged was 244,918,000 francs—*i.e.*, 30·5 per cent. of the total. The proportions are less favourable in the case of the trade with Madagascar, where England and the British colonies can only claim 15·8 per cent. of the imports and 18·1 per cent. of the exports.

On the contrary, English trade has the first place in Indo-China, being far in front of the French. In 1921 the British imports (including those of Hong-Kong, Singapore, etc.) represent 436,351,000 francs, 54 per cent. of the total; and the exports 630,420,000 francs, 48 per cent.

The same year 382 English vessels entered the Indo-Chinese ports, aggregating 737,162 tons, coming very near behind French tonnage,

While in Indo-China British colonies and dependencies take the first place in British trade, in the case of Morocco England alone exported into that country in 1920 goods valued at more than 212,000,000 francs, 21 per cent. of the total imports of the protectorate; the goods exported into England amounted to 69,983,000 francs, 26 per cent. of the total. English vessels come second behind France, and reached 736 entered and left, aggregating 505,638 tons—i.e., more than 11 per cent.

However, this is not true co-operation between the two countries, and a clever and fair system of Anglo-French collaboration would be very useful both for France and England, and might take different forms.

1. There is some machinery, absolutely necessary for the colonies, which France does not build—*e.g.*, rice-barking machines. English firms might well study supplying them as cheaply as other countries, and with improvements corresponding to local conditions—climate, quality, and customs of the workers, etc. Some improvements might tend to increase in important proportions the produce of colonial industries.

2. Some products which, in other countries, supply a remunerative trade are often useless, because they have no openings for intensive cultivation, without which no profits are possible. English business men might open up these regions with a network of commercial roads to transport the products in question. Production would at once grow under the influence of the increasing demand.

3. There are industries in which France does not possess specialized engineers—*e.g.*, petroleum. It would be to the benefit of all if English specialists would study the problems of that kind which await solution in the French colonies. It appears that petroleum exists in the Indo-Chinese subsoil; engineers working in Burma or Bornea should come and bore for petroleum in a country so near to those where they are working.

4. France has very little money which is not invested already. The rebuilding of her devastated regions require all her resources. Such a situation does not exist in England.

Thus it would be very desirable to see the establishment of companies possessing one-third of English capital.

Co-operation of this kind should have remarkable economic results : the French colonies would grow rapidly, and at the most vital points, without undue haste ; at present there is almost stagnation. French business men are ignorant of all that lies outside their own firms ; they know almost nothing of the world's market. Englishmen are better informed regarding the general conditions, their business being more important and more scattered in the different parts of the world. Besides, numerous products have their principal market in Great Britain.

I add a few notes of a general character regarding France's colonies.

Morocco exports chiefly wool, hides, eggs (30,000,000 francs), more than 100,000 tons of barley, 30,000 tons of wheat, and 30,000 tons of other grains. Agriculture is, with cattle-breeding, the basis of its economic future. The cultivated area covers more than 6,000,000 acres, and the forests cover about 1,200,000 acres. In 1921 wheat extended over 2,000,000 acres, and barley over 2,400,000 acres. Fruit-trees are very numerous, numbering 2,500,000. The production of wheat is slightly less than 3 cwt. per acre, and introduction of machinery will improve this considerably. Cattle are numerous—almost 7,000,000 sheep, more than 2,000,000 goats, 1,600,000 oxen, 120,000 pigs, 420,000 asses, 202,000 horses and mules, 100,000 camels. In consequence the value of exported hides amounts to 33,000,000 francs.

On the coast cork-trees cover 620,000 acres, cedars spread over 750,000 acres, and oaks over 620,000. The principal imports are sugar, tea, soap, candles, cotton textiles, building materials.

Under the wise government of Marshal Lyautey, Morocco has become one of the most opulent of the French colonies. It possesses good ports, well placed—*e.g.*, Casablanca, Mazagan, Keniltra, Mogador, Rabat. Railways have a length of 750 miles. The budget amount to 300 millions, and the financial aid of France is no longer necessary.

French Western Africa exports chiefly ground-nuts, rubber, palm-oil, gum arabic, hides and leathers, cotton, cocoa, and lumber. Railways extend to 1,500 miles. The Governor-General, M. Merlin, who is now in Paris in order to take over Indo-China in the place of M. Maurice Long, has given to the colony a very strong impulse during the four years of his government, which has just come to an end. To-day Western Africa possesses 6,500 miles of roads, 15,000 miles of telegraph-lines, 14 stations of wireless telegraphy, 6 submarine cables, 1 aerial service (Dakar-Bamabo), 19 harbours. M. Merlin has paid great attention to agriculture, and there are four big experimental stations for cotton, ground-nuts, palm-trees, and oil-palm trees.

The colony can boast of magnificent forests, which were admired at the last Colonial Exhibition in Marseilles, and they will yield an important trade. This is one of the greatest factors in the future of the colony, together with the cotton, which will grow in abundance in the Nigerian Valley when the irrigation works are completed. The most important products imported are textiles, metallic work, coal, wine, flour, sugar, and preserved meat. Madagascar, the Big Island, has not an economic development to be compared with that of Morocco or Western Africa, but it possesses many riches, both on and under ground. There is rice (very small quantities of which are exported), potatoes, beans, Indian corn, sugar-cane, coffee, cocoa, vanilla, clove-trees, ground-nuts, numerous and various fruit-trees in the interior, etc. Silkworm-breeding is developed with success. Forests cover about 30,000,000 acres, and offer mahogany, ebony, etc. Rubber has been tried with success during the last few years. Here also cattle are numerous—8,000,000 oxen and 230,000 sheep.

The most important mineral resources are graphite (the exports of which are larger than those of Ceylon), gold, iron, nickel-ore, copper, lead, and coloured gems.

French Equatorial Africa is not yet ready for a strong economic development; the density of population is too slight.

We will not speak of Algeria and Tunisia, as they are considered as extensions of France, and the French commercial

influence is too preponderating to leave much room for commerce from without.

In the Pacific Ocean we should mention New Caledonia, which has a large French colony, and is the first country in the world for the production of nickel-ore. The French Settlements of Oceania possess important mines of phosphate.

Indo-China is the French colony which has the biggest resources and the best economic future. The density of population is 80 per square mile, and in some regions, in the delta of the Red Rivers, for instance, amounts to 1,000. The people are attached to France, and the political tranquillity encourages the greatest hopes, the more so as natural riches are plentiful—rice, rubber, tea, coffee, tobacco, stick-lac, cotton, coprah, Indian corn, etc. While the South is chiefly agricultural, the North is to enjoy a great industrial future. Big factories already exist in the Tonquin: the "*Société des Ciments Portland de l'Indochine*" employs 4,000 workmen and exports 200,000 tons of cement a year; the "*Société Cotonnière du Tonkin*" employs 3,000 workmen; the "*Distilleries de l'Indochine*" are among the most important in the world; the "*Charbonnages du Tonkin*" have exported last year about 800,000 tons of anthracite coal. There are also metallic mines (tin-ore, copper, zinc, lead, gold) which were prosperous, but the rise in the piaster has greatly injured them.

By close and fair co-operation, as that shown during the war, English and French can be of great use each to the other, and also will learn to understand each other better. Considering the enormous work accomplished by France overseas, England should not appreciate only the warlike qualities of France; she should understand that this country possesses other qualities as well. Based on common interests and mutual esteem, Anglo-French friendship will not be only a topic for eloquent praise or lamentations, but a living and undeniable reality.

THE CHINESE PSYCHICALLY AND SENTIMENTALLY VIEWED

WE are accustomed to read in the newspapers and elsewhere of China as being the oldest continuous civilization, possessing the oldest literature, and so on ; but some polarization of ideas is desirable in order to get a view of the matter in a clearer and, it is hoped, more correct light. Excavations made about a quarter of century ago in the neighbourhood of one of the old dynastic capitals of Central China resulted in the discovery of numerous bone and tortoise-shell inscriptions, which have excited great interest among a limited number of Chinese and Japanese savants, and which have also been painstakingly examined and described during the past five years by Mr. Lionel C. Hopkins in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, the *New China Review*, and elsewhere. Although some of these inscriptions have specific value in confirming or correcting the officially recorded names of Chinese monarchs who reigned between 1766 and 1112 B.C. (second hereditary dynasty), and even in suggesting "spiritual" or ancestral connection with the first dynasty (2205-1767 B.C.), it is quite evident that, at the time to which most of these inscriptions refer, which time about corresponds to the reign of Tutankh-Amen in Egypt, Chinese writing was still in a most primitive stage, only capable of conveying short messages of a votive and oracular description, quite inadequate for the purposes of recording exact information, arguing out political matters, and so on. At the same time it has been proved by Chavannes, De Saussure, and others, that the movements of the heavens were accurately recorded, not necessarily in words. And even as to the third hereditary dynasty (1112-828 B.C. in its semi-historical half), it is only in its decay (827-255 B.C.) that we

find recorded clear, dated, and exact political information : this was subsequent to and probably in consequence of the elaboration of a new form of writing about the middle of the ninth century B.C., shortly after which time the imperial power began to decline, precisely in measure as the different vassal states found themselves able to correspond with each other independently of the royal or "papal" themistes, and thus develop their own secular power. Previous to 850 B.C. the loose relations between the Kings and the vassal states were just as vague in China as were those in early Egypt, or in early Sumer and Accad. Perhaps one of the oldest really literary efforts of Chinese origin we can point to with some certainty is the so-called "Bushell's Bowl," now in the Victoria and Albert Museum ; the authenticity of this priceless relic of antiquity, discussing Chinese events corresponding to the times of Tiglath-Pileser II. and Assurbanipal of Assyria, was examined at length in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July and October, 1909, and in the *T'oung-Pao* for 1909, No. 4, whilst its own date is quite near 590 B.C. About a generation later Confucius was born (551 B.C.), and he lived through the distressful period when the puppet semi-religious Emperors or Kings were the butt and political plaything of the warring states and their ducal, marchesial, and count-palatine rulers. Already the idea of remodelling China under one mail-fisted *Dominus* was in the air. After Confucius' death it was that the peripatetic and the scholarly varieties of the rival politico-religious philosophers first arose, and it will be seen from the literally translated specimen of one of their essays, published in the *Dublin Review* for October last, that by the fourth and third centuries before our era Chinese philosophical and literary capacity was quite on a level both in style and in reasoning with that of Greek contemporaries. In art, as in literary capacity, then, the Chinese were not only many centuries, but even many a millennium, in arrear of the Egyptians and Babylonians ; but their great superiority lies in this, that once they had gained facility in the art of writing and recording, they developed the literary and thinking capacity in the highest degree, and

speedily assumed a foremost place and a durable place amongst the intellectual nations of the earth. The ignorant Russia of Queen Elizabeth's time is a modern instance of how two or three centuries can evolve a Pushkin, a Lermontoff, a Tolstoy, and a Tchekoff out of mental chaos.

In one sense, that of continuity, China may lay fair claim, indeed, to be the oldest civilization; this cohesiveness is perhaps chiefly owing to its psychic views upon the subject of life and death, which have been so enduring that, throughout endless changes of dynasty, native and foreign, the Chinese democracy has, from a family point of view, always governed itself, and has, in fact, proved indestructible, whilst at the same time always showing a readiness to admit on terms of equality other peoples who are content to accept its "religious" principles. This particular view has been treated of at length in the *Quest* for 1918, January and April numbers, reproducing the substance of two lectures delivered at the School of Oriental Studies in 1917.

China, in its civilized infancy, never troubled itself much about the origin or meaning of life, as to the nature of which our own foremost scientists confess their complete ignorance: what they clearly saw was that each individual *derived* his life from father and mother, while each same individual, by co-operation with one of opposite sex, *passed on* life in the same way to sons and daughters. The features, the eye's expression, the voice of one generation, reappeared in the next, thus leaving the impression that, though the parent body had perished, the "soul" was still there, generation by generation, *ad infinitum*: hence the anxiety for a male heir to keep up the family soul; and in this particular sense China has always been democratic, and, so to speak, "man to man," Emperors, Kings, and rulers of all kinds being on precisely the same family footing with the commonest freeman. Thus Chinese social life is indestructible: families unite in clans, clans in villages or communities; or, after some generations, large clans may split up into widely separated branches. About forty years ago I published in one of the Shanghai news-

papers a number of instances called "Chinese Family Life": nearly all these were the histories of my own servants, employés, or their friends; not one but could go back for ten or twelve generations; or, if memory failed, could refer to a family member who kept the record: one literary man could refer back to 2,000 years. Hence, no matter what change of dynasty, no matter whether the ruling house be native, or Hun, Turk, Tibetan, Manchu, or what not, the current of family life flows on *in omne volubile ævum*. This, of course, has been, and is, a source of undesirable political weakness as well as of desirable social indestructibility, and partly explains the present confusion, where each man thinks first of his family "pile," his cemetery, his local interests. The secret of Manchu success as a dynasty has lain in the absolute fidelity of the Emperors to this family principle as supported by Confucius: 350 years ago the imperial Manchus were illiterate barbarians.

Of course, there has always been a popular and superstitious belief, not to say literature, with fanciful and complicated distinctions between the different souls or spirits connected with the dead—first the Chinese *sing* or "natural disposition," including the voice and features transmitted unconsciously by the dead; and then the *shên* and *kwei* forms of good or evil spirit which hover about the air to remind the living of their duty to the dead. All these excrescences of "belief" may be compared roughly with the Egyptian idea of a *ka*, or genius, remaining on earth along with the dead body, whilst the *ba* and the *chu* "spirits" speed to heaven until wanted at the resurrection; but this popular superstition is quite a separate matter from the universal Chinese passion for a male heir to carry on the family continuity, which is a silent unspoken force born and bred in the blood, requiring no literature and no discussion.

It may not be generally known that the Chinese have an Akhenaten of their own, and a pyramidal tomb too, the contents of which might rival in literary interest, though certainly not in art, those now being carted away from the burial-place

of the elusive monarch, afterwards called Tutankh-Amen. But notwithstanding repudiation of ancient beliefs, and the unsavoury reputation left behind him in consequence by the "First Emperor," Destroyer of Literature, in 213 B.C., no Chinaman but would be horrified at the suggestion that his tomb should be opened and his "mummy" taken off to a museum. M. Victor Segalen visited the spot eight years ago. It is a flat pyramid, 150 feet high, constructed in three sloping layers, the outermost and lowest of which is more than 300 yards long on each side; situated in a mountain valley, it remains intact, though in no way cased in by stonework: 700,000 emasculated prisoners were employed on the initial work, and the sarcophagus was let down by the engineers into a very deep hole, then at once filled with molten copper to keep out the ooze and damp; jewels and rare objects were distributed over neighbouring secret closets, and spring cross-bows were ingeniously concealed in surprise places, so that thieves might inadvertently shoot themselves; concubines who had not borne children were put to death and buried with the Emperor; the various entrances were ingeniously dissimulated, and all the workmen who knew the secrets of them were shut in alive when the work was finished. Several years after this "First Emperor's" death and the collapse of his dynasty, one of the two popular rivals competing for the imperial succession reproached the other for attempting to desecrate their common enemy's tomb, which, however, remained, and still remains, absolutely intact to this day, at the foot of the Li Shan Hills, twenty miles east of Si-an Fu, and south of the River Wei.

The Chinese rulers, whether Kings, Emperors, or what not, have always accepted the principle that they were appointed by Heaven for the good of the people—"the people are the Ruler's Heaven"—none of them figured as bloodthirsty boasters of the Sargon, Sennacherib, or Assurbanipal type; assuming a godlike status; gloating over conquered foes; impaling or flaying alive at public rejoicings, rebellious vassal rulers; transporting populations by the hundred thousand from Syria to Babylonia, and *vice versa*.

True, there were a few bad and cruel Chinese Emperors, as persistently denounced to this day by philosophers of all hues ; but they always lost their thrones and sometimes their family dynasties too ; yet in this last case provision was always made by the succeeding dynasty to keep up the predecessor's family continuity and provide for the hereditary sacrifices from son to father : in a word, the Chinese, whatever their faults, have always been intensely human, tolerant, and even genial. There seems to be—though I have no right to guess at it—no touching sentiment, no real poetry, in Egyptian or Babylonian literature, whereas many of the 300 odd Odes (as selected from the ancient 3,000 by Confucius) are exceedingly tender and touching ; it was the custom at all the vassal courts, even before Confucius' time, to "sling" an Ode at a diplomatic rival by way of clinching earnest arguments. The successful one of the two rival competitors for the imperial throne above referred to, having in 206 B.C. established a new dynasty, was at first disposed to flout Confucianism, saying, "I won the Empire on horseback, not through Odes and philosophers." His sagacious minister said : "Yes, sir, but it is quite another thing to *maintain* it on horseback" ; and decent Confucianism thus gradually won its way back. One of his lineal successors had occasion for political purposes to give a princess in marriage to a Tartar ruler in the West ; after experience of tent life, she composed and sent to the capital the following poem, which admits of translation line for line, metre for metre, rhyme for rhyme, and almost word for word, into English :

My folk have wedded me
Here toward
The ends of the world to a
Tartar lord.

A tent is my mansion and
Felt its wall :
Milk to drink, flesh to eat,
This is all.

Ah ! but 'tis sad to dwell
Here alone ;
Would I were winged to fly
Back to home !

This celebrated poem, which brought tears from the Emperor's eyes, is 2,100 years old, and is to this day equally touching as read in all dialects, however incomprehensible to each other the speakers may be. The Japanese and Coreans can equally *understand* it, but, as they are both totally ignorant of "tones," they cannot adequately *appreciate* it. On the other hand, the Annamese, who possess tones very much like the Cantonese, can "take it all in."

THE NEAR EASTERN RIDDLE

III. THE AFTERMATH OF LAUSANNE

By W. E. D. ALLEN, F.R.G.S.

THE Lausanne Conference may be regarded as the first Conference of negotiators, who were also experts, since the European War. It was a reaction to the old forms condemned by the democratic politicians, who had seen in trained diplomatic servants cold and logical critics of their short cuts to Utopia. It was what the Americans would call "a return to normalcy."

The person of Lord Curzon served to recall the dignity of Victorian conferences, while Chicherin, a graduate of Tsarist diplomacy, came not as the representative of the "world in chains," but as the envoy of Imperial Russia, with his eyes on the Straits and his hands stretching over Kars and the Dnieper. Here, again, were the old stakes—the body of Turkey, and the control of the Straits. Here were the old players—Britain, with her vital chain of Empire to be guarded; Russia, with her economic need; France, with her cultural and commercial interests. And here were the old pawns—truculent Turks, martyred Armenians, discomfited Greeks, hopeful Bulgars, and others interested.

Behind it all was neither the goodwill nor the love of peace which popular writers tell us rests within the heart of all peoples, ready to blossom into the splendid plant of international love whenever the bad gardeners of diplomacy may be replaced by the saintly husbandmen who are bred

of Trades Unions. Behind it were tough, hard-bitten fellows, cantoned on the Polish frontier, and steel ships in the Sea of Marmora; Aralov, with his gold-bags, and the sturdy peasant deputies and hectoring journalists of Angora; commis-voyageurs in Stambul and Smyrna among the frock-coated sort of Turk who, living in sight of ships and railway-stations, prefers a loan to a Jihad.

The months of haggling at Lausanne has at least served to clarify the political mind, to distinguish in clear-cut lines all the conflicting tendencies and interests whose point of convergence is Constantinople. The anomalous situation created by the Russian Civil War, the Turko-Greek War, and the amateurish caperings of democratic diplomacy, was terminated at Lausanne, and we are now in a position, after nine years, to give a careful consideration to the probabilities of the immediate future, in the process of which we cannot afford to ignore those very definite historical causes and effects which combined to form our traditional policy before the war.

It must be recalled that in the Mediterranean our policy has been not that of Rome, but of Venice; not to conquer and administer, but to hold strategic points, and to favour such political developments as may serve the interests of the commerce on which the prosperity and power of this country is eventually dependent. We are a trading and a colonizing nation, and it is not to our interest to hold in permanence any country which is not suitable to the colonization of our kind. In such countries we have made, and we may make, a temporary occupation in the interests of our trade, in order to suppress anarchy and to establish a suitable and efficient administration. Such a policy towards countries which are unsuitable for colonization must apply to Egypt, Palestine, Iraq, and Persia. The future of our race lies in Canada, Australia, and parts of Africa, but the future of our trade lies all over the world. Hence, in Europe and Asia we must follow a policy which favours the development of conditions suitable to

the extension of trade, wherefore we hold in permanence Gibraltar, Malta, and Aden, and make temporary occupation of Egypt, Iraq, or elsewhere. A corollary to this policy is to prevent the establishment in countries politically weak of Powers whose future actions or administration might be considered prejudicial to our commercial interests. Thus, we could never have permitted the predominance of France in Spain or Italy, and the danger of such predominance, which has occurred periodically—notably during the régimes of the two Napoleons—has justified our retention of Gibraltar and Malta. Again, the establishment of Russia in the Caucasus has prevented the development of those rich regions by Britain or by any of the other active commercial nations. And it has been our consistent policy to prevent the extension of the political influence of Russia, either across the Balkans to the Mediterranean, or across Turkey and Persia to the Indian Ocean.

A certain politician recently made an egregious observation—palatable enough to the disheartened income-tax paying elector—to the effect that the Straits were of no more interest to us than “a canal in the moon.”

It is really unnecessary to remark in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* that the free access of the British Fleet to the Black Sea is one of the most valuable results of the war, and that to relinquish such an advantage would be to indicate our debility as an Imperial race.

During the recent war the failure of the British to obtain control of the Straits went near to proving fatal. The formidable strength of the “Hamburg-Herat” bastion, established by the Germans, is a common-place.

In the present state of Europe, it is no exaggeration to state that the importance of the Straits is even greater. The creation, to coin another alliteration, of a hostile Vienna-Vladivostock belt, can only be permanently prevented by British naval control of, or at least access to, the Black Sea and the Baltic. The political independence of

Poland and Rumania is absolutely dependent on the ability of the British Fleet to enter the Black Sea. There are probably few British officials or travellers who would wax enthusiastic on the subject of either of these two States, but they could not but agree that if either Poland or Rumania were to be weakened or dismembered, the stability of the whole of Central Europe would be jeopardized.

The average thinking Englishman is inclined to reconciliation with Germany, he is anxious for the restoration of the prosperity and the strength of Russia, and he certainly does not regard with equanimity any policy which is directed towards the political or economic enslavement of Central and Eastern Europe. But at the same time, few can be blind to the dangers of a policy of what Lord Curzon has so aptly described as "skedaddle," that would allow Russia to close the Black Sea and to consummate with Germany an alliance, directed eventually to the control of the Baltic, and to the formation of a military *bloc*, far more formidable than *Mittel-Europa*, in that it would stretch from the Rhine to the Pacific, and might prove particularly attractive to the military party which essays to control the foreign policy of Japan.

The recognition of the freedom of the Straits, implying the right of access of international fleets to the Black Sea, with practical guarantees for the secure maintenance of this freedom, was the cardinal achievement at Lausanne. Chicherin invoked all the well-worn tags of ultra-democratic principle against it, while Aralov's golden arguments and the hysterics of a section of our Press went far to incite the Turks to a renewal of futile hostilities, but the issue could never be in real doubt while the steel ships lay in the Marmora.

The freedom of the Straits, besides being an essential of British world-policy, has established on a firm basis the independence not only of Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria, but of all the Eastern European States from Finland to

Hungary and Jugoslavia, who may be affected by the actions and reactions of Russia. Any hostile movement of Russia from the Baltic to the Dnieper, to the Caucasus and Central Asia, may be checked by a threat against the great Donetsk coal basin and the communications of Russia with Trans-Caucasia.

British policy has, and can have, no hostile motives against Russian territory; but it would be fatal to the safety not only of Central Europe, but of the Balkans and of Turkey, if the Black Sea were to become a *mare clausum* for the Russians, and Russia were not to be susceptible to naval pressure. Europe cannot afford to trust a great nation of peasant-soldiers, dominated by a bankrupt bureaucracy of fanatical experimentalists and ambitious officers.

Two minor questions affecting Russian and Turkish relations and international honour received a less satisfactory solution. The idea of an independent Armenia was definitely abandoned, after a final effort by Lord Curzon to obtain a national home for the Armenians within Turkish territory. The remnant of these unfortunate people—the victims alike of Mr. Wilson's idealism, of Mr. Venizelos' ambition, and of Mr. Lloyd-George's map-making—have apparently resigned themselves to absorption in the respective States in which they find themselves. The Armenians of the Caucasus, who, in spite of many vicissitudes, have almost consistently pursued a policy of loyalty to Russia, have now constituted themselves, according to recent information, the bulwark of Soviet rule in Trans-Caucasia. And their compatriots in Eastern Turkey are denouncing the West and all its works, while their more thoughtful leaders are seeking a means of permanent understanding with the Turks.

The case of the Georgians is very different. Forming a comparatively homogeneous *bloc* of nearly three million souls, they have, on the west, an extensive coast along the Black Sea, and on the south a common frontier with

Turkey, while the Mussulman Georgians of the Adjar mountains form a valuable cultural link between their Christian compatriots and Islam. The Georgians received *de jure* recognition both from the Powers and from Russia, and they profess to regard the present Russian occupation as temporary. It is believed that even the Georgian Bolsheviks are evincing opposition to the successive measures which the Russian authorities are taking to abolish their nominally independent status as a Soviet Republic federated to Russia. It is probable that, should the Turks at a later date attempt to exploit their national and religious connections and influence in the Eastern Caucasus, they would find in the Georgians a useful, although an independent, ally. At Lausanne, a Georgian Bolshevik was attached to the Soviet Delegation, and Georgia received recognition as a Black Sea riverain State federated to Russia, while an anomalous phrase in one of the clauses of the proposed treaty might be construed as a provision for her future independence.

The failure to accord to Bulgaria a port at Dédé Agatch, and at least a part of Western Thrace, must be regarded as the most unsatisfactory issue of the Conference. Bulgaria is entitled to consideration in this respect, both under the Treaty of Neuilly and on geographical and moral grounds. The latter are particularly urgent, and apart from other reasons, it is to be regretted that Bulgaria has not received some recognition of her strictly honourable attitude since the Armistice. The Entente has generally followed a policy towards their smaller allies in the Balkans of reward for services rendered, and if Bulgaria caused grave danger in 1916, her neutrality during the Greek débâcle of last year certainly averted grave danger from the whole of South-Eastern Europe. The opposition of Greece to concessions to Bulgaria is comprehensible, since such concessions would have been at the expense of that country, but if opposition came also from Rumania and Jugoslavia it was most ungenerous.

The Turks came to the Conference with the intention of making peace. It was a vital necessity to them, for they are, as their desperate fight for Smyrna showed them to be, a nation dependent on the Mediterranean trade. With the Caucasus a land of famine, and Persia destitute, they must now turn almost entirely to the Mediterranean and to the Arab lands under the control of England and France for a market for their goods, and it is in London and Paris that they must seek the capital necessary to their proclaimed renaissance. They intended to make peace, though they might threaten the "Capitalist West" with all the wrath of Islam, for the edification of the Cossacks massed at Alexandropol, and of the great band of chatterers who croak of the Sakaria in every bazaar from Sarajevo to Singapore. The sort of men who can translate Mr. J. M. Keynes into Turkish do not really dream that they can burn the old road of Suleiman to Vienna. They are practical men, who, if they dream historically, do not hie further back than Nuri's march to Baku five short years ago.

They knew that we would give much for the freedom of the Straits. We offered them Eastern Thrace and the Armenian national home, and many smaller things, till they wanted the Capitulations, Suleiman's old condescension to the most Christian king Francis, and an evil cause of perturbing Turkey ever since. The Turks are right; for any nation with respect for and faith in themselves, not to say a nation of trusty soldiers, could not harbour and cherish a close corporation of foreigners in their midst. The abrogation of the Capitulations will cause a great degree of hardship in many individual cases, but modern democracies are unthoughtful of the individual, and the lot of the privileged Pera merchants will be still preferable to that of Saxon farmers out of County Cork. If there is a little discomfort and anxiety, big profits go with the evil, and any Englishman who has seen some of the non-descript racial products who thrive and trade under the

shadow of the British Embassy may be inclined, with an easy mind, to consign them to the comfortable processes of the Sheriat.

The conclusion of peace with Turkey cannot be long delayed, and with it the greatest obstacle to a pacification throughout the Near East will have been overcome. The outstanding question of Mosul may be settled if we can understand that the Turks merely want, after the manner of some of our good allies, to share in the wealth the prospect of which has been so glibly prophesied.

Peace with Turkey, as war with Turkey, will react upon all the neighbouring lands; and if we refrain from pressing with too great enthusiasm upon these peoples—Turks, or Arabs, or Persians—such blessings as broad-casting and Proportional Representation, and from introducing unwelcome colonists out of the Warsaw ghettos, we may regain some of that respect and goodwill which we used to enjoy. In these days, when creeds become stunts and "tags" pass for ideas, it is good that Islam remains to remind us that man has faith and dignity.

KING'S MESSAGE TO MUSLIM WORLD

BRITAIN'S FRIENDSHIP

THE following messages have been exchanged between the King and the Amir of Afghanistan on the occasion of the inauguration of telegraphic communication between that country and Great Britain :

"On the occasion of the inauguration of telegraphic communication between Afghanistan and Great Britain, I have the honour to express my sincere gratitude to your Imperial Majesty for the facilities rendered by the officials of your Majesty's Government in the progress of the work. I hope the installation of this telegraphic communication will be the key to the good relations between Afghanistan and Great Britain. I do hope that the British Imperial Government will, in view of her obligations towards humanity and civilization, consider the miseries and misfortunes of the Muslims as a matter of great importance, in order that the friendly relations which existed for a long time between Great Britain and the whole Muslim world might be re-established.

"(Signed) AMANULLA, Amir of Afghanistan."

The reply of the King was as follows :

"I have received with great satisfaction your Majesty's greetings on the occasion of the inauguration of telegraphic communication between Afghanistan and Great Britain, and I reciprocate the wish that this communication may be conducive to the further improvement of the good relations between our two countries. Your Majesty refers to the friendly relations which long existed between Great Britain and the whole Muslim world. I greatly regret that the events of the war should have given rise to a belief that Great Britain no longer desires such relations. There is no foundation for that belief. It is the desire of myself and my Government, as far as possible, to live in peaceful and neighbourly co-operation with the Muslim world, and your Majesty may be assured, that wherever men are seeking justice and peace Great Britain welcomes their friendship. It is in this spirit that I earnestly hope for a speedy settlement in the Near East."

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE PRESENT AND FUTURE MANAGEMENT OF INDIAN RAILWAYS

BY SIR ROBERT W. GILLAN, K.C.S.I.

THE subject on which I wish to speak to you to-day is the present and future management of Indian railways. The contract of the East Indian Railway expired in 1920, and there was a great deal of discussion what should be done then. In the event the contract was extended, but only for five years. The contract of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway also expires in 1925, and in view of the important decision that has to be taken, involving the whole future of Indian railways, before that date, the Government appointed a Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir William Acworth, to advise it. You will see, therefore, that the discussion of the subject is opportune.

I must begin with a brief description of the present position. The trunk systems of Indian railways were originally constructed by private Companies, under guarantees of a certain return on the capital invested. The contracts of the Secretary of State with these Companies gave him, after specified periods, an option to purchase. This option he in all cases exercised, so that the railways are now owned by the State, but the systems were leased for management to Companies, who at the same time provided a certain amount of capital, with a guarantee again, though a much lower one, and an arrangement for division of profits over and above the minimum guaranteed and after payment of prior charges between the Company and the Secretary of State. The proportion of capital

subscribed by the Companies to the capital of the Secretary of State is very small, in the case of the G.I.P. Railway, for instance, one-nineteenth, but I deprecate too much being made of this circumstance. A larger body of shareholders would, no doubt, be more powerful, but even £1,500,000 is not an insignificant amount for a commercial Company to hold, and the interest of the individual shareholders in the prosperity of the undertaking would be no greater if the capital were multiplied ten or twenty times.

The question to be answered when the existing contracts expire is whether the Government should leave the railways with Companies or assume management itself. The issue then appears to be the old and familiar one between State and Company management, and on this issue it seems to me that happily there is little to be said. Nationalization was a great deal talked about not long ago, and it might even have been said that the Government of the day was committed to it—if it was ever committed to anything. It has gone back in favour, however, till now it is the creed only of a particular party. The people at large in England seem to have discarded the idea, and I understand the Italians are turning out the State management under which they have long suffered. Apart also from such movements of mass opinion, which may be perfectly sound, but are not reasoned, it is unusual now, I think, to find among students of the subject anyone who is prepared to defend nationalization. I hope, therefore, I may be allowed to assume that for the purposes of this discussion it is unnecessary for me to labour this issue. In India I know that such an assumption would be unjustified. It is true that men of the calibre of Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee, and Sir Maneckbhoy Dadabhoy can be quoted on the Company side, so that the weight of opinion is far from being all in the one scale; but the great majority of Indian public men are strong supporters of State management. If I do not attempt now to combat their view, it is not that I attach little weight to

their opinion; indeed, it is Indian opinion that is going to decide this question, but the occasion is not opportune. At the same time, I should like to give you some indication of the Indian point of view. I remember, for instance, a speech made in the Imperial Council by Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee. "The Companies," he said, "want to make money. Government has a totally different object. Finance is a consideration occupying an inferior status as compared with public comfort and convenience. When the conflict is between dividend and public convenience, I am certain Government will give preference to the latter. State management will mean management of the railways by the people and through the representatives of the people. It means a management more responsible to public opinion than Company management can ever be—a management which pays greater attention to the requirements of the people than to the requirements of £ s. d." This seems a very clear indication of what is likely to happen in India under State management. Similarly, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya referred to Companies as solely concerned in making as much profit out of the business as they could, and said that under State management there would be no mercenary interests left which would rejoice in earning large profits at the expense of the general public. The Indian view, in fact, is largely influenced by the ideal of public service, and it is an ideal that has many attractions. I think, however, that the view expressed about profit-making is wrong. Profit-making may not be a very exalted motive, but it is a motive that can satisfy itself, as it happens, only by serving others; and even in the case of railways, which are semi-monopolistic, large dividends cannot be earned except by rendering large public services. While it is easy also to understand the attitude of men who are carried away by the enthusiasm of an ideal, it is well to check ideals by experience and see how they have worked in practice. In the history of State and Company enterprise in the railway sphere a large mass of experience is

available which is highly instructive ; and if Indian publicists were to study this history, as Sir Dinshaw Wacha, for example, has done for many years—I may mention his letter to the Acworth Committee as giving some of his results in what appears to me to be a quite admirable form—I cannot help thinking that they would be forced to recognize the grave dangers of the policy which they advocate.

There are those, however, who contend that the issue I began by raising between State and Company management is not in India relevant. The advantages of Company management, they say, are admitted, but Company management as it exists in India has no reality, and cannot, therefore, claim those advantages. This view raises the question of the merits and demerits of the Indian system.

On this question the Acworth Committee were sharply divided. Sir William Acworth and four members condemn the system altogether. Their view is that the Companies are hopelessly entangled in a web of Government regulations and restrictions. They have no initiative ; they do not and cannot manage their undertakings ; it is only, in fact, in name that the management has been entrusted to them. The Government, on the other hand, has cut itself off from management ; it also has no initiative. It only controls and restrains. In a word, the system is described as essentially unworkable. The picture here presented would seem in itself to be somewhat highly coloured ; for it neither the Companies manage the lines nor Government, who then does manage ? And if the system is essentially unworkable, how is it that any results at all have been achieved in railway working ? This picture is disowned also by the other half of the Committee, which included three men with long experience of Indian railways, on the State as well as on the Company side, and, if I may add my mite of experience, I may say that after spending some years on the Railway Board I fail to recognize it. It is clear, in fact, that there is a substantial element of private

enterprise in Indian Companies—not so large certainly as it would be in Companies independent of Government—but still substantial, and if we believe in the advantages of private enterprise our endeavour should be not to stifle but to enlarge this element. I myself would go further and say that the manner in which the Indian system combines the essential factors of Government control and private enterprise has much in its favour. Sir William Acworth has a great deal to say about the control by Government, which he regards as excessive, but the more common criticism in India has been that it is inadequate. At any rate, control there must be of railways under any system, and there is no reason why it should not be relaxed or strengthened as may be necessary. We need not condemn the system for faults that are remediable ; but we have to consider, as Sir Henry Burt and others pointed out, what defects are inherent.

Money, we are told, is the root of all evil, and it is so on Indian railways. For their finance Indian Companies are in the hands of Government, and it is true that Government can destroy their initiative by refusing them funds. If we consider the financial policy of Government in the past, here are two examples. A Committee under Lord Inchcape was appointed to advise the India Office as to the best way of raising the money required for Indian railways ; it was a strong financial Committee, and it recommended among other things that the Companies should be allowed to raise additional share capital ; this, they thought, would be an advantageous alternative to Government loans and debentures, and, while enlarging the interest of the Companies, would increase the total amount of money available. On another occasion the South Indian Railway put forward a proposal for raising money without a guarantee from Government. But whatever their theory may be, Government do not always act as if they wished to foster private enterprise ; they do not seem to like sharing profits with other people, and they have never acted on the recom-

mendation of the Inchcape Committee, while they refused the application of the S.I.R. I may add that the Companies have never been allowed to raise a rupee of capital in India. That fact is more relevant in another connection, but you will easily understand that in consequence they are looked on as strangers and foreigners, and that Indian opinion, while it has nothing to say apparently against the small indigenous Companies which have financed what are called feeder lines, is all for the State management of these larger Companies.

Admitting, then, that the trouble is finance, what is the remedy?

So long as Government has an immense financial interest in the railways, it must be allowed to control the financial policy, and if this control is evil, the only complete remedy is for the Government to sell out its interest. I do not know why that should be an impracticable operation, but it is not practical politics.

Sir William Acworth's remedy is State management. That seems in the first place a counsel of despair; for, however bad things may be under the present system, they would only be made worse by the elimination of the Companies. But there is a further objection. To remove the financial difficulties which have been felt in the past, Sir William Acworth proposed the separation of the railway from the general Budget of the Government, and to this proposal he attached so much importance that he made it a condition precedent to the adoption of State management. But the condition has already been considered and rejected by the Government, so that the scheme of the Committee is left in the air. Besides this, the proposal seems to lead to a dilemma. For if the State has the ultimate decision, as it seems to me it must have, regarding railway funds, the proposal is unsubstantial, and if the intention is somehow to convey away railway moneys beyond the power of interference by the Government, the scheme cannot be described as State management. You have, in fact, merely substi-

tuted a Railway Department for a Railway Company and given it the very independence the want of which is the gravamen of the charge against the present system of Company management.

Then there is the scheme propounded by that half of the Acworth Committee who were opposed to State management. They were for the continuance of Company management, but proposed a new constitution for the Companies. Taking the case of the E.I.R. as an example, they suggested that the capital of the new Company should be formed, first of a sum, say 130 crores, representing the value of the undertaking, which would be the Government share; secondly, new authorized share capital of, say, 50 crores, of which perhaps half might be called up in the first few years, a certain return to be guaranteed on the public share capital, and after credit of a like return to Government, the surplus profits to be divided in proportion to the amounts of State and private capital in the concern. On the Board of Management there were to be five Government directors, five elected by the shareholders, the Chairman, nominated by the Government, to have a casting vote. This scheme gives effect to an idea that has had considerable vogue, namely, that the interests of the Government in railways should be given effect to by treating it as capital in a Company jointly with further capital subscribed by the public. That idea, however, seems to me a mistaken one. No advantage, so far, as I can see, is gained over the present system, and, at the same time, the real Company element is swamped by the Government element, so that the result is really State management in disguise.

This survey of the suggestions that have been made may bring us to a conclusion on this part of the subject. The real drawback in the present system is its liability to financial derangements if Government fails of wisdom in its powers of financial control. But the only method by which this evil could be eradicated—that is, the sale by Government of its interest in the railways—is impossible; the other plans

suggested only make it worse. The wise course, therefore, I submit, is to continue in essentials the present system. That this system is capable of improvement is certain. The Companies ought to have greater financial independence, and there is no reason why it should not be given them. In nine cases out of ten it is better to work for improvements rather than for revolutionary changes, and in the present case the revolution proposed—that is, the change to State management—is not merely a step untried and of uncertain event, but has been proved time and again to be destructive.

One further question remains—it is the last. If there are to be Companies, should they be English Companies as at present, or Indian? On this question the arguments most commonly adduced are directed to the character of the Boards that would be available for the direction of the Companies in either country. On the one hand, we are given many reasons for supposing that English Boards are indispensable; on the other hand, statistics are produced which establish more firmly the longevity of persons appointed to these Boards than their capacity. It is urged that men in India are always changing, and that Boards in that country could never be satisfactory; equally it is urged that there are large concerns already managed by Indian Boards, and that there is no reason why railways should not be so managed. I doubt if the setting out of considerations of this kind is necessary or will even be found helpful to a decision. What I would say is this: It was right and proper in the past to have English Companies. It would be more natural now to have Indian Companies, and I should be glad to see their formation. But there may be difficulties. Sir William Acworth, for instance, and those who shared his views, give it as their clear opinion that if the E.I.R. and G.I.P. Railway were handed over to the management of Indian domiciled Companies, the effect would be practically to close the London market against them. I cannot say if this opinion is correct; but if some may consider that Indian railways can now get

on without English capital, the result, I think, would be unfortunate. It does not seem to me, however, that the point need be determined now, or even that it could be. I am assuming now, of course, that the formation of a Company has been decided on, but if so a good deal must be left to be settled according to the personnel of those who promote the Company, and of the circumstances at the time of its promotion; the promoters would naturally make their plans in such a way as would best facilitate and secure the supply of the capital required, and would consider the question of the domicile of the Company from that practical point of view. Similarly as regards the Board of Directors. It seems often to be assumed that in the case of an Indian Company all the directors would necessarily have to be resident in India, but if I mistake not there are Boards of Indian Companies already which include directors resident in England, and the arrangement works quite satisfactorily. Here, again, what the promoters would have to consider would be how to get together a Board that would command the greatest amount of confidence of investors both in England and India, and I doubt whether in practice difficulties would arise of the kind that have been anticipated. The main point that emerges is this: There are those who say: "If you can have an Indian Company, well and good; if not, we must have State management." That attitude seems to me wrong. I put the necessity of having a Company first. I should like it to be an Indian Company at once, but I would not insist on it; the Indian Company will come soon enough, if you have not in the meantime made it impossible by adopting State management. If you are in a great hurry, you will spoil everything; if you can afford to wait a little, you will not have to wait long.

The subject is a very large one, and where I have mentioned one point I have of necessity omitted a dozen. One general remark I still wish to make in conclusion. I began by saying that on the straight issue between State management and private enterprise most people would be found to

favour private enterprise. But if many subscribe to this principle some do so wholeheartedly ; others, and perhaps the majority, are only lukewarm ; and the difference in the degree of conviction with which the principle is held determines one's whole attitude to the questions I have discussed. If you think that, after all, the advantages of Company management are not very great, you will easily accept alternatives. If you are persuaded, on the other hand, of the grave dangers of State management, you will hold that the maintenance of private enterprise is the vital factor and should be made the predominant purpose of railway policy. For myself, I think that the adoption of State management would prove the ruin of Indian railways, and I hope that all who are interested in the well-being of India, which is so closely bound up with its railways, will be aroused to the perils of that course.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, February 12, 1923, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., at which a paper was read by Sir Robert W. Gillan, K.C.S.I., entitled, "The Present and Future Management of Indian Railways." In the absence of Sir John Prescott Hewett, M.P., the chair was occupied by Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

The following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Pentland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Colonel Sir Charles E. Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Sir Thomas W. Holderness, Bart., G.C.B., K.C.S.I., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Lionel Davidson, K.C.S.I., Sir Lionel Jacob, K.C.S.I., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Francis Spring, K.C.I.E., Sir Charles Mules, C.S.I., Sir George Sutherland, Sir William Owens Clark, Colonel M. W. Douglas, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. J. Hope Simpson, C.I.E., M.P., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Colonel S. H. Godfrey, C.I.E., and Mrs. Godfrey, Mr. J. Godfrey, Mr. E. Dutt, Miss Scatcherd, Mr. W. Coldstream, K.I.H., Colonel F. S. Terry, Mr. A. Sabonadiere, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. J. E. Dallas, Mr. E. A. Neville, Mr. C. E. Young, Mr. H. M. Jagtiani, Mr. L. Mazumdar, Mr. E. P. Golding, Mr. C. P. Whitcombe, Mr. and Mrs. G. M. Chesney, Mr. Cyril Hitchcock, Mr. M. W. Frizell, Mrs. White, Miss Beadon, Mr. H. B. Huddleston, Mr. F. G. Heaven, Mr. C. W. Walsh, Mr. G. K. Wasey, Mr. L. G. Bouchier, Mr. A. V. Venables, Mr. Bricknell, Mr. Gerrans, Mr. G. Deuchars, Mr. W. Stantiall, Captain Rolleston, Mr. F. Adams, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. Blake, Mr. Muirhead, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The SECRETARY announced that Sir John Hewett was, unfortunately, unable to take the chair, owing to a severe chill, which necessitated his taking a few days in the country; but in his absence Sir Michael O'Dwyer had kindly undertaken to preside.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, I am afraid I am a very unworthy substitute for Sir John Hewett. In addition to his general knowledge of Indian administration, for many years he was Member for Commerce and Industry in the Government of India, and had an inner knowledge of the working of the railways. I can claim no such experience. That does not matter very much, however, as we have a lecturer who is peculiarly qualified to speak on the subject. For Sir Robert Gillan was not only for many years a distinguished administrator in the Provinces, but was later President of the Railway Board, and as such had an intimate knowledge of the working of the railways. The great experience gained in that capacity, and afterwards as a director of one of the great com-

panies, will enable him to enlighten us this afternoon in connection with the subject we are here to discuss—the Present and Future Management of Indian Railways. I will therefore not stand further between you and Sir Robert Gillan's address.

The Lecture was then read.

Miss SCATCHERD said that before reading one or two comments made by Dr. Pollen she wished to thank the Lecturer for having put so highly technical a subject in such an interesting way that it enabled an outsider easily to understand it, and was glad to see so much interest shown in this live subject by those present. No one who travelled much could fail to appreciate the enormous importance of easy and cheap means of transit. Dr. Pollen, in his concluding remarks, said: "It has always seemed to me that the proper policy for the State in India was to build railways, and then hand them on to management by private or public companies, the principle being that Government should be content with a clear profit of, say, 3 per cent. on its expenditure, and should devote all further profits to the improvement of the system, the development of its traffic and its transport facilities, and other improvements; and that Government should actively co-operate with the companies in these matters, and should combine active control with free private enterprise. I think this is something like Sir Robert's own view also! The wisest course, undoubtedly, is to continue in all essentials the present system, while granting the companies greater financial independence. I further think, with Sir Robert, that Indian companies, no matter what the difficulties may be, should forthwith be formed; and it ought not to be necessary that all the directors should be resident in India, provided these directors are the right men in the right place, and bent on improving the communications of the country generally. But, be that as it may, for the purpose of over-seeing and caring for the communications of the country generally, a higher and upper Board should be duly instituted, including members of well-known ability and influence, whose approval would help on the development of India in all preliminary stages. You will see that I believe in the maintenance of private enterprise, and consider that the good of India should be the predominant purpose of railway policy."

Mr. NEVILLE said he was sorry his Chairman, Sir Henry Burt, had not been able to be present. Sir Henry Burt desired him to express his regret that owing to illness he was unable to come, but he was quite sure if he had been present he would have most cordially supported what had been so ably put forward by the Lecturer.

With regard to the lecture, he would first of all like to mention that the Bengal and North-Western Railway was perhaps the only big railway in India constructed by purely private enterprise, and he would like it to be recorded that it quotes the lowest rates and fares in India. (Hear, hear.) His old chief, Mr. Alex. Izat, under whom he had served since 1882, was a man who preferred to earn 1,000 rupees on 1,000 tons at a cheap rate, than the same amount on 500 tons carried at higher rates. The whole principle on which Mr. Izat worked was to quote as low rates as possible, so as to encourage and develop traffic for the benefit of the public, and in

that way to build up, as he had done, a magnificent enterprise for his shareholders. He always had the consideration of the public at heart, and by doing so he had benefited the interests of India far and away more than any other railway man he had known in India.

Sir FRANCIS SPRING said that if he had had an opportunity of reading the paper in advance he might have joined more usefully in the discussion of it. He based his claim to give an opinion in the matter on the fact that, although his official connection with the Indian State Railway Services terminated nineteen years ago, he had already, when retiring, had thirty years' experience of the working of the railway net-work, and had been associated with its growth from 5,000 to 35,000 miles. During nearly half of the thirty years it had fallen to his lot to give voice to the Government control of the policies of most of the company-worked, State-owned railways. Later again, while Engineer-Chairman with the Madras Port Trust, he had been for fifteen years closely associated with two of the company-worked lines which ran into his harbour premises. He thought, therefore, that he could claim to be not too far out of touch with the subject of the paper, and he desired, in the light of his experience, to express himself strongly in favour of the management by working companies of the State-owned railways of India.

There were, he thought, special reasons why the North-Western Railway of India should continue, as heretofore, to be worked directly by the State. For not only is it of strategic value in connection with frontier defence, but it, as well as such other lines as may be retained under direct State management, will have to serve as a training ground for the State officials who will have to enforce on the working companies compliance with Government requirements in matters of traffic, of comfort, and of safety in which the interests of the public and of the companies may not always be quite concurrent. For the control over such matters as must be controlled, by such a Board over which Sir Robert Gillan lately presided, can only be efficiently exercised if his colleagues, as well as his inspectors, whether engineers or traffic officers, have gained adequate experience in practical railway business. Such experience, on broad enough lines for general control purposes, can best be got if a certain mileage—say, three or four thousand—of railway is retained under direct State management, as is perhaps desirable in the case of the strategic net-work.

Mr. Neville had mentioned with due appreciation the name of his former chief, the late Mr. Alexander Izat. The control of working companies would be easier if there were more men of Mr. Izat's mentality at the head of the companies' staffs. But the chief safeguard in such matters as the working of a State-owned line by what one might call a "farmer company" for a term of years—a company whose shareholders' interests in the success of the business "farmed" amounted perhaps to only one-tenth to one-twentieth of its value—lay, he thought, in so devising the working contracts that the interests of the State owners and those of the "farmer workers" are concurrent, so far as practical, instead of divergent. In some of the older contracts the two interests sometimes diverged acutely. The new contracts, as the result of experience in the

working of the older ones, have been drawn on better lines, and it will usually be found that the working policy which is good for the working companies' shareholders is good also for the owning taxpayer. This state of things, needless to say, facilitates Government control.

In any discussion like the present one on Indian Railway Policy, the effect of such policy on the raising of capital must ever be borne in mind. The London money market being the largest and cheapest in the world, it would be folly to adopt a policy that afterwards might be found to have the effect of making English capitalists, brokers, and promoters shy of Indian railway investments. The location of Boards of Directors in India instead of in London would, he thought, be likely to have this effect and, in his opinion, the partial loss of London capital-raising facilities would be unlikely to be compensated for by rupee investors in a market opened in India—at least to anything like adequate extent.

Mrs. WHITE asked if any question had arisen in India as to the grouping of railways, such as we now had in operation in this country? Such a system, in her opinion, would result in a great saving of directors' fees, and also would be of great benefit to the travelling public, owing to the reduction of working expenses, resulting in cheaper means of travel. England had been apparently the leaders in regard to grouping, but she had not yet heard of the grouping system being applied in India.

Sir CHARLES YATE said that he had been waiting to hear some opposition to the views of the Lecturer; but there had not been a single advocate of State management of railways.

He entirely endorsed what had been said by the Lecturer. He, personally, had taken a good deal of interest in the question, and had put a question to the Secretary of State for India as to how many Chambers of Commerce in India were in favour of the administration of the East Indian and Great Indian Peninsular Railways being entrusted to company management and against their transfer to State management. From the reply he had recently received it appeared that of all the Chambers of Commerce in India—the Madras Chamber of Commerce, the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, the Upper India Chamber of Commerce, the Cawnpore, the Burmah, and the Chittagong Chambers of Commerce—all advocated company management, and that the only Chamber not in favour of company management was the Karachi Chamber of Commerce.

Sir FRANCIS SPRING said those were practically all European Chambers of Commerce.

Sir CHARLES YATE agreed, but said they had all Indian members. He was more specially concerned with the real Chambers of Commerce in all the great trading centres, and as regards Karachi, he noticed a telegram the other day where it said that: "A special meeting of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce yesterday afternoon threw out, by a small majority, Sir Montagu Webb's proposal that the Karachi Chamber should support the Bengal and Bombay Chambers' views as to the management of the East Indian and Great Indian Peninsular Railways by companies

domiciled and directed in India rather than by the State direct. The Karachi Chamber now stands committed to the opinion that the management of the East Indian and Great Indian Peninsular Railways, on the expiry of the present contracts, should be taken over by the State, the agents of those railways to be associated with Boards of Management." That was a telegram published on January 5, 1923. Curiously enough, Karachi was entirely dependent on the North-Western Railway, which was a State-managed railway, and had nothing whatever to do with the East Indian or the Great Indian Peninsular Railways. That was an important point to consider.

As Sir Francis Spring had said, there were reasons why the North-Western Railway should remain under State management, and he agreed that it was largely a strategic railway, and not a commercial railway. The frontier railways certainly were best under State management, but with regard to the main line from Delhi to Karachi he saw no reason why it should not come under company management, although no doubt the Karachi people, having been entirely dependent on State-managed railways, preferred by a small majority to remain under State management. The question was very soon coming up for consideration by the Secretary of State, and he had seen a paragraph in *The Times* of February 9 which said that: "In the Legislative Assembly, yesterday, Mr. C. A. Innes announced that Lord Peel required a further few days to consider the question of State *versus* Company management of the Indian railways, and that the discussion of the question had been postponed till February 26." He sincerely hoped that the lecture they had just heard would have much influence on the decision of the Secretary of State. (Hear, hear.) In his opinion it was a great mistake to have State management, and he hoped the representation made by the East Indian Association would receive due consideration by the Secretary of State. (Hear, hear.)

Sir CHARLES MILES said that he must apologize for rising, being neither a railway expert or—unfortunately for himself—a director of, or shareholder in, any Indian railway, but with reference to what the last speaker had said he was an *ex-officio* member of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce—whose attitude in this matter he did not understand—for some fourteen years during his period of office as Chairman of the Karachi Port Trust, and though he was not a railway man he had had a great deal to do with the one railway serving Karachi—the North-Western Railway. He had only recently left India, and forty-seven years of Sind had given him some opportunities of watching the North-Western Railway, and though he could not say with certainty that private companies would have been in a position to prevent the almost yearly severance of Karachi from the rest of the Province and the Punjab by the terrific floods which used to sweep away great blocks of the railway year after year because there were not sufficient waterways to carry them through—yet when merchants expostulated they were always told there was no money. As regards the management of that railway it had had a succession of very able men who had done splendid work, but they suffered from the limitations imposed on them. He had not a word to say hostile to the actual

working management, which was admirable. As no doubt all present knew, before the war Karachi was the largest wheat exporting port in the British Empire, but, at times, when merchants wanted to bring enormous quantities of wheat down to Karachi, urgently required for shipment, floods interfered, and the management said to bring too much would choke the Port; but the real fact, he thought, was that they had not got enough rolling stock. The Port facilities had been enormously increased of late years, more than doubled, and the question of choking the Port had disappeared, but still the grain had not always arrived when wanted, because sufficient rolling stock was not there; the fact was the money was not there. No doubt money was difficult to get, but it seemed to him—speaking as a man-in-the-street, with an outsider's experience of this one railway—that a company working for its shareholders would in some way have succeeded in finding the money to cope with the situation. (Hear, hear.) No doubt the Government were hard up. He had been a District Officer for some thirty-five years, so he knew something about the financial side of the question from the Government point of view; but if funds were not forthcoming to meet the exigencies of the situation, why not leave it in the hands of companies who could find the money? He thought the city would be much more likely to produce the needful if the Boards were located in this country than in India. He would like to ask, however, whether this is the time to talk about nationalizing the railways of India. They might as well say nationalize the ports of India, and leave it on the lap of the gods as to what is to happen in the future. The matter is in no way a political one, but owing to the march of events has become such, and some at least of those who urged nationalization did so in fact as a political manoeuvre. He went to India fifty years ago and, to his sorrow, had seen the Province with which he was associated throughout his working life turned in the last few years from a loyal, peaceful, happy, and contented country into a seething mass of sedition by a few unscrupulous agitators. At this moment what man can say what the future will bring forth? In his opinion it is advisable to defer consideration of this nationalization question for, say, another ten years till conditions are settled for better or worse, and Government know what is going to happen! (Hear, hear.)

Mr. H. M. JAGTIANI said that the Lecturer seemed to start with a pre-conceived idea that the services of the companies should be retained at any cost; but the proper way, in his opinion, to approach the problem was to examine which is the most economical method of giving railway facilities to India.

In his anxiety to uphold company management at any cost, Sir Robert Gillan loses all perspective. The present system is obviously inconsistent with the policy of transferring the powers of the Secretary of State to the Government of India. Then there is a long dolorous tale of grievances by the Indian people—grievances of undue pressure on the Secretary of State, of scant attention to the Indian market for the supplies of railway material, etc. With these one is familiar enough. Added to all this, the evils of divided control, by which all initiative is destroyed, make the

system a well-nigh impossibility. Even Sir R. Gillan confesses to the failure of the existing system, although he explains it as due to financial causes for which the Government has been entirely responsible. The main burden of complaint against the existing system is, of course, the defective methods of financing the railways. But it is submitted that they are a necessary and a constituent part of the existing arrangement by which administrative action is divorced from financial responsibility. Sir R. Gillan complains that if the Government had allowed the companies to raise capital whenever they wanted it, all the difficulties will be removed. In making this remark it is entirely forgotten that all that the Government has refused to do is to give a guarantee for the capital proposed to be raised by the companies. Private enterprise in the true sense of the word, barring a few exceptions, has never existed in India. Referring to the complaint that the Government has failed to encourage private enterprise, the Mackay Committee observed that not in one single case the criticism was justifiable. The failure on the part of the Government was the failure to give a guarantee.

To permit the companies to increase their share capital on the present terms, whereby the Government must offer to guarantee a minimum return, is open to two objections. In the first place, greater inducement must be offered to the investors in order to raise the requisite capital through the agency of the companies, than if the Government goes directly to the market; secondly, the share of the companies in the surplus profits will be increased with the rise in the proportion of their capital to that raised by the Government. In the circumstances, it will be at all times an uneconomic proposition to employ the services of the companies for the purposes of raising the needed funds. What services can be rendered by the interposition of a company which requires a guarantee for its capital passes one's imagination. The cure for the present financial ills lies in the adoption of a bold policy of finances by the Government. If every new capital raised can yield more than what it costs, the Government need not be afraid of injuring its credit. Every addition of a line which is a commercial success goes, on the contrary, to increase the capacity of the Government to raise fresh funds. Even though a line may not be justified as a sound commercial proposition, the indirect benefits to the revenues of the Government by the increased prosperity of the area which the line serves, may warrant its construction.

Freedom to the companies to raise the necessary capital raises still another issue, which has not been adverted to by Sir R. Gillan. The Acworth Committee expressed their opinion that the present railway securities were not popular because they are not large enough to secure a free dealing in the market. This point has been very improperly appreciated by the general public, but it deserves, however, some elaboration. It is only an economic truism to say that the popularity of investments varies directly with the readiness with which they can be dealt. If it is desired that their turnover should be participated in by a large number of investors, then it is essential that they should be of a simple uniform kind. If the securities are uniform, it is easier to find a sale for them than

if they are issued as twenty-one distinct types of them, as at present. In order, therefore, to increase the popularity of the Indian railway securities, it is necessary to reduce the present complexity by consolidating them into uniform Government securities.

If it be conceded that the employment of the companies as financial agencies will be impolitic and costly, it is evident that as a practical proposition the formation of independent companies is impossible. The Government must remain the owner of the property. As such, it is bound not only financially, but morally and politically, for the policy pursued, and cannot therefore leave the companies a free hand. The only solution is to throw the administrative responsibility on the Government, and thus to create an identity of financial and administrative interests.

Convinced of the necessity of direct Government action, both as regards further extension of railway facilities and their arrangement, he was, however, not an apologist of the present methods of the Government as regards financing the railways. The present system by which every fluctuation in the general treasury affected the railway programme was obviously uneconomic and untenable. The proposal, therefore, for the separation of the railway budget from the general budget was the most essential part of the whole scheme for direct Government management. The idea underlying the scheme is to maintain a sustained policy of finances without the limitations which hedge around the ordinary Government departments. A move has already been made in this direction, and there are evidences to show that the Indian public is already persuaded of the wisdom of the proposal.

The CHAIRMAN: We are very grateful to the last speaker for having introduced a new point of view into the discussion. I do not agree with much of what he has said, and I am sure Sir Robert Gillan does not, but we are grateful to him for having put it forward; otherwise Sir Robert would have been in the happy position of preaching only to the converted. It is unfortunate that the only representative of the India Office we had here has just left, but no doubt he has heard enough to know what the representative views are on the subject before us to-day.

There are just a few outside points which I would like you to consider: First, the amount of capital sunk in the Indian railways is, according to the last report, £440,000,000 sterling. Out of that, £350,000,000 is provided by Government and £90,000,000 by the private investor; therefore 80 per cent. of the capital is Government. The earnings of the Indian railways amounted last year to £62,000,000, and of that amount 67 per cent., or two-thirds, went in working expenses. That is an appalling figure—I remember when it did not exceed 50 per cent.—and it shows there is great waste somewhere. If you pursue the analysis of last year's workings you will find the highest percentage of working expenses is on Government-worked railways, and the lowest on company-managed railways. The net profits last year were £11,000,000, after payment of working expenses and other such charges. That returned only $2\frac{1}{2}$ or $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. on the capital, and as most of these are guaranteed railways, it meant that the Government, which for the previous twenty years re-

ceived a substantial surplus every year, had to supply a deficit of 6½ millions sterling out of last year's general revenues. I feel sure that certain politicians, such as those whom Sir R. Gillan has quoted, will have every reason to be satisfied with the situation which has arisen—that is to say, that there are now no mercenary interests left. The boot is on the other leg, and the unfortunate general public—the man who hardly uses the railway at all—is now compelled to contribute by way of increased taxation for the benefit of those who use the railways in India. In connection with State management we should consider the experience of other countries. I have seen something of the railways in other countries. Take Germany; before the war all the German railways were State-managed, and were, perhaps, the most efficient and well-managed system probably in the world. But it is significant that even before the war the German railways did not pay—they barely managed to pay their way. Now, after the war, they are still State-managed, but as they have no longer an efficient Government, the German railways, I am told, are in a gross state of mismanagement; speculation is rife, thefts are very common, and a large number of passengers do not pay their way at all!

That is the position in Germany to-day under State-managed railways, and, as one speaker (Sir Horace Mules) remarked: Can we be sure we shall have such an efficient system of Government administration in India as would prevent these evils arising which have already shown themselves in a few years in that very efficiently-managed country, Germany?

Then take France, where you have the two systems at work. One system, to my own knowledge, is a by-word even in France for mismanagement, and that is a State-managed railway.

Then take Russian railways. They *were* State-managed. I do not know what they are now; probably there are none left under Soviet rule, but before the war they were fairly efficient—by the Russian standard. They were always worked at a loss, and I was told by the Director-General of Russian Railways when I was in Russia that a main cause of the admitted losses in the working was the fact that owing to their being State-managed everyone who was a State official insisted on himself or some near relative travelling free, and in the immediate vicinity of the great towns one-quarter of the passengers would be found not to have paid at all! That is an example of State management under a slack administration.

Then we come to Italy, where all the railways were State-owned and managed. Those of us who have had the misfortune to travel by them consider them to be the worst in Europe, and the first reform which Mussolini has introduced was to do away with State management and transfer control to companies, and he hoped thereby to get rid of at least 100,000 surplus railway employees. (Hear, hear.) In England we had a brief experience of State management during and after the war. We all submitted to it, and some of us grumbled at it; but even in England under State management the railways not only did not pay their way, but they took something like £50,000,000 a year out of the pockets of the taxpayer to make up the deficit. The British people would not stand it

long, and they insisted on Company management being restored, and what has been the result? In two years the railway service has become more efficient, the officials have become more courteous, the service has become cheaper and more popular, and all the lines are paying good dividends, for, as Sir Robert has remarked, no great dividend-paying institution can carry on without doing public service, and they cannot do public service without securing the confidence and co-operation of the public.

Now, to take another aspect of the case, supposing you get only State railways and only State management in India, what will be the indirect result on the political situation? Some evils have already been referred to, but there is one great fact. In India at present you have 1,000,000 railway employees, and if you turn them all into State servants, what a tremendous engine you have for influencing politics; the Indian politician will try to capture their votes, making them lavish promises of increased pay, and swelling the number of railway employees. You will have increasing pressure on Government, more strikes, more sabotage, and steadily decreasing efficiency and revenues. It is difficult enough to deal with these troubles at present, but with all the other political side influences at work it will be more and more difficult. Personally, I think we have in India at present a system which works very well. The railways are owned by the State and the State benefits by their prosperity. Side by side you have State management and Company management. Each can learn something from and teach something to the other. Healthy competition, I think, is all to the good. I have seen a good deal of the working of each and this has been my experience, that on the whole Company management was superior; they were more ready to adapt themselves to the needs of the public, and the officials were more ready to see the point of view of the public, and therefore did more to meet the wants of the public. In fact, the Company management was the more business-like, and as the reference to the Bengal and N.W. Railway shows, it gives you more for your money. I am sure, from what we have heard, that the feeling of the meeting as a whole is strongly in favour of the view put forward by Sir Robert Gillan—to maintain, if not to extend, Company management.

One point dealt with by the last speaker was the difficulty of Ways and Means under the present system of yearly budgets. The Indian railways suffer enormously from the fact that the budget is a gamble on the rains. But recently an arrangement has been come to and approved by the All India Assembly fixing the capital expenditure on the railways for the next five years instead of by a yearly budget. The sum is, I think, 100 millions, and there will be no lapse. That should give the necessary elasticity which is so essential to railway work, and meet the most serious objection of the Acworth Committee, which led them to propose a complete separation of railway finance.

It is unfortunate that no public question can be discussed in India to-day apart from its political bearings. But a cheap and economical railway system which every well-wisher of India must desire can only be provided if the railways are able to draw on English as well as Indian capital, and

any arrangement come to must therefore not only give confidence to the Indian people, but also to the British capitalist, by whom the prosperity of the Indian railways has been almost exclusively built up, and without whom in my opinion it cannot be maintained. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

The LECTURER, in reply, said the discussion left him with very little to say. With regard to Mr. Jaglani's remarks he agreed that for the purpose of the present discussion he had assumed that the general attitude would be in favour of Company rather than of State management, and he thought the assumption had been well justified. If Mr. Jaglani would study, as he had suggested, what had happened on the other railways of the world, he would probably come to the conclusion that it would be a bad day when the railways of India were brought under State management. The Chairman had given many convincing proofs to that same effect. Supporters of State management in India seemed to think they would get the cheapest working and the greatest surplus; as Sir Francis Spring had said, they looked forward to the railways spending little themselves and yielding large funds for other purposes. The prospect, however, was delusive; experience has shown that under State management there are no profits left at all.

Regarding the question which had been raised as to the grouping system in India, he thought even in this country it was a question with two sides to it; they might save the salaries of a few directors, but that was not very much on a capital of £400,000,000 or £500,000,000, such as was the capital of the London, Midland and Scottish Railway. Stress had often been laid on the wastefulness of competition, but the public benefited by it. In grouping you were doing away with a great deal of healthy competition, and he knew of many traders who did not at all like the prospect. In India also one had to consider the enormous distances traversed by the railways; the East Indian main line, for instance, if set out on a map of Europe, would stretch from Rome to London. There might be one or two cases in India in which grouping could be arranged, but the distances to be covered were against its general adoption. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

On the motion of Lord Pentlands a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the Lecturer and Chairman.

The proceedings then terminated.

PROTECTION FOR INDIA

BY GILBERT SLATER, M.A., D.SC.

THE enquiries of the Indian Fiscal Commission resulted in the presentation of a main report, signed by all the eleven members, recommending the adoption of a definitely protectionist policy for India, with a view to ushering in a period of intense industrialization; and of a Minute of Dissent signed by five members, including the Chairman, who objected to the main report chiefly on the ground that it showed an insufficient degree of protectionist fervour. And, indeed, the result would have been more in accordance with Indian opinion if the main report had been as thorough-going as the minority desired.

The Lancashire man frequently finds it difficult to realize this unanimity among educated Indians. He can quite understand Bombay wanting a pretty stiff tax on all imported cotton cloth, but he is somewhat astonished when he is told that the middle classes in Madras are, to all appearance, just as eager for it, though they have no shares in cotton mills, and realize that an import tax will put up the price of the imported cloth which was their exclusive wear until Mr. Gandhi induced a few among them to adopt *khaddar*.

It is not difficult to discover some effective causes for this phenomenon. A good many years have passed since the late Mr. Justice Ranade popularized for India the fundamental principles expounded in List's "National Economy," and there can hardly be any country to which these principles are more applicable. With its vast extent, its great variety of climates and natural productions, its undeveloped wealth in vast coal and iron deposits and in water power, its home market of over 300,000,000 souls, and its ancient fame in cotton and silk manufacture and in many forms of metal work, India's potentialities for manufacture on a great scale are obvious and striking. With

these potentialities the Indian student of economics compares the actual industrial condition of the country, and sees about 90 per cent. of the population living in villages, about seventy per cent. agriculturists (and these frequently so thickly crowded as to get a very meagre living even out of very fertile soil), the exports mainly food and raw materials, the imports manufactured goods, prominent in the list and far exceeding any other import in quantity and value, the cotton cloth, in the manufacture of which India was till recently supreme; and he finds the contrast very painful. Where is the fault, and what is the remedy? He seeks an answer from the economists of Europe and America, and he is told, by one famous school, that the fault is in the fiscal system which British rule has imposed on India, that there is a certain stage in the normal development of a nation during which protective tariffs are essential, in order to assist it in passing from the condition under which it is too exclusively agricultural into that in which there is right proportion between manufacturing industries and agriculture; and that without fiscal protection the struggling infant industries will be killed by the competition of the powerful firms, with their great capitals and established commercial connections of more developed countries. This argument has been found convincing enough in Germany and America, which fact itself gives it additional authority in India. In India it is all the more attractive because it attributes India's present manufacturing inferiority to no permanent cause and to no failing of the Indian people, but to a defect in Governmental policy, which can easily be altered as soon as India attains a sufficient measure of self-government. The Neo-Protectionist doctrine is therefore hopeful and encouraging, and agreeable to Indian self-esteem.

But in order to understand the intensity of Indian feeling on the subject we must bear in mind the history of the long struggle between the Viceroy's Government in India and the Lancashire manufacturers over Indian cotton duties,

which began in 1874 and is still proceeding. The issue was raised when Indian cotton manufacture on modern lines was first beginning to show signs of vigorous growth. A description of the first Indian cotton mill on record was given to a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1840, and it had evidently been working then for a number of years, but as late as 1871 the mills in Bombay Presidency employed only just over 8,000 hands. At that time all Indian imports and such Indian exports as would bear it paid small duties designed purely for revenue, those affecting imported manufactures being $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem* from 1871 to 1875, and 5 per cent. after 1875. These duties were held in Lancashire to give an unfair advantage to the Indian mills. They gained the concession that the coarser goods, in which alone Bombay could compete, should be exempted from import duty, and thus the tax practically ceased to be protective, and a slight, but only a slight, loss of revenue resulted. The Lancashire men, however, were not satisfied until, in consequence of an improvement in Indian finances, import duties were swept away generally in 1882. In 1894 import duties were again necessary in order to balance the budget, and general import duties without a duty on the import of preponderating importance would have been a poor financial expedient. A 5 per cent. duty was put on all cotton yarn and cloth imported, and, to placate Lancashire, a counterbalancing excise on yarns spun in India above 20's was also imposed. Though Lancashire exported to India very little cloth woven of yarn so coarse as 20's and under, the cotton manufacturers put up a great fight to secure either free importation or an equal excise duty on all Indian manufacture. At the time Sir Henry Fowler, as Secretary of State, successfully resisted the pressure put upon him, but in 1896 Lancashire won. All yarns were exempted from both import and excise duties, all imported woven goods were taxed $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and all Indian mill-woven cotton cloth was also subjected to an excise duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

It is quite possible, from many points of view, particularly from that of Free Trade theory, to make out a good case for that excise duty, and it is an undeniable fact that it did not prevent the steady expansion of Indian cotton manufacture. With very cheap labour, much more nearly equal to Lancashire labour in efficiency than is usually supposed, and with abundant home supplies of raw material, Bombay was able just as easily to undersell Lancashire in coarse cloth as Lancashire to retain supremacy in the finest qualities. In the medium qualities, where competition was possible, there was a tendency for the range of competition to move upwards, Lancashire gradually dropping out of the Indian market for the coarser cloth, and the Indian manufacturers working up to finer counts. But their prosperity did not in any way reconcile the Indian millowners to the excise; it only added to the numbers and wealth of those who were directly aggrieved. And, so far as educated India generally was concerned, no arguments that could be put forward could obscure the damning fact that an excise duty, of a character to which no parallel could be found in any self-governing country, was imposed upon India, in spite of the strong and continuous protests of the Viceroy's Government backed by unanimous public opinion, and that it was imposed by the influence and in the interests of a body of foreign industrialists. All educated India felt the excise duty to be even more an insult than an injury. The victory of Lancashire was an Imperial disaster of the first magnitude.

That the practical grievance was largely mitigated, if not entirely removed, by recent successive increases in the import duty, leaving the excise duty unaltered, is indicated by the fact that the Indian Legislative Assembly last year declined to sanction any alteration in the rates as fixed by Mr. Austen Chamberlain. Nevertheless the effect remains. The cotton excise has made Neo-Protectionism a fervent national creed.

In these circumstances it is idle to argue that Indian industry suffers from other and even more serious dis-

advantages of a remediable nature than foreign competition, and that there are measures to be adopted which might be no less effective than protective tariffs, and free from the very serious objections to which Protection is liable. India believes in Protection; India is obsessed with the idea of Protection. If a dominating Power refuses to permit India to adopt Protection on the ground that it would be injurious to India, and recommends alternative means of fostering industries on the ground that they will be more beneficial, India will refuse to believe in its sincerity, or honesty of purpose, or friendliness. After India has made a fair trial of the measure locally believed to be most important and most valuable, fair consideration may be given to other measures, either as alternative or supplementary. There are various conditions which must be satisfied in order that the connection of India with the Empire may continue. One of them, in my opinion, is that any lingering doubt that may remain in Indian minds whether India is as free to determine her own tariff policy as Australia or Canada should be effectually dissipated.

India has at the present time a tariff which is designed for revenue, but which has incidentally a considerable protective influence. The Indian Fiscal Commission recommends that this situation shall be reversed, that the tariff shall be reconstructed in order to give the maximum encouragement to manufacturing industries for a given degree of loss and inconvenience to the consumer, however injurious the effect upon the revenue may be. The Commissioners recognize that the two purposes, protection and revenue, are mutually antagonistic, since just in so far as an import duty is effective for protection by excluding imports it fails to yield revenue. The main report suggests that some compensation for loss of revenue may be found by putting on top of the duty imposed for the sake of Protection an extra duty on imports for the sake of revenue, this extra import duty to be balanced by an equal excise duty. In harmony with this general principle, it leaves the

question of the continuance of the cotton excise an open question, to be settled by the Government of India in agreement with the Indian Legislature, no interference by the British Parliament being tolerated. It is, I think, pretty obvious that this device of an extra import duty and equal excise duty would be likely to prove inadequate financially and unpopular politically. The minority of the Commission does not like it, and demands the immediate abolition of the cotton excise. The Minute of Dissent points out that, in addition to whatever other losses of revenue there may result from revenue ceasing to be the main consideration in framing the tariff, the main report definitely proposes the abolition of the export duty on tea, and of the import duties on machinery, coal, hides and skins, and all other raw materials, which would result in the loss of about three crores of revenue. The writers of the Minute seem to think this a good reason for also sacrificing the two crores or so which the cotton excise brings in, and which is an expanding source of revenue. They are even less concerned about the revenue aspect of the question than their colleagues.

Criticism of the Report of the Commission must necessarily be confined to questions of broad principle, because, instead of themselves making detailed recommendations, the Commissioners propose :

"That a permanent Tariff Board be created, whose duties will be, *inter alia*, to investigate the claims of particular industries to protection, to watch the operation of the Tariff, and generally to advise Government and the Legislature in carrying out the policy indicated above." The Tariff Board must satisfy itself, before recommending protection for any industry :

- "(i.) That the industry possesses natural advantages.
- "(ii.) That without the help of protection it is not likely to develop at all, or not so rapidly as is desirable ; and
- "(iii.) That it will eventually be able to face world competition without protection."

The Minute of Dissent endorses the general plan of the creation of the permanent Tariff Board, though it criticizes the proposed constitution. The real difference of attitude is that the writers of the Minute desire to bring the Board more directly under the influence of the electorate. They recommend that two out of the three members should be elected by the non-official members of the Indian Legislature. The result, no doubt, would be that the Board would become much more active in pushing on the prompt imposition of protective duties.

While reiterating my contention that no obstacle should be placed by the Secretary of State, or by Parliament, in the way of any protectionist policy that the Indian Legislature may adopt, I desire to express also my opinion that the new policy is a mistake, and that a continuance of a policy of "taxation for revenue in the first place" is more likely to be conducive to the real interests of India. I do not say that Protection will not in some degree produce some of the results hoped for from it, but I fear that, on the whole, it will prove a sad disappointment.

First let us consider whether any desperate necessity for artificially stimulating rapid and intense industrialization exists. I gave evidence in Madras before the Commission, and found that the majority, if not all, of the Commissioners were emphatically of opinion that no appreciable progress in industry could be expected without the change in tariff policy which they subsequently put forward in their report. I ventured to suggest that very considerable progress had already taken place. They told me that, while the war lasted and foreign competition was handicapped thereby even more effectively than it would have been by a protective tariff, some progress had indeed been made, but that, with the resumption of trade since, the ground had been lost again, and that the great cotton industry in particular was very severely depressed. When I left the room I looked up the current issue of *Capital*, and found that the ordinary stocks of Bombay cotton mills were then at an

average premium of 300 per cent. If that were severe depression I wondered what prosperity would be like. But for immediate answer to the Commissioners that information was not available, and actually I remarked that the figures for the decade preceding the war also showed rapid industrial progress. They received this very sceptically, and asked me to submit a memorandum on the subject. What I subsequently forwarded was not recondite information, but it included such items as the following :

JOINT STOCK COMPANIES

	1904-5.	1913-4.
Number	1,494	2,681
Paid up capital ...	£26,782,710	£50,698,930

COTTON MILLS

	1904-5.	1913-4.
Number	206	239
Looms	47,305	90,268
Spindles	5,196,432	6,208,758
Persons employed ...	196,369	244,002
Cloth produced (1,000 lbs.) ...	158,747	256,406

JUTE MILLS

	1904-5.	1913-4.
Number	38	64
Looms	19,991	36,050
Spindles	409,170	744,289
Persons employed ...	133,162	216,288

FACTORIES UNDER THE FACTORY ACT

	1903.	1912.
Number	1,391	2,654
Persons employed ...	553,422	869,643

OUTPUT OF COAL

	1905.	1914.
Tons	8,417,739	16,464,263
	1905.	1913-4.
Gross earnings of railways	£ 27,799,467	£ 42,390,400
	1904-5.	1913-4.
Total imports	£ 95,947,280	£ 156,498,404
Total exports	£ 116,175,246	£ 170,726,916
Yield of income tax ...	£ 1,206,845	£ 1,950,250
Letters, etc., sent by post (millions)	678	1,049
Deposits in Post Office Savings Banks (lakhs of rupees)	1,340	2,316
	1903.	1913.
Deposits in Joint Stock Banks (lakhs of rupees)	4,798	9,600

Such figures as these, showing increases in ten years of 60 to 100 per cent., in my opinion indicate a remarkably rapid rate of industrial progress. And if it be considered that such progress under the very low tariff of the pre-war period required to be accelerated by higher import duties, it must be remembered that since the War the financial position has led to the imposition of greatly enhanced duties, which, though aiming directly at increased revenue, also give Indian industries increased protection.

We are also brought up against the question, What rate of industrialization is desirable? The growth of great industrial cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Lucknow, and Ahmedabad, and the conversion of great numbers of peasants into factory operatives, create social problems of great difficulty. The most elementary test of success in dealing with these problems is supplied by the vital statistics, and those for Indian manufacturing cities are far from reassuring. Thus, for example, the most recent figures I have for Bombay are those for 1921. That was not a good year, but it was free from any special epidemic. They are :

Births	...	...	...	...	...	19,125
Deaths under one year of age	...	...	...	...	...	12,751
Deaths under five years of age	...	...	...	...	...	20,148
Total deaths	...	...	...	...	...	53,609

To understand how such a proportion between births and infantile deaths can be possible we must remember that it is a general custom in India for an expectant mother to go to her native village for her first confinement, and frequently for subsequent confinements also, so that a considerable proportion of the births that properly belong to Bombay are registered elsewhere. But even, after making full allowance for this fact, we see that *the great majority* of Bombay children die before they are five years old, and that the general death-rate of this city, which, because it is always recruiting great numbers of young men and women from the country, has a most exceptionally favourable age

distribution, approaches 50 per thousand living. These facts suggest that there is more need for India to direct energy and effort to remedying the evils which come from rapid industrialization than to still further stimulating the movement.

I do not myself endorse Mr. Gandhi's views on this matter, but I must confess that I have a good deal of sympathy with them, and I consider that there is much more reason in them than would at first sight appear. He holds, as no doubt you all know, that there is no remedy for the evils springing from capitalist big business, machinery, and factories, short of dispensing with those things themselves, and with all the material advantages they bring. He would give up railways and motor-cars for the ox-cart, and textile factories for the spinning-wheel and hand-loom. The idea to Western minds appears childish and ridiculous, and in India itself it commands very little genuine support, and hence it is not really practicable. But consider the conditions of Indian village life. Though they vary from one part of India to another, everywhere the monsoons are the dominating fact. Generally speaking, we may say that there is a brief period in the year when all the available labour is wanted for agricultural work, a longer period when employment is fairly good, and long periods when there is little or nothing to be done. In the old days cotton-spinning was the great subsidiary industry that occupied the period of compulsory agricultural leisure, and Mr. Gandhi desires that this should be the case once more. A mean of various observations and calculations indicates that two annas a day is about as much as a man or woman can on the average earn with the spinning-wheel, and this is indeed a miserable pittance. But two annas a day is better than nothing, and two annas a day earned by each of several members of a family during the four or five months when there is no agricultural work to be done may make all the difference between adequate nutrition and semi-starvation. Actually the poor families over a large

district of the Bombay Deccan, instead of warding off destitution by the use of the spinning-wheel, send their young men into Bombay to work in the factories, and to reside in the most abominable slums to be found within the limits of the British Empire, with disastrous results to their health and their morals. The village, in consequence, is short of labour in the short period of maximum agricultural activity, and the output of food and raw cotton is thereby slightly diminished. The village also collects its cattle dung, makes it into "bratties," and sends it to Bombay to be used as fuel, and the output of food is thereby very considerably diminished. The factories effect an enormous saving of labour-time in producing a given quantity of cloth, but what is the good of that if the saved labour-time is wasted in idleness?

I do not agree with Mr. Gandhi's views, because I think reversion to the spinning-wheel is probably impossible, and that the remedy for the injury done to the villages by its supersession must be sought by finding other, and if possible more profitable, subsidiary occupations for agricultural families. But I so far sympathize with him that I cannot feel very enthusiastic for the intense industrialization of India by a rapid increase of machinery, factories, and great manufacturing cities. In any country these things are mingled good and evil, and in India it seems to me the evil is greater and the good less than in temperate climes.

In the second place let us consider what form intense industrialization fostered by high protection is likely to take. What, for example, will the Lancashire cotton magnates do? They have already before their eyes the example of the jute manufacturers of Dundee, who long ago set up their mills by the banks of the Hugli, and the more recent example of Messrs. Cammell, Laird and Company, who propose to set up steel works in India beside which the Tata Iron and Steel Company will be dwarfed in comparison. It is a constant puzzle to me to guess why

the Lancashire men have not already set up mills in India, and I cannot imagine they will hesitate much longer when once the policy of the Fiscal Commission is definitely adopted. The combination of white capital and coloured labour is open to very serious objection on social and political grounds, but it is extraordinarily effective economically; and when Lancashire capitalists, or Scots, or Americans, or Germans enter this very profitable field of cotton manufacture in India, I do not believe that either Parsis or Gujeratis will be able to go the pace that will be set. Nor is the possibility of Japanese also entering the field one to be entirely disregarded. If this be so in the case of cotton manufacture, in which Indian enterprise enjoys the advantage of a long start, it is much more the case with such new industries as may be fostered by the tariff, like leather manufactures, paper, power alcohol, pottery, etc., to say nothing of iron and steel manufacture and engineering of various sorts.

This possibility has by no means been overlooked by Indian protectionists, and it has been a good deal discussed, with the result that three opinions have found expression. One is that the danger is imaginary, and that the Indian capitalist and entrepreneur will more than hold his own in equal competition with foreigners. Another is that foreign capitalists and captains of industry will indeed take a great part in the future development of Indian industry under Protection, but that there is no reason to be concerned on that account, for the advantages to India of the development of industry under their auspices will far outweigh the drawbacks that the direction is not Indian, and that a part of the profit goes abroad. The third opinion is that the danger is real and serious, but that the Indian Legislature will be able to find effective means of guarding against it; and this last is, I believe, the opinion held by the majority of Indian protectionists. I myself think they are mistaken. I believe, in the first place, that since India is a land of greedy borrowers and rare economizers, so that any one

who saves money can easily get from ten to fifteen per cent. without risk and with very little trouble, Indian capital can just as easily be undersold in competition with European capital as European labour can be undersold by Indian labour. I believe, in the second place, that any political measures devised to keep the foreign capitalist out of India will be either defeated or evaded, and that this will happen quite irrespective of any possible political development. Even if India becomes an absolutely independent State, with no political tie to the British Empire or any other Empire or nation, I do not think India will any more be able to resist the pressure of cosmopolitan capital than Mexico or China. And, whether it is likely to be good or bad for India to fall more and more completely under foreign industrial control as a result of Protection, I am sure that this is not what Indian protectionists desire. Therefore I fear that the alluring fruits will prove Dead Sea apples.

But the main question is whether India can afford the sacrifice of revenue which must result from ceasing to make revenue the main object of the tariff. If we could regard this question purely from the economic point of view, I should answer it with an unhesitating "Yes." The chief wealth of India comes from the cultivation of the soil, and the economic rent of land—urban land as well as rural, but rural mainly—is the great taxable surplus. Under Akbar the landowner was supposed to pay to the State one-third of the gross output; actually no doubt he paid on the average a good deal less, but he probably paid more than one-sixth. At the present day a very careful calculation made by the Madras Agricultural Department shows that the landowners of that Presidency pay only two per cent. of the gross output as land revenue, and it is well known that the rest of India pays less in proportion than Madras. Hence I consider that, purely from the economic point of view, the economic rent of land could yield a sufficient and expanding revenue, which, when supplemented by a reasonable tax on incomes derived from other sources, would

support continually developing Governmental services, and that the reaction on the prosperity of Indian agriculture would be favourable rather than the reverse. I know full well that this is an unpopular opinion. It would be idle, however, to argue the question, since any considerable increase in land revenue is politically impossible. Quite apart from the difficulties produced by the lamentable blunder of Permanent Settlement, we have the stubborn fact that the landowning classes dominate the Provincial Legislative Councils, and that they are all firmly convinced that the landowner is already much too heavily taxed.

There are many highly controversial questions with regard to Indian finances, as, for instance, whether the Indian Government as a whole is, compared with other Governments, economically or extravagantly conducted; whether there is, or is not, room for a great reduction of military expenditure; whether a saving can be effected by further Indianization of the services, and, if so, whether that saving can be considerable. But even if we take the view on each of these questions which furnishes the highest degree of hope for Indian finances, the facts remain that of recent years there have been very heavy deficits in both the Imperial and the local budgets, that economies have had to be sought even at the expense of sacrifice of efficiency, and that to recover financial equilibrium will, in any case, need very strenuous efforts, and even such a modest sacrifice of revenue as that of the five crores mentioned above would be a very serious additional difficulty. A young Madras politician remarked to me: "If we would advance, we must be prepared to tax ourselves." But he could not point out to me any direction in which Indian politicians are prepared to advocate increases of taxation of a character to produce a substantial revenue, nor did he claim that the Indian electorate would readily give its votes to candidates who advocate such increases.

For these reasons I hold that, in the future as in the past, the Indian tariff should be designed for revenue and

not for protection, though if a tax which is worth while for the revenue it produces should also incidentally have a protective effect, it should not on that account be objected to. I doubt, however, whether there is an Indian unofficial member of the Legislature who agrees with me, except Mr. Joshi, the very energetic and able, and, I believe, unique Labour member.

One further question naturally rises to the minds of some of us. Whether Indian Protection will be beneficial or otherwise to India, it will certainly be prejudicial to British industry. What, then, should British industrialists—those of Lancashire particularly—and the British Government, acting on behalf of British industry, do to neutralize that injury? I say, "Railroadize Africa." When the present Government came into power, I was astonished at what seemed to me the egregious mistake of resolving to spend twenty millions on such obsolete things as "capital ships." Far better, I think, would it be to give the same amount of employment to the same districts and the same industries by setting men to produce rails, locomotives and trucks, to open up, in lands of even greater extent and greater potential wealth than India, new markets for British manufactures, and new sources of food and raw material.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, March 19, 1923, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., at which a paper entitled "Protection for India," was read by Gilbert Slater, Esq., M.A., D.Sc. Sir John Wallis (late Chief Judge, High Court, Madras) was in the Chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., the Right Hon. Lord Pentland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Colonel Sir Charles Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Sir Lionel Davidson, K.C.S.I., and Lady Davidson, Sir Lionel Jacob, K.C.S.I., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Henry Joseph Stone, C.I.E., and Lady Stone, Sir William Ovens and Lady Clark, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. P. Padmanabha Pillai, Mr. A. D. Gorwalla, Mr. P. G. Abraham, Mrs. Drury, Mrs. Meyer, Mrs. A. M. T. Jackson, Miss Nina Corner, Mr. W. Tinker, Miss Walton, Mr. G. A. Hope, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. and Mrs. W. W. Drew, Mr. Bala Krishna, Mrs. White, Mr. R. N. Vaidya, Mr. J. C. R. Price, Mr. F. R. Crepin, Mr. K. G. Cleetus, Mrs. Anstey, Mr. W. D. Tompkins, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. Sydney G. Roberts, Mr. N. J. Shah, Mrs. Hankin, Miss Marris, Mrs. W. G. Martley, Miss Hare, Mrs. Gates, Mr. D. G. Chowdhari, Miss Cunningham, Major G. W. Gilbertson, Mrs. Strong, Miss Collis, Mr. B. Dent, Miss V. Davidson, Mr. F. J. Shaw, Mr. F. W. Sherwood, Captain Rolleston, Mr. J. S. Dhunjibhoy, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I only desire to say a word by way of introduction of the Lecturer this afternoon. Having released Home Rule for India, if I may borrow an expressive and perhaps not altogether inappropriate term from the film world, we have to take the consequences, both pleasant and unpleasant, and to be prepared to give India an opportunity of shaping her own fiscal destinies, even at some loss to our own industries. This is now the declared policy of the Government. The future, therefore, must depend upon two factors—Indian conditions and Indian opinion. On both of these subjects Dr. Slater is in a position to speak at first hand. I feel that I can answer for that myself, and that, really, is my only justification or excuse for being in the position I am. I was Vice-Chancellor in Madras when the new Chair of Economics was founded, and Dr. Slater was appointed to fill it, and I know, from personal knowledge, how successful he was in getting into close touch with Indian opinion. I also know what a thorough re-survey he made of the prevailing economic conditions, and I venture to think, therefore, that his views are worthy of your consideration. There are, I know, other gentlemen here who are also well qualified to speak, and I hope that we shall afterwards have the benefit of hearing their opinions on his paper. (Hear, hear.)

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN : My lords, ladies, and gentlemen, we shall be very glad to hear the views of any of the gentlemen here present on the very interesting paper which we have just listened to.

Miss SCATCHERD said she had had the privilege of making the acquaintance of the Lecturer before he went to India, and she had been very much interested in his paper. She wished to read a paragraph or two from an interesting letter she had received from Dr. Pollen.

Dr. Pollen in his letter said :

"I think the Association is to be heartily congratulated on obtaining this short, but excellent, paper on 'Protection' from Dr. Gilbert Slater. He is one of the very few who knows, and he not only knows, but 'he knows that he knows.' He fully understands what he is talking about, and he knows full well that in their present moods the Legislatures of India are unreasonably enamoured of 'Protection.' They are thus enamoured simply because Australia and Canada have gone in for their own tariff policy, and India has always felt herself insulted, more than really injured, by the Pyrrhic victory of Lancashire, and the futile imposition of the improper and unreasonable cotton duties. This was, and is, a stupidly inflicted grievance ; but all honour to the British Government of India of the day, the imposition of these duties was none of their doing. It was by command of Parliament and the Secretary of State. If the various Legislatures of India really understood and knew the things belonging to their peace they would boldly stick to their present tariff designed solely for revenue, and would only adopt Protection on the true principle thereof. But what is the true and, indeed, the only principle of Protection ? It is a very simple one, and I only wish that India, through Dr. Gilbert Slater, and the East India Association could learn this principle.

"Protection is needed for the nascent and the sick alike, in persons, things, and companies, and it is to the clear interest of all—India and the world—that the nascent and the sick should receive protection.

"Thus, young products, companies, colonies, and all young and untried interests of all kinds, even young forms of thought and religion, need wise protection. When grown-up they can swim without corks. These young interests are in fact the future hope of the community, and while young and growing need a parent's care and protection. But if they die young or become old and derelict they should be tended with respect, and buried with reverence.

"Dr. Gilbert Slater shows that on the whole India really needs no protection, and certainly it need no protection in the cotton trade, in which the figures indicate a remarkably rapid rate of industrial progression.

"I have also been whole-heartedly with Mr. Gandhi in his desire to restore village industries, and I only wish it could be done. But even the powerful British Government continually fail to tax the right people in India. Income Tax was, and is, a ludicrous failure in India, and having regard to its mad 'permanent settlement' in Bengal, and its muddle in failing to secure more than 2 per cent. of the gross output as land revenue, it is hard to see what the lawyer and landlord-made Legislatures of India

will, and can, do to raise the necessary wind to carry the ship of State safely along."

LORD LAMINGTON said he was in agreement with the views expressed by the Lecturer, except, perhaps, in the last paragraph of his paper. They all agreed that with India having powers of self-government it was quite inconsistent with these powers to think that Lancashire or the United Kingdom could prescribe what should be India's fiscal policy. As India got full powers, England would have to abandon any pretence that she could legitimately interfere with her tariff. As the Lecturer had said, India, with her 300,000,000 of people, was almost a world in herself, and the question of Free Trade or Protection would not vitally affect her as it would a country like ours. It is a noticeable distinction that whilst in this country the politician said, Get back to the land; in India the politician, on the contrary, counselled getting from the land to the town. He believed that human nature knew its own business better than any politician, and if left to themselves industries would develop themselves better than by any artificial efforts of the Government, however well meaning. In his opinion Government enterprise had the most perverse and malignant influence on development; it simply meant doing an injury to Peter in order to pay Paul, or *vice versa*. Whilst it was all right for the Government to try and inform people what they should do, he believed such movements were much better left to themselves. He had not previously heard of the Camell-Laird developments in India, but if such industries were to be started in India they would see industrial enterprise take its proper shape without doing any injury to the morale of the people. His experience in India had been that there was generally a complaint of shortage of labour both in the factories and in rural districts; he had often been told there was not sufficient labour available to undertake such and such a job.

With regard to the opening up of Africa by railways, he was not against it if it could be brought about by natural process, but he did not wish to see the Government landed with other great problems of transport or industry, though, no doubt, there was room for development in Africa. Private enterprise was by far the best way of organizing and developing the resources of a country. (Hear, hear.)

MR. CHANNING said that some years ago he had studied the question of Protection under a German professor, and one thing he remembered was that in Germany they found that nascent industries never grew up. The reason was that Protection created an artificial stimulus which enabled new industries less favourably situated than those originally started to grow up, and very often when they proposed to do away with Protection they were faced with the fact that men in these less favourably circumstanced enterprises would be thrown out of employment.

The Lecturer had referred to the possibility of Lancashire capitalists engaging in the Indian cotton industry. His own knowledge of the Lancashire industry had been mainly derived from books, but so far as his knowledge went it led him to the belief that the industry was owned to a

very large extent by the workpeople themselves, who had a very definite interest in keeping the industry in Lancashire. The cotton industry of Lancashire in that respect was rather peculiar.

With regard to the statement made that in Madras they only paid 2 per cent. of the gross produce in land revenue, he would like to say that when he was a settlement officer in the Punjab his instructions included an assessment of one-sixth of the gross produce. If they only paid 2 per cent. now things had altered a good deal since his time. He agreed that if India wanted Protection she ought to be allowed to have it, but in some Provinces he thought it would tell very hardly on the people. However, those Provinces were represented in the Legislature, and if they were willing to pay for it there was nothing more to be said. (Hear, hear.)

Sir PATRICK FAGAN said, with reference to Mr. Channing's remarks, that he had had a good deal to do with land revenue assessments in the Punjab during recent years, and though they had no definite standard with reference to gross produce, still, as a matter of fact, the assessments had worked out to something between 8 and 10 per cent. of the estimated value of the gross produce, though one had to remember that crop outturns and prices were assumed on a very lenient basis; and no doubt, if exact and precise calculations were made, the average would probably be between 5 and 8 per cent.

With regard to the effect of the proposed scheme of Protection on the life of the people of India, it could not be too strongly insisted that 90 per cent. of them lived in villages, and 70 per cent. earned their living off the fields, so that their interests lay more in the humble concerns of daily life than in the pursuit of lofty political aspirations. (Hear, hear.) It was admitted that Protection was likely to lead to a general rise of prices in India, and that would affect the cost of production, which the Indian cultivator would have to bear in placing his products on the market. The effect of that would be to make matters very considerably harder for the Indian ryot and the peasant proprietor than they were at present. He would like to express his concurrence with a remark made by a member of the Government of India on that very question in the Indian Legislative Council. The member had said that if the Indian cultivators were in a position to really understand the issues raised in that great question, and if they were fully represented in the Legislature, he believed that they would have expressed a decided opinion against the introduction of such a scheme of fiscal protection as had been proposed. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. P. P. PILLAI said that Dr. Slater's fame in economics rested mainly upon his investigations into rural economics and upon his studies of English and Indian agricultural conditions, and also upon his popularization of the theories of Le Play in regard to the conditions of working men; a strong sympathy for the worker had always been one of his dominant characteristics.

Long before he had had the pleasure of seeing Dr. Slater he had reckoned himself as one of his students; since he had been in South India he had changed the outlook of most of his students in regard to economics.

Whereas they had previously regarded economics as being something of purely academic interest, he had taught them that it concerned them in their daily avocations, and all they had to do was to go to their villages and find out how the people were living: that was practical economics. As a result there was being established a new school of economics dealing with vital and real problems.

As the Lecturer had pointed out, it was quite true there had been a great development in Indian industry; India had made rapid strides into the sphere of industrialism, so that she was now considered to be amongst the eight great industrial countries of the world. But when they considered the vastness of India, he thought they would admit that the rate of progress, fast as it had been, was not sufficient, and what had been done was but a pale shadow of what remained to be done. Dr. Slater apparently considered that the rate of development in some instances had been too great, and that it led to great social evils. The harassing details of mortality which he gave were more than appalling, but he would submit that such results were not by any means necessary concomitants of industrial life, but, on the other hand, were avoidable evils. To his mind, the facts and figures employed by Dr. Slater constituted a powerful argument, not against a speedier rate of industrial development, but against a *pari passu* development of congestion, in sanitation and other undesirable features of industrial life. To do them justice, it must be said that the Indian industrialists were fully alive to the situation, and the evils to which Dr. Slater referred had already been remarked upon by the Indian Industrial Commission, who laid special emphasis on the state of affairs in Bombay, and suggested that the erection of future factories should not be allowed in congested areas without the permission of the Municipality. India undoubtedly was doing a great deal to improve her industrial conditions.

Granted the necessity for accelerating industrial progress, it seemed to him that the erection of a Protective wall was not the way to set about doing things. India was now committed to a policy of development on all sides, not the industrial side alone, which, of course, meant increased expenditure. But the receipts showed no corresponding increase. From a recent financial statement he gathered that in India in 1919 they had a deficit of six crores, and that had increased to a total of ninety crores in 1922. It was clear a country could not go on very long in that way, and therefore it became necessary to look for other sources of revenue. Now, Customs duties provided more than 3 per cent. of the total central revenues, and the effect of the adoption of a Protective tariff will be to curtail the income still more by reducing imports and exports.

In conclusion, he would venture to submit that the proper way to make progress in industry was to seek development by way of internal stimulation, and not by way of tariff, which was beset with so many difficulties in its practical working, and, when all is said, with great uncertainty as to its ultimate results.

Mr. K. J. CLEETUS said that the people of India were unanimous that

India must have Protection as a tariff policy. That desire had arisen through complaints engineered by the capitalist section of India, especially the cotton manufacturers. Their grievances had long since been remedied. Then, again, the desire for protection had been strengthened by the lessons they learned during the war; the war had closed their foreign supplies of many manufactured goods, in which they experienced a serious shortage, especially in clothing, as a result of which prices rose rapidly, and considerable suffering was imposed on the poorer classes. Their grievances were further exploited by the capitalist, which eventually forced the hands of the Government to appoint a Tariff Commission, which had unanimously reported in favour of protection. There were many industries in India which could claim protection, but as to the methods of enforcing it they could not yet say with any degree of certainty. He hoped, however, that within a very short time many of those industries would be able to stand on their own legs, and not be in need of protection any further.

The question of overcrowding in India was undoubtedly a very pressing problem, but that did not entitle them to say that it could not be remedied. As a matter of fact, the Government and the Corporation of Bombay had recently been considering an extensive scheme of housing for the benefit of the working classes. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, we are all deeply indebted to Dr. Slater for the excellent paper which he has read on this important subject. The proof of its soundness is that not one single position in it has been challenged. It gave me great satisfaction to hear from Mr. Pillai that Dr. Slater had founded a new school of economics in Madras, facing the real problems in India. That was my own impression, and I was very glad to have it confirmed from such a source.

Now, with regard to protection, the Free Trader always has the best of the argument, but he never succeeds in persuading any other nation, and that apparently is still the case here. I must say I think the practical objections to Protection are perhaps the most hopeful factor. Dr. Slater has pointed out that it involves a sacrifice of revenue, and other speakers have pointed out that this loss of revenue by the abolition of Excise duties, etc., is by no means to be made up by any increase of land revenue. That is one of the few aspects of the question on which I feel myself competent to express an opinion; it has been quite impossible for anyone to sit for years, as I have done, in an Indian Court, without recognizing that what the Indian is really sensitive about is any increase in land revenue, and I think the recent small constitutional crisis in Madras, when the Legislature refused to allow the Government to bring in an Irrigation Bill, was entirely due to the fact that it involved such an increase in the shape of water rate. That is an instance of the very great difficulties which would confront anyone who attempted to make up the existing Customs duties by an increase in land revenue. I do not think there is anything more to be said beyond, in conclusion, expressing our indebtedness to Dr. Slater. (Hear, hear.)

The LECTURER, in thanking them all for the very cordial way in which they had received his paper, said that his only regret was that there had been something lacking in the way of opposition and criticism. He felt that he had rather trailed his coat, but without provoking the proper pugilistic retort, and therefore he would confine himself to two points which had been raised in the discussion.

Firstly, with regard to the ratio of land revenue to gross output, perhaps he ought to explain where the estimate quoted came from. For some years in Madras they had had the advantage of having as Director of Agriculture the late Mr. G. A. D. Stuart, who was a very keen mathematician, and who took special pains to improve the collection of agricultural statistics. On his initiative the improvement of Indian agricultural statistics was specially considered at the meeting of the Board of Agriculture at Pusa in December, 1919, and the result was a recommendation that each agricultural department should add to its staff a statistical officer. The Government of Madras acted on this recommendation, and the officer appointed took special pains to make the best possible estimate of the output of all crops and the prices realized, and the result, leaving out such things as straw and horsegram, which are consumed productively on the land, and also leaving out toddy, which perhaps should have been included, was that the value of all the crops raised came to a little over 300 crores of rupees in 1920-1. The land revenue for the same year was exactly 6 crores, or just 2 per cent. of the output. The Lecturer was rather surprised at this result, as previous enquiries had led him to the conclusion that the land revenue was about 4 per cent. of the gross output; but the estimate of the statistical officer was so carefully made that it must be accepted as the most reliable one ever made for any part of India. There was an extraordinary difference between the assertions that are widely made about land revenue and the actual facts. Before going to India he had heard much to the effect that it was a crushing burden, frequently exceeding the economic rent. When he got to India, the first landowner he asked told him that he got in rent seven times what he paid in land revenue; and this was a typical experience. Later he discovered land in the Arcot district of Madras which brought in 300 rupees per acre per annum rent, and only paid 3 rupees land revenue per annum. Land revenue had greatly shrunk, and as it shrank there was more opposition to it. It was a case of—to him that hath more shall be given, or else he will be very discontented. In old days, when the State took a substantial part of the produce, it was recognized that the State was a part-owner of the land and entitled to the revenue. Now the State takes so little that the landholder considers himself sole owner, and regards it as an unjust imposition that the State should take anything.

At one time he did think he saw a gleam of hope with regard to getting more revenue out of the land. A friend of his, who was a keen student of economics, and the Secretary of the Madras Ryotwari Landholders' Association, got the Association to put forward the proposal for a reform in the system by which first there should be a permanent settlement of ryotwari

holdings, to put them on an equality in that respect with Madras zemindari holdings, which were permanently settled a hundred years ago, and then whenever the Presidency required extra funds they were to be raised by a tax upon the larger and bigger properties. Whether there was any hope of anything being done in that connection he did not know, but it would be a great advantage towards the economic fiscal balance of India if, on the one hand, permanent settlement were made universal, and, on the other, the exemption from income-tax of incomes from land were abolished. This might have been done under the old Constitution, but hardly under the new, which gave overwhelming power to the landholding class.

The second question which he would like to touch upon was: Assuming that Protection is not the right way of fostering Indian industries, what other means should be adopted for that purpose? He would recommend a more vigorous prosecution of various measures already initiated. Much more might be done, in the way of improving communications, by more railways, and more and better roads and canals. There was undoubtedly an enormous amount of work to be done with regard to improved hygiene. Then, again, one of the causes of economic backwardness was the disinclination of the people to save, and their inclination to spend their income before they got it. That was being attacked by the system of Co-operative Banks, which, combined with a great expansion of ordinary banking, for which provision was made by the establishment of the Imperial Bank of India, were likely to be a very much more powerful influence for industrial advancement than the mere difference between Free Trade and Protection. There was a great need in India to more fully vitalize the educational system, and to bring it more closely into touch with life. In this field already a great deal of important work was being done, particularly by the Missionary Societies.

Then, he would like to suggest that those interested in the welfare of India should not relax their search for profitable and stimulating industries which could be carried on in the villages as a supplement to agriculture, so as to utilize the waste time of the agriculturalist. There was a vast unused asset in that waste time which ought to be utilized. At one time it was utilized by hand spinning, but it still remained a possible source of wealth and support, which would give extra resources just where they were most needed. (Hear, hear.)

Lord PENTLAND said they ought not to part without according a very hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer, and also to Sir John Wallis for having so kindly consented to occupy the chair. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

MALAY PSYCHOLOGY

BY PHILIP COOTE

OF the many races which live in the East, none is so little known to the dweller in the West as the Malay of the peninsula and archipelago bearing that name.

Possibly this is due to the fact that, until the rubber boom arrived, few knew much of Malaya, except perhaps for a passing glimpse of Singapore or Penang, neither of which are actually on the peninsula, but on islands. Vague and erroneous ideas existed about Malay pirates, but little more was known about the strange inhabitants of a wonderful country, rich in mineral and agricultural wealth.

Opinions differ as to where the truest Malay lives, for he is found in Madagascar as well as in Asia, where he is very widely distributed. With such a scattered population, it is not altogether surprising to find that racial features, customs, and language vary largely in different parts. Words differ in the various Malay States, with the result that they become entirely changed in a very short time, and to a far greater extent than they do in British county dialects. It is usual to ascribe to the Malacca Malay the purest descent and language, but this point is often argued, and both Kedah and Perak have a considerable number of supporters.

It is usual to attach to the Malay the negative quality of laziness as his salient characteristic. To a certain extent this is true, but there is generally a method in his supposed hatred of hard work.

However, if a Malay is given a piece of work to do, he does it conscientiously and to the best of his ability. He makes an excellent "boy," cook, gardener, or chauffeur, but in order to understand him and speak to him a knowledge of Malay is essential. The average Malay does not learn English, though the higher class Malays, many of whom have been educated in England, speak it well. Centuries of life in the humid heat of the Malay Archi-

pelago has taught the *orang Malayu* to do his work with a minimum of labour, and it is because he has had the sense to learn this lesson well, that some regard him as lazy. In some parts—the Padang district of Sumatra, for instance—matriarchy exists, the men being too lazy to worry about anything. The women do such little work as is done, while the men do nothing, and all property passes from mother to daughter. This is not usual, however, and is only found in isolated cases.

If the *orang puteh* (white man—i.e., Englishman) wants to catch a rhinoceros which has been damaging his crops, he goes to endless trouble and expense in his endeavours to put an end to that animal's depredations. He will go to most unnecessary ends, tramping about with a gun, to bring that rhinoceros to earth, and perhaps it will take him days. He may even fail in his hunt. Not so the Malay. He has his own labour-saving method of snaring the animal, and, since it is of primary importance that the rhinoceros should be caught, and since sport is but a secondary consideration, he sets a trap.

In the vicinity of the beast's depredations he will dig a pit, big enough to hold the prey, and sufficiently deep to ensure the victim not escaping. The pit is baited and in due course the rhinoceros wanders into it. The question then arises as to how the brute shall be removed, for to lift it would be far too much like hard work, so odious to the Malay, and it is sometimes possible to raise a good sum on a live rhinoceros. In its natural anger at finding itself trapped, the rhinoceros pounds away at the floor and sides of the pit, thus loosening the earth, and raising it to the level of the ground. In the meantime the Malays have not been idle, for at their own convenience and in their own time they have erected a strong cage, made of jungle-wood, etc., over the pit in which their captive is. The prisoner is safely caged, and the next problem that arises is how to move him and his cage. This is done by passing a long, strong pole between the legs of the animal, and so steering him, with the cage, to the desired haven. This is typical of the Malay's ingenuity in avoiding unnecessary

labour, and might be amplified in a number of other ways. especially fishing.

For fifty years the *orang puteh*, and for much longer than that the Chinese, have been delving for tin, but the Malay has no desire to exploit his country's natural wealth. The British have made roads and railways, surveyed the country, and developed the land in every conceivable way, while the Malay has watched. The *orang China* has set up his *kedeis* (shops) and *godowns* (warehouses), but it is seldom that one comes across a Malay *kedei*, unless it be a dirty eating-house attached to some wayside *kampung* (hamlet). Yet the Malay cares not. He seldom enters into the busy life of the town, and prefers the jungle seclusion of his *kampung*.

Though the Malays, as a race, cannot be considered by any stretch of the imagination a progressive race, yet the upper classes are most enlightened and anxious to learn. They fully realize the benefits to be obtained from a European training, and not a few of the *raja* class have been educated at one of the English Universities, where they have had Western ideas instilled into them and the English language, which many speak fluently. At Kuala Kangsar, the Malay capital of the State of Perak, stands Malay College, a fine, imposing building, where the young Malay is educated on the lines of an English public school. It is, in fact, modelled, as far as circumstances and conditions will allow, on our great institutions, the public schools. But, if the upper class Malays have a leaning towards Europeanization, the general trend is not so. In the village schools the young Malay is taught to read and write, and he learns the Koran, but as soon as he leaves school and returns to a wholly country life all is forgotten, save, perhaps, the Koran, which the priest ensures he shall remember. Of the Malays, few have the initiative or inclination for the sterner life of a city. Let the Malay alone and he is the most conservative fellow on earth. Yet, once instil into his mind the benefits of Western civilization, and he is eager to improve himself. But perhaps the Malay is more delightful as he is. Few but the actual *raja* class can stand civilization, and the majority lose the charm of their simplicity when they start to adopt Western methods.

In remote ages Malays were Hindus; now they are Muhammadans. Few ever become Christians, so well are they looked after by their priests, and a visit to a Christian place of worship of any denomination seldom reveals a Malay among the congregation. Like most Orientals, the Malay is remarkably superstitious, and it is extraordinarily difficult to get an idea which has once been introduced to the Malay brain out again. Some seven or eight miles from Kuala Kangsar, just off the main road to Taiping, which is twenty-one miles further, there is a rough mound, surrounded by a stone kerb, in the grounds of a European planter's bungalow. It is obviously a burial-place, and legend has it that the body of some big Malay *panglima* (fighting chief), who was slain in battle on the adjacent mountains, lies there. Malays flock to this shrine all through the year, and from all parts of the country. Ramadhan, the month of fasting, is the time when most pilgrimages take place, and the devout place little candles and streamers of coloured paper on the grave.

Temperamentally, the Malay is taciturn, and he is not easy to engage in a general conversation. But he is most polite. Meet a Malay on the road and he has invariably got a "*Tabek*" ("Good-day") for you. The *orang puteh* is a good friend to "Mat," the name generically applied to Malays as John is to the Chinaman, and he knows it, and moreover has the courtesy to acknowledge it. As a rule the Malay is kind to women and children, but should he run *amok* he is a veritable terror. Fortunately he seldom runs *amok* in these more enlightened days, but his passions, once aroused, are quelled with difficulty.

The Malay of to-day is not the violent, bloodthirsty piratical person he is generally depicted as in books. He likes to be left alone to his own devices and to be allowed to live peaceably and quietly. Then he is *sénang*.

FINANCIAL SECTION

THE INDIAN CURRENCY POLICY

BY SIR JAMES WILSON, K.C.S.I.

IN the ASIATIC REVIEW for January, 1922, there appeared an article by me on this subject, calling attention to the changes which had taken place up to that date. The table on p. 290 shows the state of things on January 31, 1923, the calculations being based on the quotations of that date, among which were the following: In London—price of gold, 88·8 shillings per fine ounce; price of silver per ounce 925 fine, 31·4 pence; rate of exchange of the rupee, 16·5 pence. In New York—price of foreign silver, 64·8 cents per fine ounce. In Calcutta, on January 10, 1923, gold was quoted at 26·6 rupees per tola of 180 grains, and fine silver at 82·9 rupees per 100 tolas.

In the table on p. 290 I have entered as one of the dates January 31, 1920, because it was immediately after that date—namely, on February 2, 1920—that the Secretary of State made his momentous announcement that he would aim at giving the rupee a fixed value in exchange of one rupee for 113 grains of fine gold—that is, one-tenth of the gold content of the sovereign. The other dates in the table are exactly two years and three years after January 31, 1920.

On January 31, 1920, the value of the British paper pound sterling, as shown both by the rate of exchange with New York and by the results of the sales of gold in London with freedom to export, was nearly at its lowest, being then equivalent to 82 grains of fine gold—that is, 72 per cent. of the 113 grains contained in a sovereign—in other words, it was worth only 14s. 5d. measured in gold.

As a result of the policy adopted by the British Government, which aimed at the restoration of a free market in gold in London, and would ultimately lead to the restoration of the paper pound to the value of a sovereign, the value of the paper pound had by January 31, 1922, risen to 99·5 grains of fine gold—equivalent to 88·1 per cent. of the gold in a sovereign; and during the next twelve months there was a further improvement, until on January 31, 1923, the price of gold in London gave the paper pound the value of 108·1 grains of fine gold, which is 95·7 per cent. of the 113 grains in a sovereign—an improvement of 8·6 per cent. in the twelve months, bringing the value of the pound sterling in London, in New York, and therefore all the world over to within 5 per cent. of the value of the gold in a sovereign.

VALUE OF THE RUPEE MEASURED IN GOLD AND SILVER

	In 1913.	January 31, 1920.	January 31, 1922.	January 31, 1923.
Value of the pound sterling in grains of gold.	113	82	99·5	108·1
Value of the pound sterling as a percentage of the sovereign	100	72	88·1	95·7
Value of the sovereign (113 grains of gold) in rupees—				
In London	15	11·9	17·5	15·2
In India	15	17	17·9	16·7
Value of the rupee in grains of gold—				
In London	7·5	9·6	6·5	7·4
In India	7·5	6·7	6·3	6·8
Value of the rupee in pence sterling in London	16	28	15·6	16·5
Value of the rupee in pence measured in gold in London	16	20	13·7	15·8
Value of the rupee in grains of silver—				
In London	253	149	197	233
In India	257	157	194	217*
Ratio of gold to silver—				
In New York	34	15·5	31·3	31·9
In London	34	15·7	30·5	31·4
In India	34	23·5	30·8	32·1*

* January 10, 1923.

During the war, and for some time after the armistice, India was prevented from obtaining her usual supply of gold, and demanded a great increase in the import of silver, which it could practically force the Government to import in order to maintain the inconvertibility of its paper currency. This excessive demand of India for silver, together with the demand from other countries, led to a very rapid rise in the world price of silver measured in gold, and on January 31, 1920, the price of silver in New York was 133 cents per fine ounce, as compared with the average price in 1913 of 61 cents—that is to say, on that date an ounce of gold would only command in New York 15·5 ounces of silver, whereas in 1913 it commanded 34 ounces. On the same date the quoted price of standard silver in London was 83 pence per ounce, while in 1913 the average price was 28 pence. On the same day gold sold in London at 117s. sterling per ounce, as compared with the 85s. per ounce at which it sold before the issue of the practically inconvertible paper currency; so that in London on that day the ratio between gold and silver was 15·7 to 1, or nearly the same as in New York. In India while the import of gold was severely restricted and silver was imported in immense quantities, the value of gold measured in silver or in rupees naturally rose very rapidly with little regard to the ratio between them in the world outside. Before the war the price of gold remained practically constant at about 24 rupees to the tola of 180 grains—that is, 7·5 grains to the rupee, and the price of the sovereign was 15 rupees. But in the beginning of September, 1919, gold was selling in Bombay at 32 rupees per tola (5·6 grains to the rupee), which would give the price of the 113 grains of fine gold contained in the sovereign as 20 rupees. By January 31, 1920, the price of gold in India had been brought down to 27 rupees per tola—that is, 6·7 grains to the rupee—while on the same date the rupee was quoted in London at 28 pence sterling compared to the pre-war rate of 16 pence per rupee. As

the pound sterling was then worth only 72 per cent. of a sovereign, this means that on January 31, 1920, a rupee would buy in London 9·6 grains of fine gold, while in India, owing to the restricted supply of gold, a rupee would buy only 6·7 grains, and on that date, while both in London and in New York an ounce of gold would buy only about 15·5 ounces of silver, it would in India buy 23·5 ounces.

On February 2, 1920, the Secretary of State announced that he would aim at giving the rupee a fixed value in exchange of 1 rupee for 11·3 grains of fine gold, that the sovereign would be made a legal tender in India at the ratio of 10 rupees (instead of the pre-war ratio of 15 rupees) to one sovereign, and that the import and export of gold would soon be freed from Government control. Accordingly since July 12, 1920, India has been able to obtain as much as she wants either of gold or of silver. Her demand for silver has now become normal, and as other countries also, such as China and South America, had been prevented from obtaining the gold they wanted and were now able to satisfy their requirements, and thus increase the world's effective demand for gold, while at the same time reducing its effective demand for silver, the consequence of this removal of restrictions was a rapid fall in the value of silver as measured in gold; and by January 31, 1923, both in New York, in London, and in India an ounce of gold commanded about 32 ounces of silver—or much the same as the pre-war ratio of 1 ounce of gold equal to 34 ounces of silver.

On January 31, 1922, the exchange value of the rupee in London was 15·6 pence sterling—or much the same as before the war, as compared with the 28 pence which it had reached on January 31, 1920, before the announcement of the Secretary of State's new policy. On January 31, 1923, it was 16·5 pence sterling, but as the paper pound was then worth only 95·7 per cent. of the sovereign, this means that on that date the value of the rupee, measured in

gold, in London was only 15·8 pence, as compared with 16 pence before the war. Still this is a substantial improvement on its value a year before, when, measured in gold, it was worth only 13·7 pence. On January 31, 1923, it was worth in London 7·4 grains of fine gold, as compared with 7·5 grains it was worth before the war, and as compared with the 9·6 grains it was worth in London on January 31, 1920. Thus it has nearly attained the value in international exchange as measured in gold which it possessed before the war, but is still very far short of the value of 11·3 grains of fine gold aimed at by the Secretary of State in his announcement made three years ago.

Under recent legislation the rupee is at present legal tender in India for only 10 rupees, but as anyone can get for it in the bazaar over 16 rupees, no one is likely to tender a sovereign for 10 rupees, and, for the time being, gold, even in the form of sovereigns, is out of the reckoning as regards circulation.

Notwithstanding the danger of increasing the legal tender currency, the Government of India, even before the war, on account no doubt of the profit it could secure by coining silver into rupees, each of which could be issued as a token coin equal in value to one-fifteenth of a sovereign, added greatly to the rupee coinage, and during the fourteen years ending with 1913 no fewer than 1,600 million new rupees were coined. Then when, in consequence of the restrictions on the import of gold during the war, it was found necessary, in order to maintain the convertibility of the note issue, to obtain immense quantities of silver from abroad and coin it into rupees, during the three years ending with March 31, 1919, the net coinage amounted to no less than 1,034 million rupee coins, making a gross addition to the silver currency since the beginning of the century of over 2,600 million rupee coins; and it may be estimated that there are at present in existence about 4,000 million rupee coins.

The total quantity of currency notes has at the same

time been greatly increased from 661 million rupees on March 31, 1914, to 1,742 million rupees on December 31, 1922. Apparently, then, the total amount of legal tender money, apart from gold, now in India, is about 5,706 million rupees, or about 18 rupees per head of population. The addition to the quantity of rupees and notes since 1914 has been, approximately—rupee coins 1,034 million, notes to the value of 1,081 million, total increase 2,115 million rupees.

When the people of India have more rupees than they have an immediate use for, whether for purposes of circulation or hoarding, the rupee coins flow back into the Government Treasuries, and the quantity of silver coin and bullion held in the Currency Reserve in India has increased from 205 million rupees on March 31, 1914, to no less than 866 million rupees on December 31, 1922—more than one-fifth of all the rupee coins in existence, the increase during the past year being 126 million rupees, which affords strong evidence that the total amount of rupees and notes is at present much larger than India really requires for all purposes. It seems now clear that the Government of India made a great mistake in issuing so many rupee coins and currency notes, and that it would have been much more advantageous if they had kept down the quantity of legal tender currency, and so kept up the value of the rupee, whether measured in gold or in sterling or in commodities, and prevented the rapid rise in rupee prices in India.

The Babington-Smith Committee of 1919, on the basis of whose report the Secretary of State made his announcement of February 1920, seem to have supposed that the gold value of silver would continue at such a high rate as to support a rate of exchange of the rupee much higher than the 16 pence which had been the standard for a number of years before the war, and if they had foreseen that the price of silver and the exchange value of the rupee would fall so rapidly within the next three years, it is very improbable that they would have encouraged the Secretary of State to

aim at making the rupee worth 24 pence in gold. The warning which I submitted to the Committee in July 1919 when the price of silver was 53 pence per ounce, that by 1922 its price might be as low as 30 pence, was practically fulfilled, as on December 15 last it was quoted in London at 30·4 pence. It seems probable that there will soon be a further fall in the value of silver, whether measured in gold or in rupees or in commodities. Of the 208 million ounces which the Government of the United States have to replace in accordance with the Pittman Act, 149 million ounces have been bought, leaving a balance of 59 million ounces, which, at the rate at which purchases have recently been made, should be completed next autumn. Thereafter it is probable that the whole of the American produce will have to compete with the rest of the world production in a free market, and will be added to the world's available supply of silver. At the same time the world's demand for silver is likely to go on decreasing, and it seems probable that the price in New York, which is at present about 65 cents per fine ounce, will fall below the price of 61 cents, which was that of 1913. (It is to be remembered that so recently as 1915 its price was only 51 cents per fine ounce.) Any fall in the price of silver that may take place will increase the temptation to counterfeit rupees, and any further rise in the exchange value of the rupee coin, whether or not it is accompanied by a fall in the present price of silver, will also increase that temptation and make it more and more difficult to maintain the exchange value of the rupee.

As in the case of all inconvertible currencies, the value of the rupee, whether measured in gold or in commodities, now varies according to the relation between the demand and supply of rupees and the demand and supply of gold or of commodities. The Government of India have now stopped the coinage of more rupees and the issue of additional currency notes, but it is unlikely that the demand for rupees and notes will increase to such an extent as to lead

to a further marked improvement, unless measures are taken to reduce the present excessive quantity of rupees and notes in existence. It is impossible to imagine that, for many years to come, the rupee will rise in exchange value to the Secretary of State's figure of 11·3 grains to the rupee—that is, one-tenth of a sovereign.

A further rise in exchange value of the rupee would be favourable to the Indian finances, in so far as India has to pay external debts in gold or in sterling. It would also tend to cause a fall in prices measured in rupees in India, and would therefore be favourable to all who receive salaries or wages fixed in rupees, and to all creditors in India whose credits are fixed in terms of rupees. On the other hand, it would be unfavourable to all producers of commodities in India, and especially to the great mass of the agricultural population who have produce to sell, and to all debtors in India whose debts are fixed in rupees. The fairest and most practicable solution of the question would be to abandon the attempt to raise the value of the rupee to anything like 11·3 grains of fine gold, and to aim at the permanent re-establishment of the pre-war rate of 7·5 grains of fine gold—that is, one-fifteenth of a sovereign, or 16 pence per rupee measured in gold. The Secretary of State should announce this to be his policy, and the Government of India should pass an Act declaring that the sovereign shall again be legal tender for 15 rupees. This would prevent the gold value of the rupee from rising above one-fifteenth of a sovereign, and might lead to the reappearance of the sovereign as part of the currency in circulation in India. Even so, there would still be a danger that, owing to the enormous quantity of rupees and notes in existence, it might be difficult to keep the rupee up to its present rate in exchange of about one-fifteenth of a sovereign, and it would be advisable to take steps to make a gradual reduction in the amount of currency notes in circulation, and in the quantity of rupee coins in existence in the manner recommended in my previous article, where I have shown that

the Government of India is in possession of ample resources to enable it to make such a reduction. If this were done, there is reason to hope that the rupee would again be stabilized at its pre-war value of one-fifteenth of the gold in a sovereign, to the great advantage of India's trade and in the interests of justice as between creditors and debtors.

HISTORICAL SECTION

THE EMBASSY OF SIR WILLIAM NORRIS, BART., TO AURANGZEBE

BY HARIHAR DAS, F.R.S.L., F.R.HIST.S.

CHAPTER I

THE NORRIS FAMILY: SIR WILLIAM'S EARLY LIFE AND PARLIAMENTARY CAREER

THE East India Company in the seventeenth and the earlier part of the eighteenth centuries appointed the staff for its various factories in a more or less haphazard manner, and it was inevitable that they should come from different classes of the community. A few were representatives of the old county families; many were sons or other relatives of the City merchants who, as subscribers of the Company's stock, had started the enterprise of trading with India and the East, and kept it going; while another and the most numerous class of all was recruited from the ships' supercargoes, who were easily induced to remain in India for at least a time. The result was that "the servants" of the Company, as they were called, were typical representatives of the commercial community of England, then emerging into marked prominence, and attracting to its ranks the most energetic and adventurous persons in the country. In no sense of the word could these men be called officials. They were merchants and traders alone. Their activities were concentrated in the local markets; their success or their failure was recorded in their journals and ledgers. That was the test of their merit with the Company, and of their profit for themselves. The ventures and prizes of the pursuit captured the imagination and appealed to the desires of a wide circle,

so that, speaking broadly, the Company had no difficulty in obtaining the services of men of a thoroughly respectable class, and even in the earlier years of its existence many scions of the best families were to be found in its employment.

The new English Company derived a great advantage at the beginning of its enterprise from the co-operation of a royal ambassador, so well qualified and of such a distinguished family as Sir William Norris, who was charged with the special task of pushing its interests at the Court of the Great Mogul. Indeed, the selection of such a man for the mission was a signal proof of King William's great desire to favour the new Company, for the old Company had enjoyed no such advantage since the despatch of Sir Thomas Roe on a similar errand by James I. This reason explains why it is thought appropriate to give at some length an account of the very ancient Norris family of Speke and all its ramifications, which had a very distinguished record in the public service of the country not easily to be surpassed by any other at the time with which we are dealing.

The village of Speke lies on the northern bank of the Mersey, a few miles east of Liverpool, and still remains an agricultural district. There is no village to speak of, only a few cottages near the modern church, but Speke Hall is among the famous houses of the county, being one of the best examples of "black and white" architecture remaining. The house is built round a rectangular court, and was surrounded by a broad moat. This is now drained, and filled in on the south side—i.e., the side towards the river. The principal entrance is on the north side, the moat there being crossed by a stone bridge. The building is of various dates; some parts may go back to the fourteenth century, but the bulk is of the sixteenth century, and the house now is probably much the same as it was in the time of Elizabeth.*

* There is an interesting illustrated account of the house by Mr. Herbert Winstanley in vol. lxxi. of the *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*. Also in the *Country Life* for January 14 and 21, 1922. See also "*Victoria History of Lancashire*," vol. iii., Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., 1907.

The Lancashire family of Norris was one of great distinction, even from the days of the Plantagenets. The founder was one Hugh le Noreis (*i.e.*, Norwegian), to whom King John, before his accession to the Crown, gave the manor of Blackrod, near Bolton. The owners of Speke for over five hundred years were a junior branch of his family, not becoming extinct in the male line there until the middle of the eighteenth century. From them came another distinguished family, that of Norris of Rycote. It would be difficult to name one that produced so many remarkable servants of the State as it did during the whole of the Tudor period. Henry Norris, to go no further back, fell from his position as favourite with Henry VIII. during the proceedings against Cardinal Wolsey, to become the object of that monarch's wrath on very slight evidence of an intrigue with Anne Boleyn. No one at Court credited the charge, but some victim had to suffer for the King's plans, and Norris lost his head in the Tower in 1536. In reparation of this injustice his son Henry was soon afterwards created Baron Norris of Rycote, and long enjoyed the favour of Queen Elizabeth, who sent him as her ambassador to Paris.

This Henry was a man of discretion and peace, but his six sons were described as "a brood of spirited, martial men." They justified the appellation in many different scenes of war—in the Netherlands, for instance, and in Ireland. Of these sons the second, John, was the most successful commander the English sent to help William the Silent against the Spaniards, and his next brother, Edward, died Governor of Ostend in 1601. Queen Elizabeth used to address the latter as "Dear Ned." His great estates in Berkshire passed to his nephew William, third Baron Norris, who was created by James I. Earl of Berkshire. He had the misfortune to kill Ford Willoughby d'Eresley in a duel, and to be sent in consequence to the Tower, from which he was released on payment of a fine.

Finding himself in disgrace at Court, he retired to his seat at Rycote, in Oxon, and, brooding over his downfall, shot himself with a cross-bow.

One of the most prominent members of the original family was the Sir William Norris who was Lord of Speke in the time of Henry VIII. He took part in the invasion of Scotland in 1544, and brought back as part of his spoil some printed folios, now preserved in the Athenæum Library at Liverpool. Edward, his son and successor, is commemorated by an inscription at the Hall, as having built a portion of it. His son, Sir William, was made a Knight of the Bath by James I. at his coronation. His eldest son having died without children, he was succeeded by his second son, William, who died in 1651. This William appears to have taken no part in the Civil War, but two at least of his sons fought on the King's side. One of these was Thomas Norris, his successor, who had to compound with the victorious Parliament for his offence by a fine of £508. He appears thenceforward to have led a quiet and obscure life, but his son Thomas, who succeeded him about 1686, served as Sheriff of the County in 1696, and was Member of Parliament for Liverpool, as a Whig, in 1688 and 1689-95. We find the following account in the *History of Liverpool*, which amply testifies to the chivalry of the family: "In the reign of Edward III. in the naval expedition fitted out against France, Liverpool was required to furnish one small vessel or bark, to be manned by six mariners; the city of York at the same time was required to supply one vessel and nine men, and Portsmouth five ships and ninety-six men. Most of the other ports in England were also ordered to provide a certain number of vessels. The expedition was headed by King Edward in person, attended by his son Edward, the Black Prince, Henry, Duke of Lancaster, and a great number of the knights, barons, and esquires of the county of Lancaster. Amongst these the families of More of Bank Hall, Molyneux of Sefton, and Norris of Speke were

particularly distinguished."* It is interesting to note that the former two families were still more important in the county for their munificent gifts to the city of Liverpool. The families of Thomas Johnson and William Clayton were also well known.

Sir William Norris, Bart., second son of Thomas and Katherine Norris, was born in 1657 at Speke Hall. His parents had in all seven sons and four daughters, namely, Thomas,† William, John,‡ Henry,§ Edward,|| Jonathan,¶

* See p. 46 of the "History of Liverpool" by T. Troughton. Liverpool: William Robinson, 1810.

† Thomas, M.P. for Liverpool, 1689-90, 1690-5, was sent to the Convention Parliament of 1688, and chiefly to his efforts was due the granting by William III. of the Charter of 1695, which procured great benefits for the town of Liverpool. He was a Whig, and in 1696 served as High Sheriff of Lancashire. He married Magdalene, second daughter of Sir Willoughby Aston. Thomas's only child Mary became heiress to the whole Speke property. He died at Harrogate in June, 1700.

‡ John was sent to sea, and was a man of intemperate habits. There is a certain amount of discrepancy about John Norris in the "Dictionary of National Biography." Heywood says in the "Norris Papers" of the Transactions of the Chetham Society that John was in the merchant service, but that is the only link, and apparently he came out of it, and lived in Lancashire till he died, fairly young. He also gives a few facts about this John as a spendthrift and wastrel. It is true that Sir William had a brother John, who was, according to the Heralds' Visitation of 1664 of Lancashire, aged two years on September 23, 1664, when Thomas Norris, of Speke, attested to that fact, (Sir) William being then aged six (Chetham Society, vol. lxxxviii.). The article in the D.N.B. on "Sir John Norris" is by Sir John Laughton, a great authority on the navy. He says Sir John Norris was "apparently" the third son of Thomas Norris, of Speke, but later on he says, *a brother* of Sir William Norris. We have not been able to clear up the identity or parentage of Sir John, but it is not credible that he was a son of Thomas, of Speke. If he had been, he would have become heir to the estates, and it is certain he did not. Some pedigrees—e.g., Ogmerod's in vol. ii. of the Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire—say John, the brother of Sir William, died without issue, and there is no reason to doubt this. The reference given in the D.N.B. to Baines's "History of Lancashire," vol. iii., p. 754, only shows that Sir William had a brother John; but he was never knighted.

§ Henry, M.A., B.D., was a clergyman, and was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford, and became a Fellow.

|| Edward, educated at Brasenose College, Oxford; M.A., June 1, 1689; B.M., January 19, 1691; and M.D., March 12, 1695; practised in Chester. He became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1698. He went as secretary to his second brother in India. On his return from India, he resided for a while at Utlington, near Chester, and in 1705 married the daughter of William Cleveland, of Liverpool. He became a member of Parliament for Liverpool on February 7, 1714-15. He died on July 22, 1726, and his remains were interred in the chapel of Garston, dedicated to St. Michael.

¶ Jonathan, born at Childwall, February 1, 1667.

Richard,* Margaret, Ann, Katherine, and Elizabeth. The mother, Katherine Norris, was a remarkable woman; she was the fourth daughter of Sir Henry Garraway.† Katherine Norris seems to have been a business-like woman, strong-minded, and deeply religious. She was withal a woman of charitable disposition, who before her death made a will, dated November 13, 1705, in which she left personal gifts to her sons and daughters. Her share of the third part of the ancestral property she left to her sons Edward and Richard Norris and their heirs. She also left to Richard a meadow in Halebanck, co. Lancashire, called the Walpole and Barrow Platt. Further, she gave Edward all the household goods within the dwelling-house or Hall of Speke "which shall remain there all the time of her death," except such part thereof as shall be inserted in a schedule to her will. She was not only contented to distribute her property amongst her children, but over and above she bequeathed sums of money to the poor present at her funeral and servants of the house. Her youngest son, Richard, was made the sole executor of her will, and it was proved on February 3, 1707.

William Norris was elected eighth into Westminster School in 1672. He remained a King's Scholar until 1675, when he was the third of those elected to Cambridge. Among those who were King's Scholars at the same time as Norris were Francis Atterbury, afterwards the well-known Jacobite Dean of Westminster and Bishop of Rochester, and Lancelot Blackburne, afterwards Arch-

* Richard was Bailiff in Liverpool in 1695, became Mayor in 1700, and M.P., 1708-10. He was Sheriff of Lancashire in 1718. He was most active in Liverpool affairs, and was a close friend of Sir Thomas Johnson.

† Sir Henry Garraway was on the Committee of the East India Company from 1614-43. He became Deputy-Governor of the Company in 1636, which he held until 1639, when he was elected Lord Mayor of London, and held that position about a year. He was knighted on May 31, 1640, and was appointed Governor of the East India Company in 1641-3. He had incurred considerable unpopularity owing to his royalist leanings and opposition to Pym and his followers. His death occurred in July, 1646. See "The Aldermen of the City of London," vol. ii., by A. B. Beaven, London, 1913.

bishop of York. He came to Westminster under the great headmaster, Dr. Richard Busby, who was headmaster from 1638 to 1695. It was Busby's proud boast that he had educated most of the Bishops at the time of his death, and among his famous pupils had been Sir Christopher Wren, John Locke, John Dryden, Bishop Trelawny (one of the seven Bishops), Matthew Prior, Charles Montague, Lord Halifax, and very many others. Dr. Busby perhaps did more than anyone else to found the Public School system as we know it to-day, and to induce the great families to send their sons to Public Schools rather than to educate them by private tutors. He is remembered as the great flogging headmaster, but he was loved by his boys even while they feared him. After finishing his career at Westminster, William was admitted into Trinity College, Cambridge, on June 25, 1675, under Mr. Boteler (alias Butler) as tutor; matriculated in 1675; was elected scholar in 1676. William Norris was somewhat of a poet, and as an undergraduate in 1677 contributed a poem in Greek to the volume of poems, entitled *Epithalamium*, addressed by the University of Cambridge to Charles II. on the marriage of William Henry, Prince of Orange, with Princess Mary of England. We quote the poem with a translation:

* Ἦρα τίς, εὐπατέρεια κόρη, τὸν αἶνον αἰδεῖν,
 Ἡ δύναται θαλάμους, ὧ χαρισσα, τοίους;
 Ἦρα τίς εὐγενέος δύναται τὰ γενέθλια παιδὸς
 Καὶ χάριτας γλυκεροῖς ὄμμασ' ἐφεζομενάς;
 Οὐδέχεται λεπτὴ τὰ μεμιγμένα χαρματ' αἰοῖδ',
 Δισσὼ τ' οἰδαλέην κύματι γηθοσύνην.*

W. NORRIS: *Coll. Trin.*

He graduated B.A. in 1678; was admitted a minor Fellow of Trinity College on October 3, 1681, and M.A. in 1682. He became a major Fellow on July 7, 1682.

- * "High-born maid, can any worthily sing thy praise
 Or thy nuptials, O beauteous one?
 Can any duly render the hereditary gifts of the noble youth
 And the graces dwelling in his charming eyes?
 No feeble song is fitting for these mingled joys,
 Delight full-swelling with a double wave."

He drew his fellowship dividends up to Christmas, 1690. He held no college office, but acted as tutor to one man (*viz.*, John Taylor), admitted in 1687. William Norris was one of the delegates appointed by the Regent House in 1687 on the question of James II. being petitioned to revoke his mandate for a degree to Francis, the Roman Catholic. On February 9, 1686-87, came a letter of James II. ordering the University to admit one Alban Francis, Benedictine, to the degree of Master of Arts without administering any oaths, the King dispensing with the observance of the statutes on this occasion. The Vice-Chancellor wrote to the Chancellor (the Duke of Albemarle) to ask whether the King could be induced to revoke the mandate; the Duke in reply said a petition from the University might have some effect. At a congregation of the Senate of the University on February 21, it was resolved to send Dr. Smoult, Professor of Casuistical Divinity, on behalf of the "Non-Regent" house, and Mr. Norris, Fellow of Trinity College, on behalf of the Regents. (At that time the Senate was divided into two "houses"—the Non-Regents or seniors, and the Regents or juniors.) They were to say that the Senate thought the admission of Mr. Francis without the usual oaths to be illegal and unsafe, and wished the King to be petitioned about it. A second royal mandate was received (read March 11). The Senate proceeded as before. On April 9 the Vice-Chancellor and Senate (by deputies) were summoned to appear before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The Vice-Chancellor and eight deputies (including Dr. Smoult, but not William Norris) appeared accordingly before Lord Chancellor Jeffreys and other Commissioners. On May 7 judgment was given that an act of great disobedience to the King's commands had been committed, and therefore the Vice-Chancellor was deprived of his office.*

William Norris also wrote a poem while at Cambridge

* See "The Cambridge Case," London, 1689. (British Museum, in a volume of "Law Tracts," No. 24).

on the elevation of Princess Mary to the throne in 1689, in a volume called "*Musæ Cantabrigienses*"—poems addressed to William III. and Mary by members of the University of Cambridge, on the Revolution. The poem is ambitious, and even endeavours to claim William as a genuine Englishman!

" Et tamen Herôem servandis gentibus ortum
Anglia, cui merito rerum dedit esse potenti,
Vindicat atque suâ jactat de stirpe creatum,
Maternâ de stirpe suum ; Dis namque secundis
Tallem illum Auriaco Patri tulit Anglica Mater.
Hinc animi, hinc virtus, & claris dextra factis.
Nec tu carminibus, Regina, silebere nostris,
Una Viro digna illustri sceptrisque Britannis.
Formosæ Leges consuerunt ponere mundo
Præcipue magnorum animis regnare virorum."

William Norris married on December 13, 1689, Elizabeth Pollexfen, of St. Clement Danes, widow of Nicholas Pollexfen, and previously of Isaac Meynell, son of Godfrey Meynell, of Willington, co. Derby. She was a daughter of Alderman W. Reade, of London. By the first husband she had a daughter, Eliza, who married (1) Robert Hale, and (2) the Hon. Robert Cecil. By Nicholas Pollexfen she had a son of that name. Lady Norris was a woman of fashion, although illiterate, and connected with the Lord Ranelagh, whom the Tories so long attempted to drive from office.

William was admitted a Freeman of Liverpool on November 7, 1694.

[EDITORIAL NOTE.—Mr. Das has been engaged for some time in collecting materials for writing an account of the Embassy of Sir William Norris, Bart., to Aurangzebe, the Great Mogul; and the above article is an outcome of his researches. A fuller account of the Embassy will be published later.]

(*To be continued.*)

ECONOMIC SECTION

THE FUTURE OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE

BY P. PADMANABHA PILLAI

THE triple panoply of irrigation, co-operation, and scientific cultivation with which Lord Curzon has furnished the Indian peasant, so as to enable him to maintain on a more equal footing his daily struggle on his scanty acres, has indeed stood him in good stead in many an awkward moment; but, far from making him invincible, it has only succeeded in winning for him more lenient terms from the victors. Famine has now to content itself with a far smaller number of victims than of old; evil seasons are now met with increased powers of resistance, and recovery from their effects is encouragingly rapid. In other directions, too, there have been unmistakable symptoms of progress. The linking up of India with the markets of the world and the growth of a brisk export trade have opened out a new era of rising prices, and along with this economic inducement to improve his standard of farming, scientific departments have freely placed at his disposal their expert knowledge and experience of other lands. Land values and rentals have gone up, permanent improvements on the land are steadily being made, innovations in methods and equipment are visibly increasing, and there has been an appreciable rise in his spending capacity. But, considering the almost unique opportunities the ryot has had for reorganizing his vocation on a more efficient footing, and also the length of time during which these external aids to agricultural development have been in operation, it will have to be admitted that the pace of progress "has been very slow, slower than it has been elsewhere, slower than it need be there."

The explanation is not far to seek; for, side by side with

these forces working in the peasant's favour, there have also been some unfortunate influences tending to a contrary direction. A principal defect of the Indian agricultural system is the uneconomic size and the scattered nature of the holdings. They are a direct consequence of the Hindu Law of Inheritance, under which each male member of the joint family has an equal and divisible share in the common property. Thus, on the death of a father with five sons, owning a plot of land in common, the single plot is liable to be split up into five, and if the coparcenary owned, say, five plots, the desire among the coheirs for a mathematical exactitude in division leads them to repeat this five-fold *morcellement* with each one of these plots. Five compact blocks are thus split up into twenty-five, five separate parcels being allotted to each coheir. The Muhammadan Law of Inheritance has also worked but an elaborate system of partition. This process of minute subdivision and fragmentation of holdings is fairly common all over India, and the following typical illustration will suffice to show its disruptive tendency. In the village of Kodaganallur,* in the Tinnevely District, there were :

Year.	Holdings paying Rs. 10 and less in Kist.	Holdings paying more than Rs. 100 in Kist.
1882	112	22
1887	140	19
1892	173	18
1901	204	15
1906	239	14
1911	367	11
1916	366	8

Dr. Harold Mann tells us that, in a Deccan village, the average size of holdings has diminished from 44 acres in 1771 to 7 acres in 1914, and that more than 25 per cent. of the plots are less than half an acre in extent.†

* "Some South Indian Villages," edited by Dr. Gilbert Slater, p. 221.

† "The Economics of a Deccan Village," *Indian Journal of Economics*, December, 1916: further elaborated in his "Land and Labour in a Deccan Village," University of Bombay Economic Series, Vol. I. Mr. G. F.

Sir James Wilson calls our attention to the same phenomenon in the Punjab in his valuable paper on "Recent Economic Developments in the Punjab" (pp. 29-30); and Professor Stanley Jevons, of Allahabad, thought the endless multiplication of these tiny scattered holdings so detrimental to agricultural prosperity that he brought the matter before an all-India agricultural conference, and advocated a policy similar to that of the English Enclosure Acts.*

There can be no doubt that, so long as these conditions continue, a speedy advance in farming is almost out of the question. Apart altogether from the waste of time it involves and the narrow limitations it imposes on a farmer desirous of improving his land, or introducing new crops and methods, its effect on the landholders themselves is a matter that has often called forth anxious comment. The men whose holdings are too small to support them, and who spend part of their time in working for others, form a large proportion of the cultivators of India. They are, according to Mr. G. F. Keatinge, for many years Director of Agriculture in Bombay, the victims of the conditions which arise from pressure of population on the land, the Indian Law of Inheritance, and the customs arising out of it. Where a man can find employment for his spare time in his own village it is possible for him to keep his holding in a thrifty condition, but, where he has to go farther afield in search of work, this becomes a matter of greater difficulty. As a rule, this man is of less use to himself or to the community than the man who can devote his whole time to his own holding. He knows that he does not depend on his land for a living, and consequently his cultivation is usually inferior and his output less. When the crop is harvested he is in no hurry to exchange an easy life for the more strenuous one of a hired labourer. He hangs about his

Keatinge collects a number of similar illustrations in an Appendix (I.) to his recent book on "Agricultural Progress in Western India."

* See his "Consolidation of Agricultural Holdings in the United Provinces," 1918. University of Allahabad, Bulletin No. 9.

home, and reduces his standard of living until he is again driven to look for work by sheer necessity. He has little incentives to strenuous labour; his organization is bad, whether as landholder or hired labourer, and he suffers from the evils of casual and intermittent labour which, in time, reacts on his character. And so long as land continues to be held under these conditions, the path to development must remain barred.*

Some sort of reform is therefore needed to check this downward career, and the most obvious line is to secure that the size of the holding should be such as to maintain its holder. The problem is by no means a new one. Many of the leading agricultural countries of Europe had at one time to confront and overcome it, and their example ought to show us a way out. In Denmark, for instance, the family property was divisible among the coheirs until 1837, when an exception was made, by a law of that year, in the case of peasant farms, whereby the proprietor was allowed to leave the farm intact to any of his children; and a further step towards consolidation was taken by the appointment of Commissions to value and redistribute holdings. In India, legislative and executive interference of this nature is likely to provoke bitter hostility, though it seems reasonable to expect that when the economic advantages of a self-contained farm are brought home to the cultivator, the outcry against the new reform will give place to a grateful acknowledgment of its benefits. A more desirable policy would, perhaps, be to set up convenient and compact model farms, and hand them over to cultivators with strict injunctions against subdivision. Demonstration work of this character would prepare the mind of the cultivator to the proposed change and disarm opposition, while an appreciation of its advantages in the concrete may stimulate an active demand for a larger number of similar farms. It would, however, be idle to expect that laws alone could effect any magical change in the existing customs, unless

* "Agricultural Progress in Western India," pp. 59-61.

seconded vigorously by the weight of social opinion. "It is possible," wrote the Government of India in one of its despatches,* "for the Government to declare that it will not recognize or record any subdivision below a certain minimum area, but it does not appear to us that such a course would have any material effect in checking subdivision. If a man who owns only the minimum area dies, leaving three sons, the fact that Government will only record the eldest son as the possessor will not prevent the others from remaining on the land as his co-sharers, and will not drive them forth to seek employment elsewhere. As a matter of fact, what Mr. Caird suggests [*i.e.*, checking subdivision by this means] is now the actual practice in Bombay; and the result is that a great class of unrecorded partners and subtenants is growing up in that Presidency to an extent which threatens to be a serious evil in the future. . . . Nothing, we fear, will effect the desired result, except the pressure of a dense population on itself, driving out the superfluous members of society to find room in more thinly-peopled tracts." Another reason why so many cling on to the land, even when they have no legal rights over it, is to be sought for in the peculiar structure of Indian society, where the breadwinner is often surrounded by an exaggerated joint family of relatives and relatives' relatives; and economic reformers will find that a healthy movement of social reform by which the individual is extricated from all his tangled connections with joint family, caste and village, and set on his own independent footing, is one of the first conditions of material progress in India.

Extra small holdings and an extra large number of people depending on them for livelihood lead us to another characteristic of Indian husbandry—the chronic under-employment of the majority of the cultivators. Visitors to India are often struck with the inertness of the masses and "their infinite capacity for taking naps." "There is always

* Despatch No. 38, June 8, 1880, "Revenue and Agriculture."

someone resting," says Mr. E. V. Lucas.* "In no country that I know of are so many people to be seen stalking idly about during the hours of labour as in India," writes Sir James Caird.† This lassitude is the natural outcome of very little to do and plenty of time to do it. In the West Indies, we are told, a labourer gets thrice the wages of his Deccan *confrère*, but, being more than thrice as efficient, it is cheaper to get a ton of sugarcane cut and stripped there than in India; and in cotton-picking an Indian woman does only one-half as much as the Egyptian woman, and one-third as much as a woman in the United States. It would, perhaps, be unfair to argue from this that the Indian labourer is relatively inefficient and is incapable of a higher standard of effort. He likes a long "spreadover," because with him time is not of the essence of the contract. "The numbers who have no other employment than agriculture are greatly in excess of those required for the thorough cultivation of the land, and, so far as this is the case, the result must be that the part of the population which is in excess of the requirements of agriculture eats up the profits that would otherwise spring from the industry of the community." This was the verdict of the Famine Commissioners of 1880,‡ and a comparison of recent figures shows that it holds good to-day. The Census returns of 1911 show that India employs one person to every 2·6 acres of cultivated land (excluding fallows), while the corresponding pre-war figures for Germany and Great Britain are one to 5·4 and one to 17·3 acres (inclusive of fallow-land); and both these latter countries are amongst the foremost agricultural countries of the world. To prevent social waste, therefore, it is essential that the numbers supported by the land shall not exceed the numbers required for its efficient cultivation.

* "Roving East and Roving West," p. 4. Methuen; see also M. Chailley's "Administrative Problems of British India" (translated by Sir William Meyer, 1910), p. 137.

† See his Report on the Condition of India, Vol. II., Famine Commission Report, 1880.

‡ Vol. I., p. 34.

This will mean that many who now cling on desperately to their half-acre apiece will have to give it up; and with an extension of the use of machinery such as is contemplated in the Report of the Industrial Commission* still larger numbers will have to swell the exodus from the land. We have heard mutterings against the introduction of machinery in Indian agriculture on the ground that it will disorganize "the entire rural economy of the country."† But what exactly is this rural economy which its admirers wish to maintain inviolate?—a system of national deterioration, where low standards of work, of earnings, and of efficiency go round in a vicious circle which prevents the peasant's escape into a freer and more vigorous atmosphere.

An imperative condition of an efficiently re-organized agricultural system, then, is the exclusion from the soil‡ of the vast army of the under-employed and the under-paid, and the substitution in its place of a much smaller number of men prepared to put in a fair day's work for a fair day's wage. A small fraction of those thus thrown out of "work" could be absorbed in semi-agricultural pursuits, such as preparing the various agricultural products for the market, but the vast majority of them will have to turn to other occupations for a livelihood; for *Industries Agricoles* are primarily intended for those directly engaged on the soil, but who, on account of the intermittent character of their work (depending as it does on the monsoons and the seasons) would otherwise be compelled to sit idle during certain parts of the year. Continuous employment for the farmer can be secured only by dovetailing into the agricultural seasons those of various subsidiary industries more or less connected with his own occupation. In Germany the employment of part-time agricultural labourers is much less precarious than elsewhere on account of the organized de-

* See Chapter V.; Cmd. 51 of 1919.

† J. Mackenna: "Agriculture in India," p. 29. Calcutta Government Press, 1915. Also M. M. Malaviya in his Note of Dissent, p. 268, Industrial Commission Report.

‡ Note, however, Dr. G. Slater's warning at p. 10, Vol. I., *Journal of the Indian Economic Society*.

velopment of rural industries; and India affords an almost unlimited scope for similar employment. Whether it be in sugar-making or oil-seed crushing, in cotton-growing and pressing, or hemp and jute baling, in rice-hulling, or dairy farming, the cultivator stands to gain enormously by an extension of his business so as to include some of the processes for preparing his produce for the market. The benefits resulting from such a stimulation of agricultural activity are obvious. One of these is the economy in freight effected by reducing a bulky article of little value to smaller dimensions of greater value. Take oil-seed, for instance. In 1920-21 it formed 7 per cent. of the total export trade of India, while the average for the quinquennium ended 1914 was 11 per cent. If only it had been crushed in India, the industry would have afforded employment to many, the country might have retained the oil-cakes, which make excellent manure and cattle food, and an appreciable saving in freight could have been made. The rehabilitation, on the lines suggested by the Indian Sugar Committee, of the Indian sugar industry, which was started on its downward path by the unfair competition of foreign sugar, first from the West Indies, and later, from Central Europe, will open up another such avenue of profitable employment. The fostering of farm industries such as these will lead, not only to better quality and higher prices, but also to another advantage—the use of machinery. In the sugar industry, particularly, the demand for power-driven mills appears to be a growing one. A short extract from the Report of the Agricultural Engineer in the United Provinces for 1919-20 explains the position: "I erected a crushing-mill and oil-engine for a small Zemindar in Gorakhpur District last season. The mill crushes twenty-seven maunds (a ton) per hour. The man, after one season's working, has now come to me for a mill three times the size for next season's work. He dealt last season with at least one lakh of rupees' worth of produce with the plant I erected, and his profits must be in the neighbourhood of Rs. 30,000 for the season's work.

The total cost of the plant, engine, and mill, including erecting charges, was only Rs. 5,000." Such harmonious interaction between the agricultural and industrial processes is now possible only on the larger estates, but the spread of co-operation will enable unions of small farmers to achieve the same ends by concerted effort.

The programme of agricultural development has thus to be worked out step by step. The formation of holdings of a reasonably fair size, the crowding-out of those who cannot find *full* employment on the land, and the fostering of industries akin to agriculture to provide work for the *bona-fide* cultivator in his slack season—this is the threefold line of advance I have here ventured to suggest. But will these external conditions alone secure agricultural prosperity, if they do not receive a powerful backing from human energy, the ultimate source of all progress? We have seen how the low vitality of the Indian worker is connected with a low standard of living, and how the recent period of high prices and high wages has been taken advantage of by him, not so much to work more and earn more as to work less and to rest more. "If each economic advantage gained," exclaims Mr. Keatinge with justifiable impatience, "is to be the signal for a relaxation of effort, if improved methods of farming are to serve not only to increase the crop, but also to swell the ranks of non-workers, is any marked progress possible?" The failure of the peasant to rise to the occasion and meet the increasing needs of the country has led to a further analysis of the situation; and the present low standard of production has been ascribed to two factors—first, the cultivator being his own *entrepreneur*, and, secondly, his personal qualities of sustained idleness. As an alternative to the first may be considered the suggestion for the "capitalization" of agriculture with mammoth farms such as would please Sir Daniel Hall's heart worked by an army of labourers under careful supervision. Under a scheme of this kind, worked under favourable conditions, the labourer would get regular work and decent wages, while the hope of commercial profit

would stimulate greater output. The answer is that the scheme exacts a prohibitive price for agricultural efficiency. Is it worth while to sacrifice economic independence and submit oneself to exploitation, be it by individuals or by corporations, for the sake of making an industry pay? On the other hand, the exclusive dependence on competitive wages for home and livelihood, the abandonment of all interest in the land, the "unending vista of a gradual process of physical exhaustion in another's service, and the feeling that though he is indispensable, yet it is only as wheels in another's money-making machine"—would not these undesirable concomitants of commercialism tend still further to depress the labourer and fling him into deeper degradation? Another suggestion is that of Professor Stanley Jevons, who ably argues that "the agricultural organization most appropriate to the stage of social development in India is the landlord and tenant system with fairly large estates, and a certain number of large farms worked by gentlemen farmers."† He would, in short, transplant on Indian soil the rural system that is falling more or less into discredit in his own land, and which, more than any other, has been responsible for a great shrinkage in the arable area of England during the last half-century. And that, with this additional difference that, while the English landlord has played a prominent part in the improvement of farming and stock-breeding, his Indian colleague has all along been apt to remain a mere rent-receiver. In the Zemindari tracts of Bengal, which approximate nearest to English conditions, a competent authority declares‡ that "there is nothing in the contemporary accounts, nor in the subsequent history of management, to show that the extension of cultivation was in any way due to the efforts of the proprietors." Professor Jevons is also inclined to think that the land laws of the last half-century have not always been beneficial in their operation, in that they afford protection

* Lord Ernle's words.

† See his "The Economics of Tenancy Law and Estate Management," 1921. Bulletin of the Allahabad University.

‡ Mr. F. D. Ascoli, "The Early Revised History of Bengal," p. 80.

to the lazy and to the inefficient, and would enlarge the landlord's powers of ejectment. As for this point, it suffices to say that, while admitting that there are theoretical objections to giving the tenants the benefits of the three F's, the practical result of such a policy has always been beneficial. In answering an enquiry whether the fixity of tenure of the ryotwari system made the holders thereunder unwilling to expend labour and money on permanent improvements, the Famine Commissioners of 1880 wrote that all the evidence they had gathered tended to show that where the occupants hold of Government, there is no such inclination, "but in Zemindari estates, where the occupants have not the protection of this tenure, they are represented as being unwilling to sink their money in these investments.* And even here in England the Board of Agriculture, in reporting on the Small Holdings Act of 1909, stated definitely that "the establishment of small holdings involves the application of more capital and more labour to the land." There is thus reason to fear that Professor Jevons has not fully considered the evidence bearing on this issue, which everywhere seems to point to the conclusion that "wherever agriculture has reached its highest stage of development, the system of tenure is based upon occupying ownership."†

It is not, then, in the promotion of agricultural syndicates, or in the bolstering up of a new squirearchy, that the future of Indian agriculture lies. The fact of the matter is that we have been misled by a false diagnosis and have treated the wrong disease. The real bar to advance is not only defective organization, but also the inherent lethargy of the peasant. It is this peculiar mentality that has frustrated the numerous aids to self-improvement which have converged upon him from various directions; this depth of moral apathy which makes him so impermeable to new ideas. This regrettable attitude is due to historical causes, and is traceable to the days of Muslim rule when the demands of the tax-gatherer deprived him of all incentives

* Report, Vol. I., p. 112, c. 2591 of 1880.

† Sir Henry Rew, "The Story of the Agricultural Club," 1922.

to increased creative effort. Conditions have changed since then: to-day the land revenue is theoretically only 50 per cent. of the nett assets, and in reality even less; and it is more lenient in its incidence than at any previous stage of Indian history. But not all the security of life and property the British Government offers to-day, not all the forces of upliftment which it controls and directs, have served to bring home to the peasant's mind the altered conditions. The oppressive days of old had left their impress too deep to become so easily effaced. In addition, then, to an intensified policy of development, there must be sought some means of a more direct appeal which would stimulate and vitalize him to renewed vigour. Great economic reforms have been wrought elsewhere by other than economic causes. Thirty years ago, when Germany nerved herself for a career of expansion, she realized the military importance of growing her own food, and, to the impetus of her national slogan, "Germany must keep under the protection of her guns the ground upon which her corn grows and her cattle graze," is due her subsequent agricultural development, which has been so rapid and so remarkable. Even earlier, in 1864, Denmark, crushed by Germany, and deprived of her fairest provinces, made a stern resolve to "make good by cultivating her garden"; and, spurred on by the nation's loss, she started on a policy of conservation and development which has proved so singularly successful. Forces more or less similar are working in India to-day; the advancing waves of Nationalism are producing responsive ripples, even in the land-locked villages, and the great political experiment that the British democracy is trying in India, under which the villager obtains new weight and status, is calculated to stir him from his pathetic contentment, and give him loftier ideals and ambitions; and if one may attempt an estimate of the various influences making for progress, it may well be that the dynamic impulse for national self-expression ignited by the Mont-ford scheme may outweigh all the purely economic forces working in the same direction.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION

THE TOMBS OF THE KINGS AT THEBES: A CHAPTER FROM THEIR ANCIENT HISTORY

BY WARREN R. DAWSON

THE wonderful discoveries made by the Earl of Carnarvon and Mr. Howard Carter in the tomb of the Pharaoh Tutankhamen have naturally raised a widespread interest in the burial customs of ancient Egypt. This is not a fitting occasion to describe at length the reasons, both material and mythological, which led the Egyptians to deposit with their dead the elaborate and costly equipment of which the new tomb furnishes so fine an example: such accounts will be found at length in many excellent manuals on Egyptian archæology. It is sufficient for our present purpose to say briefly that to the ancient Egyptian the physical phenomenon of death merely marked a change of state and the beginning of a new and more permanent phase of existence—a new life in which the soul would require all the luxuries and necessities of its sojourn on earth. The consummation of every successful career was the perfect construction and equipment of the "eternal house" or tomb which its owner would some day exchange for the ephemeral house which he occupied during his three score and ten years on earth.

The special interest in the tomb of Tutankhamen lies in the fact that it is intact, or nearly so, and in this respect is unique, for although on rare occasions the tombs of private individuals have been discovered inviolate, such a thing has never before happened in the case of a royal tomb. The great quantities of jewellery, gold, and other precious articles deposited in the tombs have throughout the ages

made them the object of the greatest cupidity, and very, very few have escaped the ravages of ancient plunderers.

Antiquity has handed down to us a considerable number of documents dealing with the personnel and administration of the Theban necropolis, and it will, perhaps, be instructive to glance rapidly through some of these, particularly in the light of modern discoveries.

It must be remembered that the eastern bank of the Nile at Thebes was the city of the living, in which the Pharaoh and his court resided and all the civil life of the capital was carried on. The western bank was the great necropolis, or city of the dead. Here the limestone cliffs are honey-combed with tombs, and in the plain below the great mortuary temples of the Pharaohs spread out in a long line, each succeeding King adding another in which his funerary cult should be celebrated and the canonical offerings and commemorations should be solemnized. The nobles and citizens combined the chapel and the tomb in one unit, but the Kings separated them, the temples standing apart from their sepulchres, which latter were excavated at some distance away in the wild and rocky gorge known as Biban-el-Moluk, or the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings. In this valley the tombs of nearly all the sovereigns of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth dynasties have been found. Some were known and standing open in Greek times, as the graffiti on the walls show. Others have been hidden by drifting sand or by falls from the limestone cliffs above them, and have been rediscovered in modern times: all of them save one* were without occupants, the plunderers having stripped them in bygone ages.

When we behold the enormous mass of valuable and precious objects found in the small and modest tomb of Tutankhamen, who was a relatively obscure King with a short reign, our imagination will fail us if we try to picture

* One *King's* tomb, that is. Several tombs of princes or minor personages have been found with their original occupants still in them—e.g., those of Yuua and Thuua, and of Prince Maherpra.

the magnificence and extent of the burial equipment which must have filled the enormous tombs of such Kings as Sety I. and Ramesses II., who had long and prosperous reigns (the latter over sixty years). The tomb of Sety I. is excavated over 300 feet into the mountain, and consists of about fifteen corridors and chambers, some of them of enormous extent; the tomb of Ramesses II. has twenty chambers, and many of the others have chambers equally numerous and extensive. The size and extent of these tombs make it easy to understand that a very large population of workmen must have been required to excavate, decorate, and care for them. The burials of Kings required armies of masons, sculptors, painters, scribes, and artisans of every description, together with their overseers, foremen, and administrative officials. These workmen, moreover, had to be housed, clothed, and fed, which again implies builders, carpenters, butchers, bakers, weavers, and water carriers (these were most important, for a constant supply of water must have been carried up from the Nile for the needs of the thirsty workers in the torrid heat of the necropolis). In addition to all these, the finished tombs each had guardians and priests attached to its service, and, further, the necropolis had a special police force of its own.

Now, it is concerning this great population of workers who lived and worked in the service of the dead that the documents above referred to relate. Nearly every museum has documents of this nature, but the greatest collection is at Turin, and belongs mostly to the reign of Ramesses III. and his successors—some 150 years or so later than Tutankhamen. From these fragmentary documents a mass of information can be gathered as to the wages paid to these workers, and innumerable details of disputes, arrests, illnesses, holidays, bonuses,* and legal proceedings of these people. We know that the Egyptians used no coinage until Greek times, and all wages were paid in kind; each

* We learn from Liverpool Ostrakon, No. M.13625, that extra rations were given on certain feast days.

man having an allotted ration of corn, oil, vegetables, and clothes, which was paid from the royal treasuries monthly. No doubt many of the men were improvident and failed to make their rations last out until the next pay-day, but we cannot escape the conviction that the rations were very inadequate and that the numerous scribes and officials who acted as distributors were self-seeking and dishonest and appropriated much to themselves. The result was easy to see: discontentment and disorder were very prevalent, and a reckless and lawless spirit had free play among the workmen. One of them, a certain Pinebi, was a thorough scoundrel, and a papyrus* has come down to us which is an indictment of many counts wherein he is accused of theft, bribery, rape, drunkenness, unlawful conversion, tomb-robbing, and other misdeeds. In another case† a workman complains that some of his fellows entered his house in his absence and stole bread, cakes, and other articles of food; they also drank his beer and overturned and wasted his oil. Numerous instances of theft and pilferage are likewise recorded, and where such crimes or disputes called for legal settlement, they were generally referred for arbitration to the oracle of the deified King Amenophis I., who became the local and special god of the quarter of the necropolis in which the workers lived. Thus the god identifies from a number of suspects the guilty party who had stolen some clothes.‡ In another case the oracle was appealed to in order to settle the disputed ownership of a tomb which the plaintiff alleged to have been granted to his forefathers by King Horemheb.§ Somewhat similar disputes as to the division of property were likewise dealt with.|| Many of these cases were doubtless settled by human assessors, the parties drawing up their cases in writing.¶

* Papyrus Salt, Brit. Mus., No. 10055.

† Brit. Mus. Ostrakon, No. 5637.

‡ Gardiner Ostrakon, No. 4.

§ Berlin Papyrus, No. 10496, and Brit. Mus. Ostrakon, No. 5624.

|| Brit. Mus. Ostrakon, No. 5625; Cairo Ostrakon, No. 25242.

¶ *E.g.*, the bargain for an ass, Berlin Ostrakon, No. P.1121, and many others.

We have journals and day-books of the scribes and clerks of the works which record the days upon which the gangers were at work and those upon which they were idle.* We do not know whether this idleness was enforced or voluntary, but the "off-days," almost as numerous as the working days, and often for long periods consecutively, may have been due to various causes. In the first place, we know that some were holidays, which were spent by the men, "eating and drinking with their wives and children."† Shortage of rations again is the probable cause of some of the prolonged stoppages, such as the strikes described below, and also non-arrival of supplies during periods of stress, when internal rebellion or external warfare happened to be in progress. We know that at about this period many strange happenings took place in Egypt, and we find a reference to "the year of the hyænas, when men hungered,"‡ doubtless referring to a Lybian invasion, or again, "the year in which the revolt of the high-priest of Amen took place."§ In addition to these records of the movements of the whole gang, we have lists of attendances by named individuals, the cause of absence from work, usually sickness, being stated.|| So frequent, indeed, is sickness, that we must suppose the cause lay largely in insufficient food and unhealthy working conditions. The sequel to dishonest distribution of an already inadequate ration finally broke out in the twenty-ninth year of Ramesses III. as a strike amongst the necropolis workers. One of the most human documents which antiquity has bequeathed to us is the official diary of a scribe which records these labour disturbances.¶

The workmen, exasperated with their lot, left their work and crossed the boundary walls of the necropolis, in a

* Papyrus Lieblein at Turin.

† Cairo Ostrakon, No. 25234.

‡ Brit. Mus. Papyrus, No. 10052, verso 4, 8.

§ Brit. Mus. Papyrus, No. 10053, verso 6, 22 ff.

|| Brit. Mus. Ostrakon, No. 5634.

¶ Turin Papyrus, XLII ff.

temper which can be gathered from the words of the report, which said, "They swore great oaths," and met behind the chapel of Tuthmosis III. On the next days they went further afield and gathered around the gateway of the temple of Ramesses II. A few days later they sent a deputation to the responsible officials, their spokesmen saying: "We have come, urged by hunger, urged by thirst; we have no linen, no oil, no fish, and no vegetables. Send and inform Pharaoh, our good Lord, on our behalf, and send to the vizier, our overlord, that he may obtain for us the means of life." This appeal succeeded, for the text continues: "Rations for the month were handed out to them." This, however, was only a palliative, for a few days later the workmen crossed the boundary walls again, and one of them in his excitement ran grave risk of punishment by uttering the oath, "By the Sovereign whose mighty powers can inflict death."* Fair words and promises had no effect, and the strikers called on the guilty officials by name. From time immemorial corruption existed amongst all the high officials of the State, and only a very active King, or a public outburst of serious magnitude, had the effect of temporarily checking it. We cannot but sympathize with the workers in this strike, whom we see, from a careful study of the whole text, to have had a very legitimate grievance. They did not strike, as modern workmen do, for shorter hours, or higher pay; they merely clamoured for what was already due to them and not paid. The contest lasted a long time, for the report contains the happenings of day after day, the workers continually becoming bolder, and the guilty officials more and more in fear lest their victims should report them to Pharaoh. Another strike is recorded in the reign of Ramesses IX.,† also an account of wages being withheld.

These underpaid and hardworked men were employed in

* This was an oath of great solemnity, not to be taken in vain. It occurs in several papyri and ostraca known to me.

† Papyrus Lieblein at Turin.

making the gorgeous furniture and costly equipment of the royal tombs, and, whilst they felt the pinch of hunger, the Pharaoh loudly boasts of the huge endowments he made to the temples to propitiate the gods in the interests of his own soul. The endowments made by Ramesses III. to all the great temples of Egypt are stupendous, and are detailed at length in the longest and best preserved papyrus that antiquity has spared us.* It is scarcely to be wondered at that the valuables deposited in the Kings' tombs and in the storehouses attached thereto were a constant source of temptation to which the workmen continually succumbed. Under the successors of Ramesses III., these thefts became such a public scandal that, by order of Ramesses IX., a royal commission was appointed to inspect the tombs and report on their condition.† The inspectors found a number of tombs violated, including the royal tomb of King Sebek-emsawef of the thirteenth dynasty, which had been entered by tunnelling from a neighbouring tomb. This latter tomb has been found in modern times, and the tunnel made by the thieves, and all the particulars of the ancient report have been verified.‡ A second papyrus§ contains the confession of one of the thieves when brought to justice, and he describes how he and seven companions stripped the gold and jewellery from the mummies of the King and Queen, and divided the spoil. Yet another papyrus|| deals with the violation of the tomb of a certain Queen Isis by eight thieves, presumably the same eight, and with the damage done therein.

To return to the Abbott papyrus, after detailing the names of the tombs visited and their condition, the narrative proceeds to report the apprehension of certain suspects on

* The Great Harris Papyrus, Brit. Mus., No. 9999. The amount of corn paid over annually to the temples is three times as much as the allowance for the whole of the necropolis workmen.

† Abbott Papyrus, Brit. Mus., No. 10221.

‡ Newberry : Theban Necropolis, p. 14.

§ Amherst Papyrus.

|| Papyrus Spiegelberg at Turin.

a charge of robbing the tomb of Queen Isis. Their arrest was due to the officious mayor to the town, whose duty did not extend to the necropolis, but who evidently wished to score over his rival, and thereby prove his negligence. The result of the trial was to vindicate the necropolis officials and inculcate the mayor, for the evidence was proved to be false and the suspects were set at liberty.

On the back of the Abbott papyrus are two long lists of prisoners, many of them high officials whose complicity had been bought, and a fourth papyrus* gives in great detail the trial of these persons. There were two separate trials, one for robbery from the tombs of two Queens of the nineteenth dynasty, the other for thefts from certain buildings called "Corridor Houses," which were probably workshops or repositories of some sort, in which metals and other valuable objects for use in the tombs were stored. Some of the prisoners were found not guilty, but many of the thieves were convicted, and all kinds of witnesses were called to support the case for the Crown, which must have been very carefully prepared. In this papyrus not less than 180 names occur of prisoners and witnesses.†

We have much still to learn concerning these prosecutions which cannot be accomplished until four important papyri in the British Museum, at present unpublished, are made available to scholars.‡ Enough, however, has been said to show that the strongest measures were taken by the Government to protect the sepulchres of the dead, but how unsuccessfully the sequel will show. It must not be supposed that tomb-breaking was only perpetrated at the period we have just discussed. There is abundant evidence that tombs of all periods were plundered, and evidence, moreover, that most of the plundering was done by contempor-

* Papyrus Mayer A. at Liverpool Museum.

† A papyrus at Vienna relates to this same series of events, and Mayer B., at Liverpool, is a fragment dealing with a robbery from the tomb of Ramesses VI.

‡ The recto only of one of them has been published by Newberry in his *Amherst Papyri*.

aries who knew their way about and exactly where to seek their object. Many tombs were plundered more than once. Thus the tomb of Tuthmosis IV., which was discovered in recent times, was literally knee-deep in broken pottery and furniture, the work of the robbers who rifled the tomb for the second time. The first robbers had broken in probably soon after the King's burial, and it was in disorder in the reign of Horemheb, who, we learn from a hieratic inscription on the wall, had the burial restored and damage made good in the eighth year of his reign. The royal mummies, which were discovered in two batches, one hidden in a deep pit tomb at Deir-el-Bahari, the other in the tomb of Amenophis II., are most instructive by reason of the inscriptions written upon them. Owing to the continual violation of their tombs, which the Government of the day could not prevent, the high priests of Amen restored the damage and moved the mummies of the Kings from tomb to tomb, endeavouring to safeguard them. Thus the bodies of Sety I. and of Ramesses II., his son, were restored and rebandaged by order of the Priest-King, Hrihor, in the sixth year of his reign. Ten years later he moved the mummies of Ramesses I. and II. from their own tombs into that of Sety I. for greater security ; and this proving useless, the three mummies from that tomb were carried into the tomb of Queen Anhapu. A later Priest-King, Menkheperre, had them inspected, and found that they had again been rifled, and caused the bodies to be rebandaged and repaired. The tomb of Queen Anhapu having proved insecure from attack, the mummies of Sety I. and Ramesses II. were transferred to that of Amenophis I. Here, apparently, they remained until the twenty-second dynasty, when they were transferred, together with all the other royal mummies, whose hiding-places were known to the cache at Deir-el-Bahari, where they remained unmolested until our own times. In 1872 the Arabs discovered the hiding-place, and sold many of the smaller antiquities buried with the mummies to European tourists. The fact that the royal tomb had

been found was evident from the objects appearing on the market, but the authorities did not succeed in extracting the secret from its holders till 1881, when, under the late Sir G. Maspero's order, the tomb was opened, and all the mummies were taken to Cairo, where they can now be seen.*

Some of the most famous Pharaohs in history were thus collected together, Seknenre of the seventeenth dynasty, Aahmes I., Amenophis I., Tuthmosis I., II., and III., Sety I., Ramesses II. and III., and others, besides their Queens and many princes. Added to these was a number of the Priest-Kings of the twenty-first dynasty and their families. How this hiding was accomplished in secrecy is difficult to understand, owing to the great number of coffins which had to be transported, some of them so heavy that a dozen or more men were required to lift them. A few years later Loret discovered the tomb of Amenophis II., and in it lay the King in his own sarcophagus, together with a number of other Kings and princes who had been moved there for safety. The mummies in this tomb included those of Tuthmosis IV., Menepthah, Siptah, Sety II., and Ramesses IV., V., and VI., together with several princes and princesses. All these mummies were likewise taken to Cairo, except that of Amenophis II., who still lies in his own tomb, in spite of a raid made upon him by the natives shortly after he had been discovered. In the mummies thus found we have the actual bodies of nearly all the Kings of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth dynasties, and many princes and princesses of the twenty-first dynasty, amongst whom are some of the most celebrated in Egyptian history. They have all suffered cruelly at the hands of the robbers, who tore open their shrouds and broke their bodies in their search for jewellery.

If, indeed, the mummy of Tutankhamen lies within the

* A detailed memoir describing the history and results of the discovery will be found in Maspero's *Les Momies Royales*, and the mummies themselves are minutely described in Elliot-Smith's *Royal Mummies*.

gilded shrines, as there seems little doubt but that he does, and proves to have been unmolested, he will be the sole Pharaoh found who has escaped the doom of his peers, for even Amenophis II., who was in his own tomb, had been rifled and despoiled.

In conclusion, there is one other ancient papyrus which gains special significance from the Tutankhamen discovery. There is in the Turin museum the architect's plan of the tomb of Ramesses IV.,* with particulars as to its construction and dimensions written in hieratic writing. In the centre of the burial chamber is shown the sarcophagus, and this is surrounded by five rectangles, the meaning of which has hitherto not been understood. We now know from the tomb of Tutankhamen that these rectangles are the shrines or tabernacles which were erected, one inside the other around the sarcophagus.

* This plan was exhaustively studied by Dr. A. H. Gardiner and Mr. Howard Carter, in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. IV., 1917. It has recently been reproduced in *The Times* and other newspapers.

EDUCATIONAL SECTION

EDUCATION IN INDIA: THE REFORM OF THE UNIVERSITY SYSTEM

BY "GURU MAHASAI"

IF there are any who still cherish the idea that India is altogether a backward and benighted land where the principal activity of the inhabitants consists in the evasion of man-eating tigers and venomous snakes, they will be surprised to learn that in the year preceding the War the Presidency of Bengal, with a population equal to that of the United Kingdom, contained also a number of University students equal to the number in the United Kingdom. More remarkable still, while the 23,000 students (or thereabouts) of the United Kingdom received instruction in some eighteen Universities, the equal number of students in Bengal were attached to one, and to only one, *Alma Mater*.

The University system of India as it existed from 1857 (the year of its initiation and, incidentally, the year also of the Mutiny) up to about 1915, was organized avowedly upon the model of the University of London. But it was by no means a complete replica of that model; and it did not move forward along with the changes brought about in the University of London or in consonance with the development of ideas regarding University systems in general. No doubt the London Statutes of 1900 had their effect upon the Commission of 1902 which sat in India. But reform was cautious and moved slowly.

The number of Universities created in India during this period (1857-1915) was five—five Universities to serve the needs of some 315 millions of inhabitants and a vast

country possessed of imperfect communications and peopled by a number of races varying widely in temperament, language, religion, and social development. The seats of the earliest Universities were established at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. Later on in the period, Universities were created at Lahore and Allahabad. No University centres were provided for certain of the provinces—*e.g.*, Assam, the Central Provinces and Burma, or for the Indian States. The students of these provinces or States ordinarily read the courses and frequented the examinations of the most conveniently situated centre. The size of the area over which the influence of each University extended, entailing as it did the establishment or retention of a network of affiliated colleges to supply local needs, militated against the growth of corporate University life and sentiment.

The main characteristics of an Indian University of this type were the following. It was not a teaching body. It affiliated colleges which fulfilled the standards; and it examined and conferred degrees upon the students of such colleges. It sometimes recognized high schools for purposes of presenting candidates at the University entrance examination; and it conducted that examination, whereupon the successful pupils were permitted, if they desired to prosecute their studies further, to enter one or other of the affiliated colleges. Beyond a certain number of endowments for fellowships, scholarships, etc., the University had no funds of its own save what it collected from candidates at the entrance and degree or diploma examinations. The Government of the University was vested in a single body, which performed both administrative and academic functions. Such delegations of power as existed were conferred upon an executive committee called the Syndicate and upon the Faculties—both Syndicate and Faculties consisting wholly or mainly of members of the central body, which retained in its own hands the bulk of the control. The inequality of the affiliated colleges reacted

upon the standard, which had to be set so as to allow for the shortcomings of the weaker institutions, while those which were well staffed and equipped sometimes received but scant recognition of their superiority. The entrance examination admitted to University courses boys whose ages and intellectual attainments too often demanded a continuance of study under school conditions and were unequal to a relaxed discipline and collegiate methods of instruction.

It is not to be supposed that these shortcomings existed to an equal degree in all the five Universities. The University of Madras remained, to its credit, an example of sound administration and learning. Others, too, maintained, though not without a struggle, a reasonable standard of efficiency. When the searching eyes of Lord Curzon detected the weak places in the harness of University organization, the Commission of 1902 and the legislation of 1904 were directed mainly towards the University of Calcutta, which suffered from the rapid expansion of higher education among the progressive people of Bengal. This expansion took place under a system unfitted for adaptation to rapidly changing circumstances and unsupported by adequate funds. The Bengali, progressive in his ideas, nevertheless clings with sentimental conservatism to institutions with which he is familiar. It was mainly for the good of Bengal that the legislation of 1904 was undertaken, and it was in Bengal that the opposition to that legislation manifested itself. This attitude of hostility was totally unwarranted. For the Indian Universities Act of 1904 was in itself a cautious and conservative measure. It regularized the constitutions of those bodies. It organized and strengthened their powers of control over affiliated institutions. It added the function of teaching to that of examination. It accepted the existing system and tried to improve it. Witnesses before the Commission of 1902 had urged the big reform—the creation of additional Universities. But “this, carried to its logical conclusion—the adoption of a system of self-contained local Universities—

appeared to involve either a multiplication of centres incompatible with efficiency or a concentration which would have left outlying colleges stranded, and would have aroused the strongest opposition." So the opportunity of introducing a wholly new system was not taken and, in the words of Sir Hugh Orange, "by the Act of 1904 the principle of the federal University, which examines those whom it has not taught, received a new lease of life."

But in the immediately succeeding years two things became plain. First, the jurisdiction of some at least of the Universities was too large for effective administration. Funds had indeed been allocated from public revenues for purposes of inspection, etc. But apart from the cost of periodic visitations it was difficult, in the case of outlying institutions, to exercise the vigilance necessary to secure that conditions or recommendations were carried out in the spirit in which they had been imposed or suggested. The large number of colleges with which each University had to deal involved the laying down of hard-and-fast regulations which might not always square with local needs or possibilities. The examinations, too, had to be conducted on an immense scale with resultant inconveniences and the inevitable adoption of mechanical tests. Second, it was difficult for the Universities to fulfil in any worthy sense their new function of teaching. Save to a small extent, the funds required for this object were not available. The great distance between the colleges often rendered physically impossible any system of common or inter-collegiate lectures. At the same time growing specialization and the ambitions of individual institutions to offer a large choice of subjects increased the difficulty of meeting all needs and the danger of overlapping. (At Calcutta, indeed, an elaborate system of instruction for candidates for the M.A. and M.Sc. degrees has grown up. But that system has not been without its critics, and its maintenance is understood to have undermined the financial position of the University.) Over and above these two motives for reform, the further

development of education was awakening local aspirations and urging communities to demand organizations which should be nearer at hand and which would more fully comply with their various requirements.

Such was the position when, towards the close of 1910, a Department of Education was created in the Government of India. Its first work was to make a survey of existing conditions and an estimate of pressing needs. The result was set forth in a resolution which dealt with every branch of instruction. Among other matters stress was laid on the need for University reform—curtailment of the areas of jurisdiction, the foundation of unitary, local, and residential Universities, and the establishment upon a more solid foundation of schemes of University instruction and research. For the furtherance of this last object, a portion of the sums which the new Department was able to allocate for educational purposes was placed at the disposal of the Universities.

The declaration of policy bore fruit. Even before it was made, representations had been received from the Hindu and Muslim communities for denominational Universities. In September, 1915, an Act was passed for the establishment of a Hindu University at Benares. After that, new Universities arose in quick succession. They were not, like the old Universities, organized on a standard plan, but assumed different forms as dictated by the environment of each. It is convenient to consider them in groups rather than in the historical order of their appearance.

A recognized University in British India is invariably the creation of one or other of the provincial Legislatures or of the Imperial Legislature. But early in this second period, which may be said to begin with 1915, there arose two Universities in Indian States. One of them is in the progressive State of Mysore, and consists of federated colleges at the two centres of Mysore city and Bangalore. Another, called the Osmania University, was founded at Hyderabad, in the State of H.E.H. the Nizam. Its

special feature is the imparting of knowledge through the vernacular, for which purpose a large amount of translation from European works has been undertaken. A University for women was also brought into being by the enthusiasm of Dr. Karve. This last has its headquarters at Poona, in British India, and is not definitely recognized, since it is a purely private organization and does not derive its status from any Act of the Legislature.

Passing next to those Universities which have been regularly established in British India, we may group the new Universities under three classes.

First, there are the denominational Universities—the Benares Hindu University and the Aligarh Muslim University. These are expansions of existing colleges—in the latter case of the famous Anglo-Oriental College originally founded by Sir Syed Ahmed. Each is uni-collegiate. The Benares institution has housed itself in magnificent buildings recently erected outside the city. Aligarh already possessed a fine group of college structures.

Second, unitary Universities have been created at Rangoon, Dacca, Lucknow, and Delhi. The first two were carved out of the area under the jurisdiction of the Calcutta University. It is a curious comment on the old system that the two colleges at Rangoon, now welded into an independent University serving the whole province of Burma, were previously appendages of a University whose seat was a three days' voyage distant.

Finally, a type of University has been devised to obviate the difficulty which confronted the Commission of 1902. It undertakes a portion of the instruction and possesses a stronger hold over the colleges which, though not situated in the University town, are still attached to it for purposes of curriculum and examination. It is admittedly a compromise. Examples of it are the new University of Patna, which serves the province of Bihar and Orissa, previously within the jurisdiction of the Calcutta University; and the University of Allahabad, which already existed as such, but

has now been reformed along lines suggested by the Calcutta University Commission.

This Commission, sometimes known as the Sadler Commission, commenced its investigations in 1917 and greatly facilitated the changes which have taken place by giving to them the imprimatur of a most distinguished body of educationists. Some of the reforms which it advocated had been anticipated in the Acts constituting the Benares Hindu and the Patna Universities, and in other ways. But it gave weighty sanction to these changes and suggested others of great value. While its proposals were made with reference to Calcutta, some of them have been found useful elsewhere. The University of Calcutta, indeed, has hitherto not adopted these reforms—a fact for which financial stringency is in part responsible; though it is understood that two private Bills dealing with the subject will shortly be considered by the local Legislative Council. But the new Universities of Patna, Rangoon and Dacca have arisen within the area which was previously under the jurisdiction of Calcutta. The United Provinces has now four Universities—at Allahabad, Benares, Aligarh, and Lucknow; and there is talk of others at Cawnpore and Agra. The province of Burma and the small province of Delhi have now each their own University; and a University for the Central Provinces has long been under contemplation. In the other provinces there has as yet been no increase.

These new Universities differ considerably in their organization. Some are unitary, but consist of several constituent colleges at a single centre, where centralization and interchange of teaching are possible. Others are uni-collegiate as well as unitary. Others, again, combine a central teaching institution, with external colleges situated at different centres. Areas have been restricted, and the work of each University institution is reduced to more reasonable proportions. Emphasis is laid upon proper residential arrangements. Administrative and academic functions are no longer combined in a single body; there

are ordinarily a large legislative Court, a small Executive Council, and a separate Academic Body, with powers and inter-relations carefully articulated. The University itself undertakes through its own professors some of the instruction, and possesses powers of organizing inter-collegiate arrangements. A very important recommendation of the Sadler Commission was the absorption in the school system of what had previously been the first two years of collegiate instruction, and the constitution of a new authority, on which both the University and outside interests are represented for the administration and control of the secondary institutions. Greater elasticity has been secured by new service conditions and by the distribution of rules between legislative enactments, statutes, ordinances, and regulations, in accordance with their importance.

The innovation has been great and sudden. Some cautions are necessary. The five original Universities are not dead. On the contrary, they are going strong. They have, despite adverse criticism, done a great work for India in the past. There is a great work for them still to do in the future; and they will continue for years to come to deal with the majority of students of the collegiate stage. It has been thought by some that the crop of new Universities has grown too quickly. Unfortunately, their growth has synchronized with lean years when economy has been necessary. There may be difficulties in the supply of competent staff. There are certain to be in the beginning crudities, and possibly, in places, competition, with consequent lowering of standards. But, whatever the temporary drawbacks, there are few who can say that the change has come too soon. The old system of unwieldy Universities had outlived its day, and, though the conditions of the country necessitate its continuance, it will no longer stand alone. A more elastic organization has begun to assist it in bearing the burden.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

LEADING ARTICLE

INDIAN HEROES

BY STANLEY RICE

THE epic writers of all countries, being men, are prone to idealize womanhood. This tendency is specially striking in the Indian epics, where the heroines have been held up as examples for all time, and where they are generally modelled upon the lines of the cardinal virtues becoming, at any rate in the Indian view, to the female sex, and notably on the lines of fidelity, chastity, and submission to the marital authority. Certain characteristics of weakness and frailty are sometimes introduced, and these serve to remove the Indian heroine from the category of the conventional and the ideal, to invest them with a human interest, and to differentiate one from the other. Among the subordinate characters we may no doubt find instances of palace intrigue, supposed to be so dear to the Indian heart, and so often encountered in the history of Indian courts, nor does the poet hesitate at times to present the picture of a repulsive woman. But these are not, and are not meant to be, heroines: the true heroine is nearly always conceived on ideal lines.

When we come to the hero the case is altered. There is scarcely a single hero, not only in the Indian, but in any other epics, who is flawless. We cannot admire the sulkiness of Achilles, or the bombast of Hector; the wisdom of Odysseus not unfrequently degenerates into mere cunning, and even the generous Siegfried stoops to base deception when he impersonates Gunther in the pursuit of Brunnhilde's love. Roland, no doubt, is typical of the *preux chevalier*, but the Song of Roland is one long panegyric of Christianity and one triumphal pæan upon the downfall of the Pagans, so that the virtues of the hero are rather obscured by the religious inculcation.

That which every hero possesses in every land where the heroic is worshipped is a surpassing courage and tran-

scendent skill in war. To be a warrior among warriors was evidently the ideal of all these epic bards, who, curiously enough, seldom or never combine the regal power with the superlative qualities of the warrior. Just as Agamemnon, king of men, and Gunther, the doughty ruler at Worms, are by no means the greatest warriors of the epics of Greece and Germany, so Yudishtira is comparatively insignificant beside the greater heroes of the "*Mahabharata*." Yet, when the final scene arrives, and the brothers, with their faithful wife, set out for heaven, it is only he who reaches the goal; the others fall out by the way and are condemned to Purgatory, where the King finds them, and whence he finally releases them. What is there, then, in his character which leads to this rather surprising result? Why is he selected rather than the great archer, Arjuna, or the chivalrous, if impetuous, Bhima?

It is necessary to remember that epic poetry had its origin in those sagas or odes which minstrels sang before the sovereign to celebrate their doings and, incidentally, to obtain their favours. There are certain writers who incline to a regrettable flippancy of phrase in dealing with the Indian heroes, beguiled thereto by the extravagances of Oriental hyperbole. It seems to them more marvellous that a man should cut with arrows missiles that are flying in the air than that he should easily hurl rocks, which a dozen men of a more puny breed can hardly stir. And so the circumstances of supernatural origin seem to such critics legitimate objects for their wit or sarcasm. But it is easy to see that the Prince would be flattered by the ascription of his ancestors to divine parentage; and perhaps it was felt that the supernatural qualities of the hero must be accounted for by heredity from the gods. Were it not for the somewhat grotesque circumstances surrounding birth, we should receive their accounts as a matter of course, just as we accept the genealogies of Achilles, of Sarpedon, or of Æneas. To be born of a divine father—the mother is never divine—evidently seemed to the Indian bard to enhance the importance of his hero, or to suggest a divine ancestry was a sure way to court his royal benefactor.

Beside the supreme virtue of prowess in war other qualities were only secondary. Yet we get a glimpse of the reason why Yudishtira was chosen to be the only pilgrim who reached heaven. For to the ancient Indian it was before all things necessary to give great gifts to the Brahmans and to be meek and submissive to elders. It is counted unto Rama for righteousness that he refused to accept the

proffered abdication of Bharata in his favour, alleging as his reason that he must carry out the injunctions of his dead father, nor, when that father had reluctantly consented to his banishment, did he hesitate to obey. This is the supreme virtue of Yudishtira. In a very remarkable scene he advances alone to the camp of his adversaries, in order to ask, not their forgiveness but their blessing, for what he is about to do. They are even asked to advise the best means of compassing their own destruction, and this because amongst them are to be found his old preceptors. And again, when the dying Bhishma is lying on his bed of arrows, Yudishtira comes to him to learn wisdom regarding the duties of kings towards their people. For the rest he does not excite enthusiasm; his conduct is correct, but colourless, and if we seek in vain according to our modern canons for that which singles him out, we are, in the end, compelled to accept the values of the ancients, and to acknowledge that in this special virtue of "piety" he is without a peer.

The legend of the Strong Man appears in the mythology of many nations. Even in the age of chivalry, when already the supernatural had begun to disappear, traces of it still survive; for, though Roland performs no miracles, his prowess far exceeds that of any ordinary Paladin, and if his weapon lacks the celestial qualities of Arjuna's bow, Gandiva, and his armour was not forged in the smithy of Hephaistos, yet his sword is of such tempered steel that even he, with all his strength, could not break it. In heroic times, Herakles among the Greeks and Samson among the Israelites are matched by Bhima in the Indian legends, and though the figure of Siegfried comes down to us through the medium of a much older legend, we can discern the same attribute of great physical strength, both when he wrests the treasure and the Tarnkappe from the Nibelungs, when he runs the race which ends so fatally in the tragedy of Hagen's spear, and especially in his encounter with Brunnhilde, who, though a woman, was able to master a renowned hero, and hang him up for the night on the wall. Whether these legends spring from the mere natural admiration for masculine strength, or whether some Nature myth is enshrined in them, it is difficult to say. Solar myths are looked upon askance in these days; it has become almost a byword that, if you are at a loss for an explanation, you turn to the solar myth in despair. Yet there is more than a suggestion of the sun in the story of Samson, the shining one, whose strength resided in his hair, for, as the sun in

winter is powerless without his rays, and yet suffers but a temporary eclipse when the clouds cover him, so was Samson powerless when his locks were shorn, and yet burst with ease the new cords and the green withes with which the Philistines in their simplicity bound him.

One may hazard the conjecture that there are traces of a Nature myth in the episode of Herakles' combat with Antæus. You will remember that as often as Antæus touched the earth his strength was renewed, so that Herakles was reduced to crushing the life out of him while he remained in mid-air. Does not this suggest the parching power of the sun, which cannot wither up the vegetation so long as it finds sustenance from the earth, so long, in poetic phrase, as it can still drink at its mother's breasts, yet which quickly scorches, and, especially in the latitudes of Greece and Asia Minor, the plants which are rooted up, torn as it were from their mother's arms? It is possible, therefore, though the connection is more obscure, that some such Nature myth is to be found in the story of Bhima, the mighty warrior of Kurukshetra, who, amongst so many others renowned for strength and valour, was so conspicuous, that he is known chiefly for his attribute of strength. We need not cavil at the poet's exaggeration when he endues him with the strength of 10,000 elephants. Oriental imagery is prone to be hyperbolical. We must look beyond the literal fact to the intention, and, after all, is there anything so monstrous in this mere figure of speech to those who have placidly accepted the story of a man who could pull down a solid structure with no better weapons than his own arms?

It seems, too, to be generally recognized that the Strong Man is not conspicuous for wisdom; his great characteristic is an impetuous temper. Bhima is being continually warned by Arjuna, or by Yudishtira, against the folly of his outbursts. In the great scene of Draupadi's humiliation, it is Bhima, who, not realizing the position, indulges in a furious invective against her persecutors; it is Arjuna who has to remind him that they are in the power of their enemies, and that such exhibitions of temper will do more harm than good. In like fashion, we find that Ajax in the "*Iliad*" is not a very wise person, and both he and Herakles lose their reason in the end. As for Samson, there is no more imprudent character in the entire Biblical record. One may suppose that, in the ancient view, the physically strong had no need of their wits, and it is worthy of remark in passing that, in the old Indian fables, the lion, who is invariably

recognized as the king of beasts, is as invariably depicted as grossly stupid. His folly is always requiring correction by faithful advisers, or is being turned to sinister account by unscrupulous intriguers.

The quality of invulnerability which we find in Siegfried and in Achilles, coupled with the fatal spot which left unguarded proves their ruin, appears in a somewhat different form in the Indian legends. Apart from the case of Ravana, who had obtained the boon from Indra that he should be able to defy gods and demons, but who, being himself a demon, is perhaps out of court, Bhishma had obtained a somewhat similar boon that he should choose the time of his own death, and this gift he uses, for after he is struck down he remains on the field for fifty-eight days until the auspicious hour arrives when he can release his soul. Karna, too, is born with invulnerable armour, of which, for some obscure reason, he is persuaded to divest himself. In both these cases, of course, the hero cannot be slain; but since death is inevitable to mortal man, a loophole of escape is provided, as in the German and the Greek legends. So also Kwasind, the Strong Man of the Red Indians, is invulnerable, save to the blow of a pine-cone on his head. It does not seem to have occurred to the makers of these legends that this very gift of invulnerability detracts from, rather than adds to, the heroic qualities of their characters. Probably it is only a picturesque way of emphasizing the prowess of the hero, but any one could be brave if going into battle he knew beforehand that all the weapons of all the host were powerless to take his life.

They were not without chivalry, these ancient heroes, though they seem to have shown little mercy to one another. The rape of Sita came about through disregard of Rama's strict injunctions that she should be well protected. Insults to Draupadi were fearfully avenged. Bhima drinks the blood of Dushashana, who had dragged her into the hall; he breaks the thigh of Duryodhana, who had bared it indecently in her presence; he pounds literally to a jelly a would-be admirer. The weakness of women was acknowledged, but their subservience to men was taken as a matter of course, and when once remonstrances are over and the woman accompanies the hero into exile, she settles down into the customary occupation of keeping house for her lord and master. But this chivalry was not coupled with any exalted ideas of masculine fidelity. They could be charmed by a pretty girl, much to the chagrin of the lawful wife, or they might be overcome by the blandish-

ments even of a female demon. But license has always been allowed to men in such matters, for did not Achilles eat his heart out at the loss of a mistress who had come to him as the spoils of war? Perhaps the "Nibelungenlied" is unique in that the tragedy turns upon the alleged untruthfulness of Siegfried to his wedded wife.

Patience, too, they had and endurance in adversity. The exile of the hero and his adventures in the forests are the favourite theme of the Indian writers. Not only is it the framework both of the "Ramayana" and of the "Mahabharata," but it appears also in the well-known story of Nala and in the equally famous legend of Savitri, where the prince's father is living a hermit life in exile. But the hero's conduct is often unheroic; we cannot sympathize with the unavailing lamentations of Rama, still less with his cruel repudiation of Sita, a repudiation of which there is also a trace in the story of Nala, who, after deserting his wife in a fashion we can only call cowardly, begins to upbraid her for the device by which she and she alone has brought about their reunion. We must, however, reckon here with the extreme sensitiveness with which Indians have always regarded questions of female honour. Then, as now, they have always taken alarm at the slightest indications of anything that might be construed as wifely infidelity or even levity, and until suspicion is allayed affection must wait.

One and all exhibit weaknesses, as indeed do Shakespeare's heroes. Arjuna is distinguished mainly by his excellence in archery, but prowess in war he shares with the most detestable of his enemies. Bhima is impetuous and irritable. Even Krishna is not above some questionable dealings. But one exception there is. In drawing the character of Bhishma the Indian artist seems to have sought to combine in one person all the excellences of man. Wise in counsel, valiant in battle, restrained in passion, he wins our admiration as no one else does. He is the Cato of India, clinging loyally to a lost cause, let the gods choose which side they will. He begins his career by a renunciation of the kingdom, an act of magnanimity of which few were capable in those days. Loyally he steers the State through the rocks and shoals of the intervening years, and when at last his hour has come he can with better claim than Samuel protest that he has lived and died blameless, as a Kshatriya should. His very end is brought about by his chivalry, for his foes had placed Sikhandin in the forefront of the battle, knowing that this knight, *sans*

peur et sans reproche, would not draw his bow upon one who once wore a woman's form. It is not pertinent to our subject to inquire how this curious conception arose, but it may be remarked in passing that it is not peculiar to India, and appears under different shapes in the fables of many lands.

Nor were the arts wholly disregarded. A recent Bengali writer has sought to show that the "Ramayana" is really two stories—a northern and a southern—rolled into one, in which the Aryan prince from the North overcomes the aborigines of the South. This thesis bears the colour of likelihood from the fact that, as is now generally held, the demons and Rakshasas of the forests—the Daitays and Danavas and others—were in fact the indigenous tribes, gradually pushed back by the Aryan invaders. If, therefore, Ravana was really a southern king, we can the more easily accept his proficiency in music, for the name of Ravana is even now not unknown to the Indian art. The conception of a bloodthirsty demon seems to our modern ears incongruous with the delicate and highly intellectual art of music, but it is not unfitting that a southern king should be so eminent in it, seeing that to this day the South prides itself on having preserved and developed the art on purer lines than the North. Dancing, too, was evidently highly considered, for Arjuna learns it from the celestial dwellers in Indra's heaven, and although he is condemned to be a dancing-master to the ladies in the course of his exile, the contemptuous reference to the fact seems to look more to his employment in the women's apartments than to the practice of the art. At any rate, it does him no harm in the battlefield.

The epics, however, and more especially the "Mahabharata," are not the work of a single hand; but all the cunning of all the critics has not been able to separate certainly the original parts from the later additions. When they fell into Brahman hands, it was natural that they should depart from the old conceptions of the sages, which, of course, extolled the virtues of the typical Kshatriya, and should lay greater stress upon the service to religion, especially when it took the form of largesse to the priestly caste. Some trace of the same thing is to be found in the "Nibelungenlied," where the whole story of wild Iceland is cast into the mould of mediæval chivalry, and where Kriemhilde, brooding over the wrongs of her murdered husband and meditating deep vengeance against her nearest kin, is yet distinguished by her beauty and by

her charitable works. It is evident that the compiler or adapter thought with the Hindu Brahman that such charity as this covered a multitude of sins. But the supreme virtue of deference to elders finds its origin deeper in the ancient patriarchal system in which the word of father or mother was law. In later conceptions of polity treason to the State takes the place of disobedience to the family head: as the one is the greatest of all crimes, so was the other the negation of the highest virtue. The most striking example is the polyandry of Draupadi, where the brothers, little as they like the idea, feel compelled to obey the command of their mother "to share the prize they had won," given though it was in ignorance of the facts.

Indian heroes reflect the spirit of the time and place as much as, perhaps more than, those of any other country. We may be thankful to the epic writers that in presenting to us characters compounded of virtues and of failings they have preserved the human interest which must always endure. One only among them represents the typically perfect man, and in him we can see what to an Indian seemed perfection. There is no single personality in the epic literature of Greece or Rome, of France, England, or Germany that can fitly be compared to Bhishma. He stands alone as the type of manhood.

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT IN INDIA, 1858-1914. By C. M. P. Cross. (*University of Chicago Press.*)

(Reviewed by SIR VERNEY LOVETT, K.C.S.I.)

In this book Mr. Cross traces "the development of self-government in India during the years from the Mutiny to the outbreak of the World War." He considers that the period since 1914 has been obscured by "censorship, by propaganda, and misinformation to such an extent that partisanship, which has no place in such a treatise, has no means of being controlled or evaluated." His investigation has been "confined strictly to developing a background for a comprehension of the forces and movements at work in India." "Since the war," he says, "new figures such as Gandhi, and new methods or modifications of methods, such as non-co-operation and the Hindu-Muhammadan Entente have come, but have effected little essential alteration in the current of events, the outcome of which must be awaited with anxious concernment, not only by the British Empire but by the world at large."

It is true that a parliamentary system was logically the final outcome of the Morley-Minto reforms, and that increasing contact between the

rapidly-growing, though still relatively small, Western-educated classes of India and an increasingly democratic England, was bound to produce eventually changes of the nature of those enacted by the Government of India Act of 1919. But the war and its varied consequences, the Declaration of August, 1917, and the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, while not essentially altering the underlying current of events, have so increased its volume and force as to inspire in many the gravest doubts of the ability of the British Government either to guide or to control it. Should results justify such fears, impatient idealism will have achieved a supreme catastrophe. But, for our own part, we hold that the keys of India are still in London. If, discarding delusive catchwords, and looking facts in the face, England remains staunch and true, not only to her own hard-earned interests in India, but to the interests of the many alien millions to whom she is bound by every tie of honour, she will meet with such a response from those Indians who are fully conscious that in her rest their hopes of ordered freedom, as will enable her to frustrate the forces both of precipitate nationalism and of diligently stimulated racial hatred.

Relying on many authorities, and on the collated results of much literary research, Mr. Cross tells us of the development of democratic ideas in India up to the date of the passing of the Morley-Minto reforms, and for six years after. His narrative partakes of the nature of a compilation, and abounds with lengthy quotations from authorities of all kinds. In a closing chapter, entitled "The Future," he appears to forecast India's complete severance from the British Empire. "Did the climate," he says, "permit colonization on a larger scale, and were not the native population so enormous, and at the same time potentially so capable, it might be a different story, but as it is, India seems to be too immense, too remote, and of too inhospitable a climate to become a second Ireland, too inherently different in culture, interests, and race to become another Australia or Canada, and its native population too immense and capable to become a South Africa." There is much sound reflection in these remarks. And yet we do not see the moon which has climbed so high into the night setting amid the croaking of frogs. We do not see India unsteadied by any central authority entering on a new cycle of enfeebling disintegration. We do not believe that all the past is to end in dismal confusion.

Our author's book contains a great deal of collected information and quotations which are very interesting to the student of Indian history. But his views of British policy and motives incline towards somewhat acrid cynicism. When, for instance, he writes that in 1911 "an attempt was made to play the king and take the trick," by arranging for the coronation of George V. at Delhi, he ignores the well-known fact that His Majesty's visit to India was the outcome of his own desire to see India again, and to manifest effectually his interest in and his regard for his Indian people.

A BURMESE ARCADY. By Major C. M. Enriquez. (*Seeley, Service.*) 21s. net.

The "arcady" described in this volume is the little-known land of Kashin, in the extreme north of Burma, separated from Tibet by the

Patkai range. The author, who writes in an engaging style, assisted in the "great military experiment" which threw open the army in 1917 to Burmese, Kachins, Karens, Shans, Chins, and other indigenous Burmese races. The Kachins were the first indigenous unit of infantry to enter an overseas war zone. They were in action against the Kurds at Sulaimaniyah, in June, 1919. The author describes the ravages caused by diseases amongst these hillmen, and expresses the belief that military training is the most effective way of educating them. He considers them particularly valuable material for the Indian Army on account of their freedom from religious and from caste prejudices.

THE WEALTH AND WELFARE OF THE PUNJAB. By H. Calvert, B.Sc., I.C.S. (Lahore.) Pp. 224.

(Reviewed by MARY E. R. MARTIN.)

The author of this book is a specialist on co-operation, being Registrar of Co-operative Societies in the Punjab, and the writer of a book on "Law and Principles of Co-operation."

These societies are still in their infancy in India, and as they are primarily intended for agricultural workers, it is important that reliable data should be collected on all matters connected with the land. We are told that this book has no official authority, and it therefore contains an unbiassed opinion on facts acquired by experience. Agriculture is the most important of all industries, and the agriculturist is a pronounced conservative with regard to new methods of farming and improving the land, more especially so in India, where old customs are so deeply rooted. We gather from the introduction that the Punjab cultivator has a hard struggle to support his family, and that he has not had hitherto much encouragement from the educated classes, and being therefore a poor man, it is impossible for him to cope without assistance with bad seasons, caused by drought, etc. The problem of very small holdings is a complicated one, for as the agriculturists become educated, they will require wider scope for scientific farming, and it may be difficult to acquire sufficient land for that purpose. We heartily commend this book to all Indian students anxious to acquire knowledge of social conditions as they affect the village population of India.

BRITISH NORTH BORNEO. By Owen Rutter. (Constable and Co.) 21s. net.

Sir West Ridgeway, in a brief introduction, reminds us that: "In 1878, this corner of Borneo—most important from its strategic position . . .—was in danger of being acquired by a foreign Power, when, at the eleventh hour, a small body of English gentlemen stepped in and purchased it from the native rulers." Forty-two years have elapsed since the granting of the charter, and the author describes in the course of some 400 pages the advance in every field that the lapse of time has brought. He is emphatic in commending the system adopted for recruiting the officers of the Civil Service and Constabulary in Borneo:

"There is neither qualifying nor competitive examination, but nominated candidates are interviewed by a Selection Board composed of the President

and some of the directors. This system in the past has had excellent results, and is, for a small service like that of North Borneo, an undoubted improvement on the hide-bound methods of the competitive examination. . . . By their present methods they get the right stamp of officer for the Service, for the truth is that, whilst a man does not need to be a Greek scholar to be a District Officer, he does need to be a gentleman."

AN EASTERN LIBRARY: I. TALES OF BENGAL; II. SRIKANTA. By Humphrey Milford. (*Oxford University Press.*) London, Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. Price 3s. 6d. each net.

(Reviewed by F. R. SCATCHERD)

Referring to the "most wonderful" works of Charles Dickens, the serious motive of which was the remedying of social abuses, the Bishop of Birmingham, speaking at a recent dinner at the Authors' Club, said that many social ills "could be better healed by a novel writer than by a Parliamentary orator. . . . Books which, while telling a fictional story, expose an actual danger," have again and again led to reforms, otherwise undemanded, through apathy, the fatal offspring of ignorance, and this series will undoubtedly contribute to such desirable ends.

"Tales of Bengal" are selections from the writings of Santa and Sita Chatterjee, daughters of Baku Ramananda Chatterjee, the gifted editor of *Prabasi*, a Bengali monthly, and of the *Modern Review* (in English), which might be called the Indian *Review of Reviews*.

"Effective criticism of a society comes best from those who are members of it . . . it is an immense gain to any nation that its society should be seen through the eyes of its own intellectual countrywomen; and Indian society in its public aspects and activities means Indian men." These vital words, from the introduction by E. J. Thompson, set forth admirably the great value of these tales for Indian readers. But they should prove hardly less useful to the Anglo-Indian and other students of Indian psychology. The late Mr. J. D. Anderson, a leading authority on Bengali literature, thought highly of the work of these gifted sisters. Santa Chatterjee, an artist as well as writer, has contributed a frontispiece. It is to be hoped that few Indian girls have counsellors as questionable as *Tara-didi* in the "Ugly Bride," and that Indian husbands are not often as badly deceived as was the poor bridegroom. "Loyalty" is a touching and pathetic tale, and "The Wedding Dress" is full of quaint interest.

"Srikanta," says E. J. Thompson, is mainly autobiographical, and is written round Mr. Chatterjee's favourite social theme—the position of women of the unfortunate class.

Saratchandra Chatterjee was born in Bengal in 1876. Like Fergus Hume, his first published story (1913) made him famous, and he tells us he is perhaps the only writer in Bengal who has not had to struggle.

The earlier chapters deal with the adventures of two Indian boys, and bring the foreigner into the closest touch with the Bengali outlook upon life. Indranath is an elusive and fascinating boy of heroic character and strange courage. One longs to hear more of him. Page 150 contains an

indictment of the caste system, most instructive as coming from such a source. The present work forms only the first part, and readers of that will anxiously await the translation of the second and third volumes.

THE EAST IN THE LIGHT OF THE WEST. By Rudolph Steiner, PH.D. (Vienna). (*G. P. Putnam's Sons*, London and New York.)

The translator, H. Collison, tells us that Dr. Steiner often quotes the significant words of General Smuts, who said that the world's statesmen must now turn their eyes from the North Sea and the Atlantic to the Pacific, the immediate meeting-point of East and West.

The introduction by Mr. George Kaufmann is perhaps the most valuable part of the book, as it shows the connection between the spiritual and practical side of the questions dealt with by Dr. Steiner, a connection the average reader might fail to discover for himself. Writes Mr. Kaufmann:

"Thoughtful statesmen and observers of world politics know full well that the greatest and most real problems of the present and of the immediate future concern the relationship of the East and West. They are problems of life and death in the material, as well as in the spiritual, sense."

Dr. Steiner's attempt to throw light on these problems must prove of interest to all serious students of human life and destiny.

F. R. S.

Excellent bound and printed, the "Kipling Anthology" (prose), issued by Macmillan and Co., St. Martin's Street, London, price 6s. net, will earn the gratitude of all lovers of "Kim" and the "Jungle Books." Is there to be a companion volume in verse?

NEAR EAST

EGYPTIAN ART: INTRODUCTORY STUDIES. By Jean Capart. Translated by Warren R. Dawson. (London: *Allen and Unwin*.) 1923. 16s. net.

(Reviewed by H. R. HALL.)

The interest in everything Egyptian that has been stirred up by the discovery of Tutankhamen's tomb makes the present a very appropriate time for the appearance of Mr. Dawson's translation of the first part of M. Capart's "*Leçons sur l'Art égyptien*." M. Capart is well known as the keeper of Egyptian antiquities in the Brussels Museum and as a writer on Egyptian art. His "*Leçons*" were printed, owing to post-war conditions, in 1920, without illustrations. A book on art without illustrations is to our minds something like Hamlet with the Prince of Denmark omitted; in fact, a book on art without illustrations would in England simply not be read. But the French (and also the Walloons of Belgium) are accustomed to do without pictures and to trust to the lucidity and precision of the French language in specification and description to do all that is necessary to make the cultivated reader understand the subject-matter.

Mr. Dawson, however, has of course illustrated his translation with well-chosen photographs, most of them of works of art not too well known to English readers, and without the well-worn *clicks* to which we are so used. For this relief much thanks! Plate lxii., especially, the excavated *serdab* of a IVth Dynasty tomb, with its funerary statues in position, is of great interest, and the famous little figure of the man carrying a vase, in the Liverpool Museum, finds its worthy place among the masterpieces (Pl. lxiv.). The frontispiece, appropriately of an object in the Brussels collection, is a grand head of the god Amen which may be a portrait of King Tutankhamen.

M. Capart's book deserves Mr. Dawson's praise of it as one of the most readable and interesting accounts of Egyptian art that has yet appeared. Its whole character is distinctly original, and the chapters on the historical development of Egyptian art and on the art of archaic days are extremely good, as was to be expected from M. Capart, who has made a special study of the early period. In dealing with the history, however, while agreeing wholly with his view that the German system of dating for the Old and Middle Kingdoms is too low, and that there must be something wrong here, we are not inclined to follow him so far in the direction of Professor Petrie's early dating as to admit the validity of Dr. Borchardt's calculations, which indeed have been shown to be quite unreliable by Professor Peet. It is to be regretted that they have been included in the book at all (p. 42). Professor Petrie's dates seem merely more incredible than those of the Germans, which Breasted adopts. The evidence from Crete supports the German dates rather than those of Petrie, and personally we do not think that the German dates are more than two centuries out (see "Ancient History of the Near East" (1920), p. 23 ff.).

The chapters translated are those introductory to the main body of the "Leçons." They make a fine volume in themselves, well printed and produced, and reflecting credit on the publishers. Mr. Dawson has done his work as translator faithfully, and has contributed a useful preface. One is grateful to meet in him a translator who is himself entirely *au courant* of the subject translated. Not long ago we saw a book (that shall be nameless; indeed, we have forgotten its name) on Egyptology, translated from the German, in which we read with amazement of "the temple of the god Courage in Assyria." It sounded slightly Assyrian, perhaps more Roman. Will it be believed that the original spoke of "the temple of Mut in Asher"? Mut being the Egyptian goddess worshipped in Asher, a part of the modern Karnak.

There is a misprint "Seshork I. (Sishak)" for "Sheshonk I. (Shishak)" on p. 40.

GENERAL

A GUIDE TO DIPLOMATIC PRACTICE. By the Right Hon. Sir Ernest Satow.
2 vols. (Longmans.) 42s. net.

The above is a revised edition of the work first published in 1916, which was in fact the earliest of its kind in England. The distinguishing feature

of the new edition is the enlargement of the space devoted to conferences. The pages dealing with the Peace of Versailles are of special interest.

Although the subject would appear somewhat too technical for the general reader, it is nevertheless true that without some knowledge of the practices of diplomacy it is impossible to follow intelligently the relations between States. It is only by such study that "official correspondence" can be gauged at its proper value. We also commend the following quotation of the author to the student of international politics:

"Plus on se familiarise avec les langues étrangères, plus disparaissent ces préventions, ces haines nationales que la différence des langues ne contribue que trop à entretenir."

FRENCH BOOKS

HISTOIRE DE L'ASIE. By René Grousset. In 3 vols. (Paris: *G. Crés.*) 60 fr.

The present work is designed to cover the history, the civilizations, the religions, the philosophies, and the arts of Asia, and is particularly useful as a work of reference. In view of the enormous material at his disposal the author has acted wisely in grouping his narrative according to the principal civilizations. Thus he distinguishes a Nearer Eastern civilization extending from the times of the Chaldeans to the Muhammadans, influenced, but not modified, by Greece or the Crusades. He then describes the world of Buddhism, and follows this with a volume devoted to the study of the Mongol invasion in the Far East. An English translation should prove very welcome.

VISIONS SOLAIRES. By Constantine Balmont. (Paris: *Bossard.*) 7 fr. 50 c.

M. Savitzky has here translated a selection of travel chapters from the works of this talented Russian author, who sang the praises of Shelley to his own countrymen. The descriptions include Mexico, Egypt, and Oceania. There are also two highly imaginative poems in honour of the Ganges, and a Maori short story. The general character of the book is summed-up by its title, which reflects his own philosophy: "Je suis venu au monde pour voir le soleil."

IMPERIAL CITIZENSHIP. By Lord Meston. (*British Association.*)

(Reviewed by H. S. L. POLAK.)

Addressing the British Association last year on this subject, Lord Meston dealt skilfully and lucidly with Imperial citizenship as a status. Defining a "citizen" as one who "has a right to enter any part of his State, and has, when resident, the same rights to live, to earn a livelihood, to be protected by the laws, to vote for the Legislature, and to sit in the Legislature, on the same conditions as his neighbours: he is also required to obey the laws, to pay taxes, and to share in the defence of the country on the same conditions as his neighbours;" he concludes that "Imperial citizenship, as a status of universal and uniform validity throughout the

Empire, does not exist," and that it "is unattainable so long as there are grave divergencies of civilization applied to the ordinary observances of life."

Nevertheless, Lord Meston realizes that "claims to civic status are constantly being pressed by or for communities from whom it has been withheld," and that they "are likely to become more insistent as calls are made on those communities for common services, or for conformity with common standards." He recognizes them as "a permanent basis in the growth of racial consciousness, in what Mr. Lothrop Stoddard calls the rising tide of colour . . . they are meant primarily as a protest against implied racial inferiority, as an assertion of racial self-respect." The result of failure to appreciate this demand will be "increasing embarrassment in our task of Imperial unity. It will certainly be a growing lack of spontaneity on the part of the claimants in their response to future Imperial calls upon them."

Lord Meston lays down, as qualifications for full Imperial citizenship: (1) The attainment of a similar type of constitution; (2) submission to a uniform system of administration, and (3) the acceptance of a common code of jurisprudence, and declares that not only is India ripe for an extension of Imperial citizenship to her upon this basis, but that "it is a paramount political necessity." Whilst looking with suspicion equally upon the method of Caracalla and the policy of "reciprocity" laid down by the Imperial conference, in 1917, he thinks that the following threefold line of advance could be successfully taken—namely, frank discussion, either direct, or *via* a Royal Commission, between India and the Dominions and Colonies; propaganda of the doctrine of Imperial citizenship among ourselves "as an evangel for all the higher strata of civilization in our Commonwealth," and not for the white races alone; and co-operative effort in India carrying the reforms to their logical conclusion in real Dominionhood, "not a merely ceremonial partnership in our Imperial federation."

TO AWAKING INDIA. By S. E. Stokes. Pp. 45. (Madras: *Ganesh and Co.*) As. 8.

(Reviewed by MARY E. R. MARTIN.)

This small book is of some importance, as it explains plainly and simply the economics of Swadeshi, though the arguments employed may not be able to convince all its readers of the rightness or wrongness of the boycotting or the burning of foreign cloth. There is probably no doubt about the fact that the raw Indian products sent to England to be manufactured are resold in India at a vastly increased cost, and this is described by Mr. Gokhale as "bleeding the country." This alone is a loss serious enough to cause a radical change to be made. One does not desire Lancashire to be starved in order to benefit India, but one does desire wholeheartedly that matters should be so readjusted that India should not be obliged to sell in the cheapest and buy in the dearest market. Mr. Stokes points out very forcibly that there is no guarantee that mills will not be set up in India by foreign companies paying their

dividends to stockholders living in Europe, and he also writes that neither will cheap clothing be provided by Indian textile mills run at a profit, but only by the people themselves spinning their own cloth. It would be interesting to learn the figures stating the number of handlooms in use before the non-co-operation movement and the number now in use. It is always easy for enthusiasts to make out a good case, but to the reader accustomed to weigh facts it will seem that although self-sacrifice is a very beautiful thing, it can scarcely be insured that those who preach this doctrine can be trusted to do their work without intimidation, violence, and cursing. The suggestion made, that all those who burn foreign goods and buy home-made cloth, should also buy sufficient cloth for one poor person, seems eminently practical.

CHRIST AND LABOUR. By C. F. Andrews. Pp. 146. (Madras: *Ganesh and Co.*) 1922. Re. 1-8.

(Reviewed by MARY E. R. MARTIN.)

This book is dedicated to the social and agricultural workers of Surul Farm, at Santiniketan, where Dr. Tagore's famous Bolpur School is situated. Mr. Andrews, writing from a strong Christian point of view, divides his book into three portions, the Roman, Mediæval, and the Modern world. In the Roman world, towards the latter end, two problems became very acute—slavery and property; the capitalists of that time employing gangs of slaves to work their huge estates under appalling conditions of suffering. As regards property, after the Fall of the Roman Empire, all social and religious restraints broke down, and the wild rush to accumulate riches by greedy adventurers also extended to the noblest families of Rome.

In the Mediæval world, the monasteries and guilds were some of its main features. The monks taught the value of lives spent in the service of others, in contrast to the hermits of the Egyptian deserts who were merely ascetics. The two important economic doctrines practised throughout were the "just price" and the "sin of usury," and these doctrines, as Mr. Andrews aptly remarks, are "singularly modern in their application."

The Modern world occupies the largest space, and includes the reformation, industrial revolution, economic and British imperialism, Christ's social teaching, natural growth of society, and the revolutionary environment. The history of one period seems to contain the clue to another, so to understand modern Indian labour problems, it becomes necessary to study the spiritual conflict of the European reformation. The industrial revolution was the over-throwing of hand-made and hand-worked industries by mechanical inventions. In the chapter on British Imperialism, the writer warns his countrymen, against "the cant of self-congratulation and praise." In his concluding chapters, Mr. Andrews sets forth the central principles of Christ's teaching regarding labour problems. Christ-

ianity is often blamed for many sins, but it is not Christianity which fails, but those who bear Christ's name and fail to carry out His precepts.

FROM BERLIN TO BAGDAD AND BABYLON. By the Rev. J. R. Zahm, C.S.C., LL.D. (*D. Appleton and Company.*) 21s.

(*Reviewed by H. CHARLES WOODS.*)

Dr. Zahm tells us in the foreword that his book is the result of observations made and impressions gained during a recent journey from one of the greatest capitals of Europe to what was once the most important capital in Asia, and that he travelled not as a tourist, but as a student interested in the present and the past of the countries which he visited. For these reasons, and because of his power of observation and knowledge of history, the author's experience was in many ways like that of passing through a vast museum—a museum full of contrasts and of things of enthralling fascination.

The book is clearly written by a student and intended for students. But an attempt has been made to appeal also to the general reader, for it contains chapters upon such subjects as the Danube, Constantinople, motoring in the Garden of Eden, etc. The adoption of such a course will undoubtedly increase the circulation of the volume, but, considering the scope of the subject, it is useless to disguise the fact that the copious extracts, given from the books and articles of other writers, cannot be effectively dovetailed into a work which contains the somewhat everyday descriptions given of such world-famous sights as Santa Sophia and the Galata Bridge.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter is that devoted to the Bagdad Railway. Here the author puts the events which went before the inauguration of the German scheme, and the negotiations which led up to and followed the granting of the concession for the construction of the line to a German Company, in their proper perspective. The question of linking the Mediterranean with the Persian Gulf had been discussed for the greater part of last century, and Great Britain, Italy, France, and Russia had all demonstrated a certain interest in it. The Germans finally succeeded, as a result of their very careful work in Turkey, of their efficient European diplomacy, and of the ability of Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, who was certainly the most influential of all the Ambassadors at Yildiz. But whilst they secured the right to build the line, they (the Germans) soon discovered that there were many financial difficulties to be overcome—difficulties which were only natural, considering the obvious reasons for which they desired to construct the railway.

The author describes the route traversed by the Anatolian and Bagdad railways, and he has interesting things to say about Eski-Shehr and Konia. Instead of traversing the entire Taurus Range by railway—if, indeed, that section was completed at the time of Dr. Zahm's journey—he preferred to drive through the Cilician Gates to Tarsus, and he was naturally and rightly struck by the beauties of the road then followed. Bagdad seems

to have impressed him, and in addition to a description of that town the author provides some account of its more eminent Caliphs.

On the whole, the book will be interesting to the reader, and especially to those who desire to obtain a bird's-eye view of the country through which our traveller passed. The published English price seems somewhat high, especially considering the fact that there are no maps and no illustrations.

ORIENTALIA

BEHULA : THE INDIAN PILGRIM'S PROGRESS. Free translation from the original Bengali by Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, with Introduction by Captain J. W. Petavel. (Calcutta : *Cambray*, Rs. 2.) (2s. 8d.).

(Reviewed by F. H. BROWN, C.I.E.)

Bunyan's great work is not a prototype of this Bengali story, which was shaped probably a thousand years ago, and the oldest extant manuscript of which goes back to the twelfth century. There is circumstantial evidence that in moving power it falls far behind the allegory of the Bedford tinker in the fact that this is the first translation into English. In the practised hands of Rai Bahadur Dinesh Chandra Sen, the translated story is told with simple directness, and in other ways there are points of analogy with Bunyan's immortal work. But the similarities with the most ancient of Biblical stories, that of Job, are still more pronounced. The story centres round the determined refusal of Chand Sadagar, a devotee of Siva, to worship the goddess Manasa, Queen of Snakes, in ignorance of the fact that Siva had ordained that without such homage from Chand she would have no permanent place in the shrines of men. One blow of misfortune and bereavement after another fell upon him at the hands of the offended deity. He has a house full of widowed daughters-in-law, and when his last and seventh son is to be married, he takes the most elaborate and costly precautions to guard against his death from snake-bite on the wedding night. But they are vain, and the distracted bride-widow determines not to leave the corpse when it is placed on a raft to be carried down the sacred river. Her perilous devotion is rewarded after months of floating by his restoration to life by Manasa Devi, together with his six brothers. Chand is rebuked by Siva, disguised as an old man, for imagining he had conquered desire, and thinking he could find salvation in his own strength and austerity. Human weakness and the need for divine grace are set forth in language not dissimilar to some Pauline passages. The story is commonly accepted as describing the conflict between philosophical Hinduism and popular beliefs and superstitions, and with philosophy accepting a compromise in the end. It exposes the dangers of asceticism unless the heart goes with the self-abandonment. From this unlikely background Captain Petavel is somehow able to devote much of his introduction to his well-known proposals for co-operative farming and other work as a means of overcoming Indian poverty. He admits, however, that the pages thereon are a digression.

THE BĀBUR-NĀMA IN ENGLISH (Memoirs of Bābur). By Zahīru'd-dīn Muhammad Bābur Pādshāh Ghāzi. Translated from the original Turki Text by Annette Susannah Beveridge. 2 vols. (London: Luzac and Co., 1921.)

(Reviewed by Sir THOMAS ARNOLD, C.I.E., LITT.D.)

Good autobiographies are few in number; rarer still is it to find an autobiography written by a personage who has played a foremost part in the world's history. Such considerations have led students of literature to assign a high place to the Memoirs of Bābur, with their lively presentation of a virile personality, fearless, sagacious, and frank in his judgment of himself and others—able alike as statesman and general—poet and lover of flowers and beautiful landscape. The importance of this work for the history of Central Asia and of India, during the early decades of the sixteenth century, has been fully recognized ever since Erskine published his translation of it in 1826, and the literature that has grown out of Erskine's translation has attained considerable dimensions. But until the publication of Mrs. Beveridge's volumes, an adequate presentation of this remarkable autobiography has been lacking in the English language. Bābur wrote in Turki, in a restrained, terse, and simple style; Erskine, having little acquaintance with the Turki language, made use of a Persian translation that had been prepared for the Emperor Akbar, and though he revised his work by means of a tentative translation from the Turki original found among Dr. Leyden's posthumous papers, the result was far from being an adequate representation of Bābur's text; for neither Persian as written in India at the time of Akbar, nor English as written in the reign of George III., were congenial media for so direct and unsophisticated a language as Turki. In Bābur's Memoirs, moreover, "le style est l'homme même," and his choice of language and phrase constitutes part of the self-revelation of the man. But apart from these considerations, Mrs. Beveridge has brought to her task an intimate knowledge of the history of Central Asia and India during the sixteenth century, such as none of her predecessors had possessed, and by diligent search she has been able to use manuscripts fuller in content and more reliable than Erskine or Leyden had known. Among these, the Haydarabad Codex, which there is reason to believe was copied from Bābur's autograph, was published by her in facsimile in 1905. Her translation, therefore, is a notable appearance in English orientalism; we now have the real Bābur in English dress for the first time, with elucidations of every detail that calls for comment. This authoritative version should now take the place of all previous translations and compilations, for it marks a distinct step in our knowledge of Bābur and his period.

PERIODICALS

BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES. Vol. II., Part IV. (Luzac.) 6s.

The new volume contains a series of papers on subjects of interest to Oriental scholars, book-reviews, and notes and queries. A contribution,

entitled "Chinese Records of the Arabs in Central Asia," throws light on the military activities of the Arabs in that region, and also on their diplomatic relations with China. The records in question are chiefly from the late Professor Chavannes' "Documents sur les Tou-Kiue Occidentaux," and his "Notes Additionnelles sur les Tou-Kiue Occidentaux." These reveal no less than nineteen Arab embassies to the Court of China between the year 716 and 759. Regarding the purpose of these missions, the author has two theories to bring forward. "They may have had political objectives—as, *e.g.*, an alliance or understanding against their common enemy, the Western Turks. Or they may have been commercial missions, intended to foster trade relations, particularly in the matter of the overland silk trade." He also refers to the times when "from all quarters of the continent, from the steppes and the mountains, Indians, Arabs, Koreans, Tibetans, Japanese, Turks, Annamites, pass through the same audience chamber, each with their complaints and demands, and quaint menagerie of presents. Little they ever brought back but fair words and grandiose titles, but it would be strange if there were not, in a few finer minds at least, some vision of that breaking down of barriers after which Asia—and Europe, too—still strive."

The editor must be congratulated on the excellence of this issue, which also includes papers by Sir George Grierson and Mr. Lionel Giles.

LA REVUE PACIFIQUE. (Paris, and *East and West, Ltd.*, London.)
80 francs per annum.

The above periodical, which is now in its second year, fully justifies its ambitious title. Commencing with its first issue at the beginning of last year, it has studied profoundly the proceedings of the Washington Conference, and in the March issue of this year that work is continued. It would be very useful if this series of articles could be made available in book form. Mr. L. Robert contributes a valuable and impartial paper on Korea. After summing-up the benefits that have resulted from Japanese rule, the writer adds: "Conquered or subjugated peoples do not always rate at their proper value the advantages of a civilization that has been imposed upon them. Korea was poor and miserable but independent when she regretfully accepted Japanese domination in 1906. Though the benefits of the new rule are doubtlessly appreciated by a section of the population, even the most enlightened, who recognize the great efforts made by Japan, cherish the hope that some day Korea will regain her independence."

Frenchmen are able to write on Pacific problems with an air of detachment which makes their views particularly interesting to us. For this reason, apart from its general excellence, we commend *La Revue Pacifique* to students of Far Eastern politics.

NETHERLANDS INDIES REVIEW. (Abbey House, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.)

The March issue contains an interesting supplement on the Isle of Bali, which lies immediately to the east of Java. The writer is Mr.

Charles Morrell, the Java representative of the British Chamber of Commerce for the Netherlands East Indies. The religion of the Balinese is a form of Hinduism; during the ninth century and later Hindu princes ruled the island. The fall of the Hindu empires in Java did not affect Bali, and the conquest of Java by the Muhammadans was not followed by an invasion of the island. Consequently the religious customs of the inhabitants are of special interest to ethnologists.

It may be mentioned here that Miss T. de Kleen, who has paid a prolonged visit to the island, has now returned with a large collection of wonderful drawings illustrative of the religious rites and costumes of the islanders. These are now on view in a room placed at her disposal by the Royal Geographical Society.

SHORTER NOTICES

SUMMER ISLES OF EDEN. By Frank Burnett. (*Sifton Praed*.) 21s. net.

The art of writing successful travel books is one that many believe that they possess, but very few really master. Mr. Burnett has already given us "Through Tropic Seas" and "Through Polynesia and Papua," and those who have perused these charming volumes will know what to expect, nor will they be disappointed. Leaving Canada he first visits the Fijis, and then skirts Australia on the way to Malaya, returning via Japan.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"India's Parliament," Vols. II. and III. (Government Press, Delhi); "Moral Instruction," by Hai Gaon, translated by H. Gollancz (Milford), 10s. 6d. net; "A Short History of the Fatimid Khalifate," by Dr. De Lacy O'Leary (Kegan Paul), 10s. 6d. net; "Into the East: Notes on Burma and Malay," by Richard Curle, with a Preface by Joseph Conrad (Macmillan), 10s. 6d. net; "A Manual of Buddhist Philosophy," by Dr. W. M. McGovern (Kegan Paul), 10s. 6d. net.

OBITUARY

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS

AT the ripe age of seventy-nine, Professor T. W. Rhys Davids passed away at Chipstead, Surrey, on December 27, 1922. The last few years of his life had been greatly hampered by physical pain, so that death came as a relief from suffering. Personally I received the news of his passing over with great grief, for I lose in him one of my best friends, a man for whom I had the highest admiration and respect; a man whose prominent trait of character was kindness, gentleness, and sympathy, who in a supreme extent was possessed of the *Mettā*, the Great Love towards all beings, which he was so fond of quoting as one of his chief ideals and standard of life with the well-known passage from the "Itvuttaka," which, in his own translation, runs: "Just as at the dawn of day, when the night is passing, the Morning Star shines out in radiance and glory—just so all the means that can be used as helps towards doing Right avail not the sixteenth part of the Emancipation of the heart through Love."

So I remember him, although weak in body of late, yet strong in mind, great in thought, enthusiastic in his work, when we conversed in the cosy study at Chipstead, from which a wide view of the rustic country of Surrey could be obtained, and where one felt the presence and reality of the ideals of mankind so well, when we talked about the history of these ideals, the great philosophers who had preached these ideals (with whom one could not help associating *him* as well), and, above all, the *one* great Gotama, to the description of whose life and teaching *he* had devoted his own life and teaching. Surely the effect of such a man and friend cannot pass away with his bodily frame; the touch of his soul will be felt not only in myself, but in countless others as well. Now *he* has found Nibbāna, may be, of which he was such an eloquent interpreter, and which he has described so well in his versatile language, and to the discussion of which as an ideal of ultimate happiness and bliss, as the crown of the highest optimism, he would always revert in his talks with me. So I remember him as my *kalyāṇa-mitta*, and I may say of him what Pingiya said of the Master ("Sutta Nipata," v. 1142: "Passāmi nam manasā cakkhunā va rattin-divam; appamatto namassamāno vivasemi rattim, ten 'eva maññāmi avippavāsam.")

His career as a scholar is a varied and multifold course of events, beginning after the finishing of his University studies with the Civil Service in India (Ceylon), where he was first led to acquire a first-hand knowledge of Pali and to make the acquaintance of Buddhist civilization. An ardent desire to make the Buddhist Scriptures accessible to European

scholars never left him, and after his return to Europe was the direct stimulus to the formation of the Pali Text Society by him, the President of which he has remained for forty years, and the institution and working of which has been one of the greatest achievements of modern literary undertaking on a private basis, even excelling Max Müller's "Sacred Books of the East." For this alone his name would be immortal were it not also for many other facts. All his energies, his thoughts, his aspirations, were directed to the upkeep of the Society, the results of which he reaped in later years with deep satisfaction. More than one text he has critically and accurately edited himself among the publications of the Society. Inseparably coupled with his name, not less with reference to the Pali Text Society than to all his achievements of later years, is that of his distinguished wife, Caroline Augusta Rhys Davids. It is she who now fitly and deservedly takes his place.

The outcome of his studies in Ceylon was, besides smaller publications, the great classic of Numismatics—viz., the "Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon" (1877). The same year saw his first great historical work published, which has since then had over twenty editions: "Buddhism." Here a successful attempt was made to separate truth and fiction which were so dangerously intimately blended in Spense Hardy's "Buddhism," up to then the classic on Singhalese Buddhism. His acquaintance with R. C. Childers strengthened his interest in Pali. In London, while officially active as a barrister, he began his *real* studies of Pali and historical Buddhism, as he often said to me, with his translation of the Introductory Book of the Jātaka tales ("Buddhist Birth Stories," one volume, 1880), which laid the foundation of his exceedingly intimate familiarity with the whole of the Jātaka tradition. The congenial field of the Canon Law of Ancient Buddhism he tilled together with Hermann Oldenberg in the translation of the two first sections (Vaggas) of the "Vinaya Piṭaka" (most of the *second* section is his translation) in three volumes (1881-1885) under the title of "Vinaya Texts." The work, owing to the condition of the Pali Text and the subject-matter, is in need of many corrections; still it is full of valuable information and a document of sound textual criticism. Another, more advanced, translation is that of the "Milindapañha," published in 1890 (in the "Sacred Books of the East").

His religious-philosophical bent led him from the more intimate study of the Buddhist Scriptures on to a wider range of Comparative Study. Here deserve to be mentioned his "American Lectures on Buddhism" (1896), and many smaller contributions and essays. His appointment to the chair of Comparative Religion at Manchester University (1904), after having been Professor of Pali at London University since 1882, was a consequence of this side of his activity.

The historian once more showed himself to advantage in his "Buddhist India" (1903). In graphic and vivid strokes he here gives us a picture of India under the influence of Buddhist culture. The language of the book is clear and to the point, the material is sifted and sound historically.

Another little book which must be mentioned as founded on historical studies of his later and more mature years, and which he himself considered as the best that he had ever written on the subject is his "Early Buddhism" (1914).

In 1912 he retired from public duties, and soon after the outbreak of war moved to Chipstead (Surrey). Here he brought to perfection (besides seeing the whole of the Canonical texts published in Pali Text Society editions) especially two plans and ambitions of his life. The first one was the printing of the translation of the "Dīgha Nikāya," or long collection, under the title of "Dialogues of the Buddha." This was begun in 1899, and the third and last volume was published in 1921. Here, too, his faithful and intelligent wife has been a great help to him. We do not hesitate to say that the "Dialogues" are the most important product of his genius, and are especially valuable for the critical introductions to each section. Here the historian, the poet, and the philosopher were most happily combined. As the years passed by he grew more and more anxious about the other one of his life-plans, the publication of the "Pali Dictionary," for which he himself had collected such an abundant mass of material during his long life and his extensive reading. The need of such a dictionary, which should be based on the Pali Text Society editions of the Sacred Texts and their commentaries, was most urgent, and all Pali scholars were, since 1908, agreed on the realization of such a plan. It is not the place here to enter into the history of the scheme; all former plans were frustrated by the war. In 1916 we discussed the scheme anew, and decided that I should undertake the work with his help and under his guidance. I owe him a great deal of instruction and advice, and regret that during later years he could not give me as much of his help as I should have liked, as his failing health more and more hindered him, just when the work was at its most important stage. He revised my work up to the letter P. It was a great pity that he was called off even before seeing half the work published. Still, with all that, the foundation and inspiring genius of the work are his own, and I am grateful to him as his pupil as well as his colleague.

In his method of work he always emphasized the importance of *facts* in the interpretation of historical documents and their expression in language. The "Dictionary" should primarily be a statement of facts in historical order; the words were to be given in their history within the field of Pali. The disadvantage of this scheme is often evident, as with this the independence of Pali is unduly put forward, and the sphere of meaning too restricted. Yet it is a sound principle, and to be welcomed, as checking the other extreme of abstraction and suffusion of meaning. Sound was also his opinion as to the close affinity between Vedic and Pali and the high age as some Pali idioms. True that he often placed too much credit on facts of narration, which are, indeed, often purely allegorical representations of half-truths, as seen with the untrained eyes and minds of faithful believers of old, among whom we have to include even the enlightened commentators of the holy texts. Thus it came that Rhys Davids placed

a certain discredit on etymologies, which he used to call fanciful play. But, on the other hand, he was a scientifically trained mind, who always warned not to put Abhidhamma ideas and constructions into the simpler word and teaching of the Suttanta-pitaka. Facts and history were always his coins and measures.

His life was favoured by ease and opportunity, by travels and all other helps of self-education; yet it was full of struggle, and it had its share of sorrow and illness. His genial nature, however, would never let the latter gain the upper hand and spoil his character; and so it came, that he was contented and serene up to the last days of his age and passed away peacefully:

All resolute, and with unshaken mind,
He calmly triumphed o'er the pain of death.
E'en as a bright flame dies away, so was
The last emancipation of his heart ("Dialogues," II. 176).

W. STEDE.

NEAR EASTERN NOTES

BY F. R. SCATCHERD

I.—PALESTINE. THE WORK OF BRITISH WOMEN IN THE ORIENT

THESE outspoken letters,* written from Palestine during the spring of 1922, are extremely individual, and should be read by all interested in the future of that country.

Palestine, we are told, is once more the centre of bitter strife, and it is useless for politicians to assure us of the existence of peace where there is no peace, nor, under present conditions, any future chance of its prevailing. Zionism must be subjected to drastic supervision, and the interests of the present landowners must be immediately safeguarded.

"The surest way to restore the confidence of the Muslim-Christian population would be to place it at once under *genuinely* British rule, with a non-Jewish High Commissioner and an equally non-Jewish Administration."

Political, social, and religious questions are dealt with in vivid descriptions, which, despite the writer's strong opinions, are fairly impartial, since she never conceals her personal point of view, and can perceive that of those who do not share it.

A fine tribute is paid to the C.M.S. schools for boys, established when there was not the smallest chance of Palestine passing into British hands. Miss Pullen-Burry declares them worthy of the highest praise. So far as is known to her, no other religious body attempts anything approaching their standard.

"The teaching in the Greek Church schools is an unknown quantity; the Latins aim at making their pupils, before everything else, good Catholics, their object being to extend the power of their Church; *the English alone, in their missionary work, have educated the natives to benefit their own race and raise the standard of their culture.*"

In her opinion, as a world-wide traveller, nothing surpasses the capacity of Englishmen in dealing with races less advanced than their own.

IA.—BRITISH WOMEN'S WORK IN THE ORIENT

Miss Pullen-Burry draws attention to yet another educational scheme, which must do much to raise the low status of the women of Palestine—one of the greatest obstacles to advance in ethics and true civilization.

Miss Warburton is devoting her time, energy, and money to the founding of a Central College for Girls at Jerusalem, on the English High School plan. Practically the first Englishwoman to enter the city after

* "Letters from Palestine," by B. Pullen-Burry, F.R.G.S., F.R.A.I. (London: 62, Oxford Street, W.) Price 2s.

its conquest, Miss Warburton was asked to care for the orphans and small children, many of whom were starving.

The Palestine Administration has addressed an official letter to Miss Warburton, wherein—

“The Government attaches the greatest importance to educational institutions that devote themselves to the training of the characters of their pupils, with results so successful as those attained by Miss Warburton in her school, and regrets that it is not able, with the funds at its disposal, to cover the whole field of education, and may add that the religious instruction is confined to the *ethics* of Christianity, but whatever the creed, the children have to attend this class. . . . Miss Warburton is also keenly alert to foster the recent *rap-prochement* of Moslems and Christians facilitated by the present political situation. That they show a real and earnest desire for education for both boys and girls, she regards as a very healthy and hopeful augury for the future.”

We most heartily agree with the writer, that when this college is completed and the aims of the founder begin to materialize, it will mark an epoch in the work of British women in the Near East.

II.—BRITISH COMMERCE IN THE NEAR EAST

Does not the British commercial world realize that in permitting the eradication of the Greek communities from Anatolia, “we have committed economic and political suicide in the Near East?”* asks a pertinent correspondent in the *Morning Post*. The writer goes on to point out the vital distinction between trade with the Turks and trade with Turkey. British firms in Constantinople, or elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, which trade with the Turks direct, do so, he tells us, with the assistance of Greeks or Armenians.

“Take the large trading interests built up by our British Levantine trading families . . . whose ramifications extended from Constantinople and Smyrna to the furthestmost confines of the Ottoman Empire. Their trade was never built up by Turks, but by Greeks and Armenians, and it is these two peoples who have ever been both the foundations and structure of British Commerce in the Near East. They have now been eradicated wholesale, and Great Britain has calmly permitted the destruction of the very basis of her commerce. Needless to say, the Russians, the Germans, and our other competitors and rivals are delighted, for now they will get a footing where previously they were afraid to tread.”

“Up to about twenty years ago this trade† was in the hands of Greeks, and the grain market was England. The Greeks were subsequently ousted, and the Jews took their place, whereupon the grain market shifted from this country to Hamburg. The same thing will assuredly happen with our trade in the Near East.”

* The *Morning Post*, March 12, 1923.

† Grain trade of South Russia.

III.—THE DODECANESE

It is stated that the Italian authorities at the Dodecanese are continuing oppressive measures against the population. They have insisted on the resignation of the local municipal authorities who have not proved amenable to Italian methods and have not prevailed upon the people to accept the decree for census. Now they have proclaimed martial law and established a blockade, becoming increasingly harsh from day to day.

The people seem in a state of despair. Surely these measures are bound to result in serious consequences. The people have nearly exhausted their scanty means of subsistence, and there is an imminent danger of shortage of foodstuffs.

The situation is aggravated by the presence of a great number of refugees.

IV.—MR. POLITIS' STATEMENT IN LONDON

Speaking at the Anglo-Hellenic League, on his recent visit to Athens, Mr. Harold Spender gave an impartial and masterly analysis of the situation under the present revolutionary Government. Mr. Spender confirms, in essentials, the lucid and exhaustive reply of M. N. Politis, twice Minister for Foreign Affairs in Greece, to the criticisms of the French press directed against the revolutionary Government in Greece.*

The recent crisis in Greece, M. Politis tells us, originated with the elections of 1920, resulting in the fall of M. Venizelos, an event which astounded many, including M. Venizelos himself. Probably, explains M. Politis, a small majority of the Greek people sincerely believed that with the signing of the Treaty of Sèvres, the demobilization (which M. Venizelos was too honest to promise) would take place and usher in a new era of peace and well-being.

From that hour all went ill. The Powers ceased to regard Greece as an ally, all support was cut off, and those at the head of affairs were incapable of adapting themselves to the altered conditions. Informed of the consequences of the restoration of King Constantine, December 2 and 4, 1920, the Government, nevertheless, organized a pseudo-plébiscite, and two weeks later Constantine re-entered Athens amid the wildest rejoicings of the populace.

The hostility of the Powers rendered more imperative the keeping of the election promise of demobilization, since it was now impossible to continue the campaign in Asia Minor against an enemy doubly reinforced by the agreement with Moscow and the attitude of the Powers. Yet the Government rejected the peace proposals of March, 1921, and reopened hostilities which resulted in a severe defeat. Anxious at any price to conceal this defeat, a new offensive was launched, eventuating in the occupation of Eski-Cheir and Afion-Kar-Hissar in July. Now was the time to have made terms. But, intoxicated by success and disregarding all counsels to the contrary, in September, the conquest of Angora was attempted and defeat sustained on the shores of Sankaria.

Again concealing the failure of its policy the Government refused to

* "La Crise grecque," à la Cour de Cassation. La Conférence de M. N. Politis (*Journal des Hellènes*, février 11, 1923).

recognize the changed circumstances. For the Treaty of Angora, October, 1921, had determined the policy of France against Greece. Italy had similar undertakings with Kemal, and in England public opinion became more and more pro-Turk.

For a brief moment the governmental chief appeared to see affairs in their true perspective. He perceived that without extraneous help in money and supplies, the army—demoralized, ill-fed, badly equipped and worse commanded—could no longer maintain its vast front in Asia Minor. The British Government, in reply to his appeal, contented itself with expressing the view that the apprehensions of Greece seemed very exaggerated.

The one thing that the Greek Government might have done to better the situation between December, 1920, and August, 1922, it resolutely refused to do—it would not secure the abdication of the King, believing that his maintenance on the throne was more important than the vital interests of the nation.

This loyalty to the King, M. Politis maintains, is the key to the whole tragic enigma of Greece, and Mr. Harold Spender bears him out in this conclusion.

The extent of the catastrophe in Asia Minor becoming known, a Revolutionary Government, drawn from all parties, and interpreting the sentiment of the majority, drew up its programme with admirable promptitude; abdication of Constantine in favour of his eldest son; dissolution of the Assembly of 1920; reorganization of the Army for the safeguarding of Thrace and other remaining territories; the punishment of those held responsible for the national catastrophe; the carrying out of new elections.

Subsequent events, summarized by M. Politis, are still fresh in the public mind, including the summary execution of six of the condemned Ministers, a deed which resulted in the withdrawal of the British Minister from Athens.

What is not so well known is the work accomplished by the Revolutionary Government in other respects. Despite the burden of the refugees, it has succeeded in reforming the public services, and in disciplining and maintaining an army of 100,000 men.

V—M. G. PAPANDRÉOU AND THE FUTURE OF GREECE

In an interview in an Italian journal, M. Papandréou gave it as his conviction that Greece was only waiting for the signing of Peace, to transform its Revolutionary Government into a legal Government by the summoning of a new Parliament.

Meanwhile the Revolutionary Government was doing its best with its available resources. It had reorganized the public services by appointments, irrespective of political opinions, hitherto impracticable in Greece; new agrarian laws would place land at the disposal of the cultivators, a small indemnity being granted to the proprietors, while the decentralization of the public services would bring about a reform that had long been overdue. In short, M. Papandréou was of the opinion that Greece was about to enter a new era of industrious peace and prosperity which should constitute her once more, as heretofore, an appreciable factor of civilization in the Near East.

CORRESPONDENCE

DECENTRALIZATION

"CAPITAL and labour are in permanent competition for the fruits of production. When in years of war, say, £20,000,000 annually are provided by loan for three, five, or ten years, two consequences follow: (1) An immense factitious stimulus is given to labour at the time, and thus much more labour is brought into the market; and (2) when that stimulus is withdrawn an augmented quantity of labour is left to compete in the market with a greatly diminished quantity of capital. Here is the story of the great misery of great masses of the English people after 1815, or, at least, a material part of that story" (Gladstone's reflections, after some experience as Chancellor of the Exchequer, of the Crimean War.—"Morley's Life," vol. i., p. 517).

Speaking very generally, freedom of trade, or, rather, free importation of food, was the chief remedy adopted to allay the miseries of the people in the "Hungry Forties"; but, even then, not without great opposition, and after thirty years of such misery as the country had hardly ever known. Now, after four years of so-called peace, the only remedy devised so far is a demoralizing system of "doles," and the alternatives suggested seem equally bad. The more benighted kind of farmers demand "protection" for their industry, to the great injury of all other classes. Most capitalists can think of nothing but reducing wages and increasing the hours of work for labour; whilst Colonel Holdich, in *The Times* of February 17, tells us positively that "our overcrowded population is the root reason of this mischief" (unemployment), and that "*we all know it.*"

It is true, of course, that our towns in England are shamefully overcrowded and cursed with slums that are a disgrace, but vast areas even in Great Britain are almost deserted and are crying out for labour to cultivate them. Surely there is one remedy that might be tried, and might even prove an effective remedy for all our troubles, and that is the decentralization of our great towns, say, all those over 30,000, on the Garden City principle, so that England might in course of time become one great Garden City in which every artisan might have his own bit of garden, back and front, to grow some food, at any rate for his own consumption, as at Bourneville, and, I believe, in Belgium. In this way, Labour would have reasonable access to the land, and every artisan, including the

agricultural labourer, would have two strings to his bow, and be a free man at last, if he chose to be.

It is impossible to go into all the details of such a scheme in a mere letter, and there are many difficulties to be overcome; but with the powerful assistance of the Calcutta University and the great organ of Capitalism there, Captain Petavel seems to be in a fair way to carry out his pioneer scheme. Notwithstanding the extreme urgency of the unemployment problem in this country, it is doubtful if it will receive proper consideration here until it has made more progress in India where the circumstances are in some respects more favourable.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

March 7, 1923.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JULY, 1923

INDIA IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

BY SIR THOMAS BENNETT, M.P.

THE debate on the India Office vote on June 14 occupied four hours and a quarter, of which time two hours, less five minutes, were occupied by the Under-Secretary of State, while the remainder was taken up by seven private members, one of whom confined himself almost exclusively to a protest against the cramping conditions under which the debate was being conducted. At a quarter past eight India was suddenly withdrawn from the scene, and two railway Bills were thrust upon the attention of the House. I do not know what impression has been made in India by this abrupt transition from the imperial to the parochial, but some Indian gentlemen who left the Distinguished Strangers' Gallery for a talk in the Lobby told me that they did not like it. No wonder! A couple of years ago, when a whole sitting was given to the discussion of the Colonial Office vote, there was a good deal of disappointment at the failure to cover a number of important matters included in the Colonial survey. But that was a small grievance in comparison with the limitation to little more than two hours of the time allotted to unofficial members to range over the infinitely wider—or at least fuller—field of Indian present-day problems. I have no word of complaint against the talented Minister who took up nearly half the allotted time. His speech was so illuminating, and dealt so ably with so wide a variety of subjects, that the House would have been

a loser if he had said a word less than he did. The fault lay with those who had the arrangement of the time-table, and who took so parochial a view of the claims of our Empire as to seem to believe that a couple of hours, more or less, would give "ample room and verge enough" for all the criticism that the House of Commons need pass upon one of the most eventful chapters in the history of India. It was an unfortunate miscalculation—a disconcerting illustration of the old Chancellor's invitation to go forth and see with how little wisdom the world is governed.

For the occasion was one of almost crucial importance. The Viceroy's certification of the Finance Act, doubling the salt duty, had been widely and boldly challenged in India, not only as a measure of oppression, but as an act beyond his powers. It was held up to censure as a return to the autocratic methods which, in quoted utterances of royal personages and men in authority, had been for ever foresworn. And, worst of all, it had been condemned as endangering the reforms, and discrediting them in the eyes of an electorate before whom the members of the Legislative Assemblies and Councils would have shortly to appear and ask for a renewal of the confidence of the electorate in their representatives. The issues, it will be seen, were grave. They demanded the amplest air that Parliament could provide for their discussion. The longest sitting that could have been appropriated for the purpose could scarcely have been deemed excessive, and full discussion was the more necessary inasmuch as the assailants of the Government of India had had more than their fair share of public attention. The campaign in India was conducted with great energy, and there was, of course, much in it that at once appealed to popular sentiment. No one likes to be taxed, and the party that sets out to denounce Government because of a taxing Bill is sure to gain the applause of the multitude. I have always thought that the leaders of the movement were more than a little too impetuous in their spirit and methods. It needed little backing from them.

They might, with no danger of the sins imputed to the Government being forgotten, have remembered that quite as much service can be done to a popular movement by controlling and steadying it as by urging it forward. Those men of moderate tendencies who fought the Government on this question as though the *summum bonum* were to arouse the passion of the multitude against them were no real friends of the people. The tax had been voted, and was already being collected on the new scale, and nothing that could be said could reverse the accomplished act. Certainly it was no help to any good cause to drive into the minds of the people the proposition that in certifying the enhancement of the salt duty the Viceroy had knocked the bottom out of the reforms.

The central point in the controversy is the necessity of balancing the Budget. Was it of such overpowering importance that questions of ways and means could rightly become subordinate to this supreme purpose? A year before, the then Finance Minister, in the presence of a fifth deficit, had declared the balancing of the Budget to be a grave problem—nothing less than the solvency of the country. The Inchcape Committee took a not less serious view of the situation. It was clear, they reported, that the country could not afford the heavy charge involved by further large additions to the unproductive debt, and that if India is to remain solvent immediate steps must be taken to balance her Budget. Apart from a few *poco curante* members of the Assembly who dismissed the deficit of $4\frac{1}{4}$ crores with the airy assurance that it was "only a little one," there was general agreement that the balancing of the Budget was a matter of urgent necessity. An influential representative of the financial and commercial world of Bombay, the Hon. M. Lallubhai Samaldas, spoke in this wise: "The Budget ought to be balanced. There is no doubt about it. Those of us who have anything to do with commercial concerns realize that unless the Budget is balanced neither the

country nor the Government can have any credit with the outer world."

This is really the case of the Government of India, only it happens to have been stated by a very independent critic. They had to decide whether one more should be added to an unbroken series of five deficits, totalling somewhere about 100 crores of rupees. A new Finance member had come on the scene, but the decision to end the era of deficit at once was not his, for, according to reports which are widely credited in India, it had been taken before he arrived in the country, and the doubling of the salt duty was discussed at the same time. We may dismiss as the merest imagination the story that the Government of India were opposed to this policy, but that it was forced upon them by the Secretary of State. The Viceroy's explanatory memorandum is a carefully reasoned vindication of a policy embarked upon under strong conviction of necessity. What would the failure to balance the Budget have meant? In Sir Basil Blackett's words, it would have meant a deterioration in India's credit, an increase in the cost of borrowing, and a depletion of the reserves available for capital development. The way had to be cleared for entering upon a new stage in Indian finance, and it had to be done there and then. "If we do not make a start now we never shall" is a thought that may well have been in the mind of a financier who had just come from England, with a mission scarcely less serious than that which awaited James Wilson when he arrived in India over sixty years ago. The problem was psychological as well as financial. The public had to be impressed with a demonstration that the era of deficits was a closed chapter, and that the Government of India were determined to rehabilitate the credit of the country. There were not wanting commentators on their policy to whom this was clear enough. Above the storm of reprobation with which the Government were assailed the calm voice of reason was occasionally heard. The financial editors of some of the Anglo-Indian newspapers pointed out that

there was more in the controversy than an opportunity to chastise the Government. The investing public, they reminded their readers, would be reassured now that they knew that the Government had set their face against the further piling up of debt. In the financial columns of a leading newspaper at the middle of March we read that the prospect of having a Budget without a deficit was having a wholesome effect upon the financial situation, particularly in Government securities, which had advanced 1 to 2 per cent. on the week. In the money article of the same paper, at the end of March, there appeared the following comments on the situation: "The business community thoroughly sympathizes with the Government in its efforts to create a balanced Budget, and the opinion is gathering strength that the opposition to the salt duty is mainly political and sentimental, and that economically the duty is sound. . . . The country's financial salvation depends on a balanced Budget, and the Government's rate of borrowing next financial year also depends to a great extent on it, as a deficit Budget will again create doubt and distrust in the mind of the investing public."

Against considerations of this nature it avails little to argue that the $4\frac{1}{4}$ crores deficit was a trifle that might be left uncovered, or disposed of by some act of book-keeping camouflage. Here we have a case to which we may well apply Browning's words:

"The little more, and, oh, how much it is ;

The little less, and what a world away !"

The time had come when there was all the difference in the world between a balanced and an unbalanced Budget—when, indeed, the psychological element in public finance counted for much. The fact of Indian solvency had to be asserted, *urbi et orbi*, if the credit of the country were to be assured. Wisdom has been justified of her children. On May 5 *The Times* money article made this significant comment: "The balancing of India's Budget after a period of deficits has undoubtedly improved the credit of

India as a borrower, and this is reflected in the steady rise in her securities. Countries with budgetary deficits have not been able to take advantage of the great fall in interest rates, as a glance at the list of foreign Government bonds will show." And six weeks later we read in the same columns this further indication: "Since the date (March 1) when the determination of the Government of India to balance the Budget was announced rupee paper has advanced by 14 per cent. In 1921 $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was being paid to investors in this country. The sterling loan issued last month gave a return of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. only, and already stands at a premium of over two points above the price of issue. Meanwhile the floating debt of India is being substantially reduced."

There is no need to say another word in proof, first, of the necessity of balancing the Budget, and, in the second place, of the benefit that has thereby been rendered to the financial position in India. Was the enhancement of the salt duty the only, or at least the best available, means of achieving that most desirable purpose? The salt duty has, of course, this against it—that it stands out against an uninviting historical background. The tradition of the old Salt Line stretching across India as a barrier against free movement, and a protector of high prices, has left its mark upon the popular view of the duty, and it will not soon pass from the people's memory. But is any duty liked? The Government of India may fairly contend that of all forms of taxation that were open to them, this bears least heavily upon the contributor. Twenty years ago, when the duty was reduced from Rs. 2.8 to Rs. 1.4, Sir Edward Law, the Financial member whose pleasant task it was to make the reduction, explained that he did so not because the people felt the tax severely, but because he was, happily, in a position to take off half the duty. A general objection to taxing the poorer classes does not help us. What we want to know is whether the salt duty bears heavily upon those who pay it. The answer is that

it certainly does not. In a recently published handbook on the domestic budgets of the working classes of Bombay, by Mr. Shirras, the Director of Labour, it is shown that the mill labourer spends 56 per cent. of his earnings on food, and that his expenditure on salt represents only two-fifths of 1 per cent. of this. The more general computation is that the average cost of salt is a farthing a month for each person. Certainly the forecast that by doubling the duty on salt the Government had doubled the cost to the consumer has not been realized. The average increase in the price of salt in all India up to the middle of May was 34 per cent.; in some provinces, as in the Central Provinces, it was only 20 per cent.

We may confidently say, therefore, that no appreciable burden has been placed upon the poor of India by the enhanced salt duty. There remains the question whether, assuming that the duty, even at the enhanced figure, is a light one, an efficient substitute could have been found for it. We have the assurance of Sir Basil Blackett that every possible new tax had been considered, but one after another had been rejected for the reason either that it would not yield the sum that was necessary for balancing the Budget, or that it would impose a heavier burden upon the poor than the enhanced salt duty. There were conferences innumerable between members of the Assembly who had voted against the Government, with a view to finding an alternative, but no agreement could be arrived at upon any of those that were considered. Public opinion was hopelessly divided on the subject, and expedients which found favour in one Presidency were turned down elsewhere. Sir Basil Blackett had a number of advisers who tried to persuade him that the financial gap could be closed by a variety of book-keeping expedients. Military works, which always had been charged to revenue, were singled out as properly chargeable to capital—an expedient whose unwisdom he exposed by some instructive citations from English financial history during the Victorian period. Similarly, the temptation to transfer to capital account

annuities for railway redemption hitherto chargeable to revenue had to be resisted on the unassailable ground that assistance of this kind, being of the nature of a sinking fund, can properly be paid only out of revenue. From a Madras political association there came the suggestion that the money that was wanted could be raised by increasing the excise duties on Indian cotton goods. All that need be said of this curious proposal is that, while it would undoubtedly have given immense satisfaction in Lancashire, it would have been reprobated in India as a cruel reversal of the policy for which the country has passionately fought in the past.

I have little space left to me for dealing with the constitutional aspect of the controversy. Much use has been made of the argument that, as no emergency had arisen, the conditions contemplated in the Act had not been brought into existence, and therefore the Viceroy had acted beyond his powers. Whether this argument is accepted or rejected will depend on the view that is taken of the financial position at the time. We shall be helped in coming to a conclusion on this point by taking counsel with the Joint Committee. In their elucidation of Clause 25 they say in their report: "A power must be reserved to the Governor-General in Council of treating as sanctioned any expenditure which the Assembly may have refused to vote, if he considers the expenditure *necessary for the fulfilment of his responsibilities for the good government of the country*. It should be understood from the beginning that this power of the Governor-General in Council is real, and that it is meant to be used if and when necessary." If there is any validity whatever in the considerations that have been furnished in this article in support of the plea of urgency for the balancing of the Budget of 1923-1924, then the conditions contemplated in the passage I have quoted had most surely arisen. Much has been made of pledges given on eminent authority that the era of autocracy had ended, and that if taxation were imposed it would henceforth be imposed by the vote of the Assembly. But no pledge

should be taken as standing *in vacuo*. It must be read in relation to the conditions to which it is applied. Those who gave these assurances gave them with the knowledge that there were limiting conditions in the Act of 1919, which special conditions might render operative. The pledges must be read with the provisions of 67*b*.

No fair view of the circumstances will warrant the belief that the reforms have been endangered by the Viceroy's action. One of Lord Reading's critics in the debate asked how the reforms could prosper if every time a liberal measure were brought forward it were to be confronted by the Viceroy's veto. The question was unjust, and had no real relation to what had happened or to what is likely to happen. Everyone knows that the situation was exceptional, and the "every time" was a creation of the honourable member's imagination. As to the danger to the reforms which has been alleged to be a certain result of the action of the Government of India, I believe that the reforms rest on too broad a basis to have been put in jeopardy by a single act of the Executive. They will be subjected to a severe test at the coming elections, but if those who have loyally worked them hitherto, and are determined to work them loyally in the future, will put their whole strength into the contest, the Councils will come through the ordeal with an enlarged capacity for national service. The Moderates in various provinces, notably in Bombay, are organizing themselves for the coming contest, with every prospect of defeating the two factions who are opposed to them—the Congress faction, who are out for boycotting the Councils; and the Swaraj party, under Mr. Das, who want to be sent to the Councils in order that they may wreck them from inside. The Councils, taking them all round, have such excellent work of a practical nature to their credit that if they will take the trouble to bring their achievements home to the people there will be no fear of that "wrecking of the reforms" of which we have heard a little too much.

THE KENYA QUESTION

BY JAMNADAS DWARKADAS, M.L.A.,
Member of the Kenya Deputation in London.

FEW questions not directly concerning the people of this country have aroused the interest of the British Press so keenly as the Kenya question. It is, perhaps, due to the presence in England of a number of deputations waiting for the Conference at the Colonial Office at which the question is likely to be settled. In addition to the two deputations of the white and Indian settlers in Kenya, there is a deputation representing the Indian Legislature, headed by the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri; and the Imperial Citizenship Association has deputed Sir Dinshaw Petit and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, with Mr. C. F. Andrews as adviser. The presence of the Indian deputations is a proof of the importance attached in India to the settlement of this question, which affects not merely the territory of Kenya, but also India's future relations with the Empire.

There are four main points involved in the controversy :

1. The claim of the white settlers to reserve the Highlands.
2. The residential and commercial segregation of Indians in towns.
3. The franchise.
4. The restriction of immigration.

Let us take the first point. While the Indian settlers first went to Kenya more than two hundred years ago, the white settlers were attracted to it largely after the construction of the Uganda Railway. The place that attracted them most is called the Highlands, which are from 5,000 to 7,000 feet above the sea-level, and the climate is just suitable for people who emigrate from England. In response to the clamour of

the white settlers to reserve land for farming purposes in the Highlands exclusively for themselves, in 1908 Lord Elgin, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, announced that, while he could not by statute provide for any racial bar against Indians, for administrative convenience he would restrict the grant of land for farming purposes to white settlers only. Against this policy there was great resentment among the Indians, but when in 1915 Mr. Walter Long sanctioned an ordinance which prevented the transfer of land to Indians, even those Indians who had acquiesced in Lord Elgin's declaration expressed their resentment in unmistakable terms. The Indians contended that, assuming Lord Elgin's policy of restricting the original grant of land exclusively to Europeans was justified, the policy sanctioned by Mr. Long was in direct violation of the principle laid down by Lord Elgin—namely, that no racial bar could be made against Indians. It must be pointed out that both in Kenya as well as in India the policy of the reservation has been severely criticized. The Indian Legislative Assembly, by a resolution in 1922, protested against a speech made by Mr. Winston Churchill at the East African dinner, in which, though not officially, he declared himself to be in favour of reservation. Whatever settlement is arrived at in regard to the other points, it would be disastrous if a decision adverse to Indian claims were given on this point. By acquiescing in Lord Elgin's policy, Indians have given in a good deal, but to expect them to acquiesce for all time to come in a policy that discriminates against them as a race would be tantamount to asking the whole of India to accept a position of subordination and humiliation in the Empire. It would be a much better policy to leave this question undecided for the time being.

The second demand of the white settlers is as unreasonable as the first. Their contention is that Indians should be segregated in towns both for commercial as well as for residential purposes, in order to prevent the risk of the Europeans' health and morals being affected by constant contact with them. Let us examine this contention impartially. It cannot be

denied that in any country, even where people belong to the same race, a healthy and a clean class would be adversely affected by a class of people who, by their education, their breeding, and, above all, their economic condition, are not qualified to live in consonance with the high standard of living accepted by the former class. At the same time, it must be pointed out that it is wrong to make it a racial question. In no country does a bar obtain against people staying in the same locality on the ground of race. The best remedy in the circumstances would be to get the local municipality to frame the building and sanitation laws of a stringent character, so that only those, whether white or coloured, who would conform to those laws would be able to live in the same locality. What is obviously a class division of the kind that obtains naturally and inevitably in every civilized country should not be used for provoking race antagonism by shutting out Indians, *qua* Indians, from the occupation of houses even if they are ready to respond to the most severe laws of building and sanitation. This question of segregation in Kenya ought not to offer any greater difficulty than in any other country; and if, instead of asking for suitable municipal legislation, the white settlers would persist in asking for racial segregation, the only obvious interpretation would be placed on their attitude—namely, a desire to assert their racial superiority.

Let us now come to the third point on which an immediate settlement is absolutely necessary. The population of Kenya consists of about 8,000 white settlers (including officials), about 25,000 Indian settlers, about 10,000 Arab and other settlers, and about 3,000,000 East African natives who are still in the primitive stage of civilization. The affairs of Kenya are administered under the Imperial Government by a Governor, with the help of a Legislative Council consisting of eighteen officials and eleven Europeans who are non-officials and elected by the population of the white settlers enjoying an adult franchise. Indians, on the other hand, enjoy no franchise whatsoever, but are supposed to be represented by four among them who are nominated by Government. The

Governor takes his orders from the Colonial Office, and the Legislative Council acts more or less as an advisory body, influencing by all means, but not directing, the actions of the Government. Indians naturally resent this very strongly; not only are they more numerous, but they pay a much larger portion of the total revenue than the Europeans. They went to Kenya long before the white settlers contemplated immigration, and it is admitted that one of the objects of the British Administration in Kenya was to safeguard the interests "of our Indian fellow-subjects." In conceding the right of election to the white settlers, and withholding it unjustly from the Indian settlers, the Colonial Office adopted a policy which nourished the yearning in the hearts of the white settlers for racial domination, which they had now and again made manifest in their unjust demands regarding the Highlands and segregation, and in individual instances of the treatment they accorded to their Indian fellow-subjects. If the Colonial Office finds itself in difficulty now over the Kenya question, it is largely due to its acts of omission and commission in the past, and by differentiating in the matter of franchise between the white and the coloured population they struck a blow to the fundamental idea of equality within the Empire. Undoubtedly, the awakening of political consciousness in India was not without its effect in Kenya, and the Kenya Indians, naturally indignant at this treatment, started an agitation demanding equal rights. Many an attempt has been made to settle this question. The last was made in January, 1923, by the settlement arrived at between Major Wood of the Colonial Office and Earl Winterton, the Under-Secretary of State for India. This settlement is commonly known as the "Wood-Winterton Agreement." It provides that the qualification for the vote in Kenya should be so raised as to enfranchise not more than one-tenth of the Indian population, and that Indians should have four out of eleven elected representatives in the Legislative Council. The new qualification was not to apply to those Europeans who already enjoyed the franchise. Further, that a *common* register of all the voters was to be prepared, and

representatives, European and Indian, who sat in the Legislative Council were not exclusively spokesmen for their own communities, but represented jointly both the communities as a whole. In the first place, a settlement of this character would fail to satisfy even a moderate Indian; but as the Government of India and the India Office accepted this settlement, and as the Indians looked upon it as a reasonably good working basis, both Indians in Kenya and in India were prepared to lend their support to this agreement. The attitude of the white settlers, however, has prevented the Colonial Office from enforcing the terms of this agreement. The Colonial Office, however, will soon have to face this question, and it should be clearly understood that even the most moderate among Indians will refuse to acquiesce in the further whittling down of these terms. The objection of the white settlers, it appears, is mainly to the provision of the common register. It would mean the compulsory reliance of the candidates of each community on the voters, not only belonging to their own community, but to the other community as well. While the existence of a system of this character would offer the same advantage and disadvantage (if any) equally to both the communities, the objection of the white settlers can only be traced to their supposed humiliation in being forced to approach constituents belonging to an inferior race for the purpose of gaining their votes. As in the first two points, again in this point also, we are faced with the same problem of the inherent prejudice of the white settler against the Indian on the ground of race. We Indians can never accept a compromise on this point, for acquiescence in a communal register would mean, both inside and outside the Council, the perpetuation of that racial prejudice and racial antagonism which are at the bottom of the whole problem, not only in Kenya, but in various parts of the world. The insistence of Indians on a common register should not be misunderstood. It arises out of an honest conviction that the welfare of the Empire can be best secured by establishing goodwill, close co-operation, mutual trust and love, among the races that form

the Empire. To yield to the desire for an assertion of racial superiority is to create a further obstacle in the building up and in the eventual capacity for service of the Empire.

The last and, perhaps, the most important question is that of immigration. The white settlers demand that Indian immigration should be restricted "in the interest of the natives." They also urge that there is a fear that if Indians were allowed the right of free immigration the white settlers would be swamped, and it would eventually mean Indian domination in Kenya. There is no ground for such fear. The figures for the last five years prove conclusively that immigration has not been in such numbers as to justify this alarm. The Indian temperament is opposed to immigration, and the desire for domination has never existed in India. As to the danger to native interests and civilization, it is futile to argue that Indians, who have known what it has been to be an oppressed nation, would in any way be a greater danger than the white settlers belonging to a dominating race. There is evidence that the natives have learned more from their contact with Indian immigrants, and that they have suffered more ill-treatment at the hands of some white settlers. Indians are not an uncivilized race, and the civilization of India is more akin to the native of Africa than that of the West. But, above all, in a Crown Colony, governed in accordance with the orders of the Colonial Office, what right has one immigrant community to dictate the policy to another immigrant community? It must be remembered that Indian and European are both fellow-citizens of the same Empire, and, more than that, are largely interested in the advancement of the natives. The right to allow one community to dictate to the other would not only be detrimental to the interests of the latter, but would largely endanger the interests of the native population, whose protection arises from the mutual check exercised by one immigrant community over the other. The continuous demand for a policy of restriction to Indian immigration raises a shrewd suspicion of a desire for complete domination on the part of the white settler, coupled with an unrestricted right of

the free exploitation of natives. It is clear, therefore, that if immigration is to be free it should be so for both the communities. That is not only a fair arrangement between two partners of an Empire, but is also in the real interests of the native population. If, however, in future the interests of the natives really demand a restricted policy, it should be so devised as to operate not exclusively against one community, but, both in theory and practice, equally against both communities. No other position than this is acceptable to Indians on the question of immigration.

Having dealt with these four points, it is but right that one good result of the acute controversy should be noted. Only a few months ago the question was confined to a dispute between the claims of Indians against those of the white settlers. With the development of the controversy, however, there has emerged a consideration of a very humane character, the consideration of the interests of the native population, which was curiously an obscure factor for a long time, exploited only now and again for the purposes of argument in favour of a one-sided contention. The emergence of this factor is not only wholesome, but does credit to all concerned. So far as Indians are concerned, if, in the interests of the natives, reversion to an honest Crown Colony Government is the only solution, they would gladly accept it. After all, the aim of the British policy should be to administer the affairs until such time as the natives are prepared to take the administration in their own hands under the ægis of the British Empire. That time is, no doubt, distant—very distant, indeed. But until such time comes no one community should be allowed to control the destiny of Kenya. The Imperial Government alone can act as a trustee of native interests, and if rights of an advisory character have to be conceded to immigrant communities, all such communities should be treated equally.

It has been our boast that the British Empire rests on the principles of brotherhood, love, and equality. However much ignorance may claim the superiority of one race of God's children over another, it has been proved beyond all doubt that

the races that allowed their blood to be mingled in dying for liberty during the war cannot but be treated as equals. The Kenya question is regarded as a test of the Empire. British statesmanship is faced with two alternatives : to yield to the threat held out by the white settlers of a resort to violence and compromise the legitimate case of their Indian fellow-subjects. The consequences would be disastrous, in as much as India would lose faith in the Empire, and in the twentieth century no one nation can hold another nation merely by force of arms. The nations can be held together by the bond of goodwill, co-operation, and mutual love. The second alternative for Great Britain is to give a right decision, which would strengthen the bonds between the component parts of the Empire, and render it worthy of the service to humanity which is in store for it in years to come.

CHINA WAITING FOR DEVELOPMENT

BY CHAO-HSIN CHU,

Chinese Chargé d'Affaires, London

EVERYONE agrees that China needs development, even those who are perhaps at the present moment the most severe critics of the existing measure of internal troubles. Trade in China is, however, the life of the nation, and politics are not. Therein it differs from other countries which I could mention by name, but abstain from doing so. Accordingly, the theme I have selected is as appropriate now as it ever was, and, as a matter of fact, a good deal more so, in view of the inevitable influences of Western civilization.

Little is popularly known about China ; such as is known is a little indefinite. The country is 4,300,000 square miles in size, or larger than the United States and Argentina put together. In comparison, France is only 213,000 square miles and Germany 208,780 square miles. The size of Szechuen Province is as large as one of these two Powers. China's population is about 420,000,000, or about the same amount as that of the entire British Empire, including India. Its commercial activity is probably unparalleled in the world's history ; the thrift of its people, in a country where there are relatively few rich men, is world-renowned. It is a purely agricultural country, though there are beginnings of what, in the Western phrase, is known as industrialism, more especially in cotton goods manufacture and coal-mining. Its supply of agricultural products is unlimited, because of the general richness of the soil and the abundance of water, and because of the varying temperatures from North to South and East to West. Its mineral products are also very rich, and one day industrial development, now in its infancy, will be unrivalled. In other words, China produces everything she wants and can consume everything she produces, with a surplus for outside exportation. Thus she is a self-supporting country.

All countries are in a state of evolution. What, therefore, will be the future of China in respect to industrialism? At present all manufactured goods are imported mainly from abroad, especially machinery, woollen and cotton goods, leather goods, and the like. Yet there are, as I have said above, evidences of growing industrialization. Such factories as exist are established in the large cities, with the inevitable result that the local congestion of population becomes more and more pronounced. In short, the country is beginning to tread the industrial path taken by most Western countries in the nineteenth century. Its progress is bringing with it all the same problems which then faced Europe, and perhaps in an aggravated form, and we have yet to see if we shall solve them on the same lines. The most acute is the labour problem, which needs to be solved and should be solved, the sooner the better, in order to avoid hardship and disturbances which always follow in the train of unregulated industrialism, such as is entailed by long hours, low wages, overcrowding, and child and female labour. We have the opportunity of profiting by the experiences of others, and while personally I am not in favour of much encouragement of industrial life other than due to slow and normal evolution, I realize that if it has to come we had better be prepared, to avoid mistakes which may be irreparable. In any case we cannot introduce Western capitalistic methods as applied to industry into China: there must be modification. This can be effected in the early stages of the process far better than later on. In other words—at least, according to my opinion—more freedom must be given in China to individual development, and I would prefer to see greater scope for purely private enterprise. Harmony of interworking between Capital and Labour is especially vital to China. This would do away with any incentive to Bolshevism, which would find no way of invading the country if the people were satisfied with their mode of life and their normal domestic arrangements as permitted by their economic position.

In other words, China is coming forward, and ought to come forward, as an industrial country only in the later stages of her

national evolution. This may be a disadvantage, because development is retarded; on the other hand, it may be an advantage, because progress will be more smooth working—slower, indeed, but safer. Perhaps I am not alone in thinking that if for the time being China can be maintained as an agricultural country, the result for her well-being and happiness will be much greater. Every villager owns his house; most of the farmers own and cultivate their fields. A harvest, figured in English money, may be valued at only a few guineas, but it means affluence to a farmer. These can well satisfy their wants, and they are really happy. In fact, agriculture sometimes makes a better country and produces better citizens. Industrialism may bring wealth and add to material comfort, but in an agricultural nation you will find no agitation, no revolutionary tendencies, no dynamic outbursts, no excesses. The nation will be kept in static development; there will, on the whole, be greater health and more pure contentment. Advancement may be slower, but it will be gradual and permanent.

Yet I am not disposed to deny that China cannot escape from the advancing wave of industrialism. I only urge preparation and anticipation. To some extent I think it is inevitable and necessary for China to develop her various new industries, which she can do so well by making use of her cheap labour—and labour, though cheap, need not be discontented—and her vast supply of raw materials, which, with better transport, would be to hand almost everywhere. Thereby she would supply the demands for certain kinds of manufactured goods at home and yet not conflict with the impulse for certain kinds of imported articles from abroad.

It is, however, in the first place, essential to remember that agricultural products are much needed both at home and abroad, since the market in other countries is worldwide, while there is a vast consuming population in China itself. Moreover, there is ample scope at present for opening up China's mineral resources. These have remained untouched for thousands of years, and contain wealth almost undreamed of.

Herein lie two great openings for the country's activities—mineral development and agricultural improvement.

On these lines we could well look to economic equilibrium, and thus also it would be possible to ensure a peaceful people, and with such a people a stable Government. The next task would be to co-ordinate effort in building up the latter. In accordance with modern tendency, this should be looked for on the lines of provincial autonomy, with the fullest possible opportunities for self-development, both in the individual and in the mass. The National Republic will be the easiest form of superstructure on a subdivision of government which ensures the preservation, and effects the exploitation, of all the best qualities of the people. It is to China that the idea of a World Democracy is most easily applicable. I am aware that there are current political disturbances. They are not uncommon either in China or in any other country, but they are purely temporary. They represent the inevitable working of reorganization and reconstruction due to a change in the form of government, which comes as a novelty to a people which for centuries has existed under quite another régime. Other nations, as history shows, have long periods of disturbed transition. Universal education and political awakening will improve the situation from year to year, and public opinion, on which stability can alone be firmly established, is not only forming, but even now has reached a high level of influence and consolidation. However long and troubled the period of transition is, the result will be acceptable to the new people. They are content to wait in the sure conviction that the harvest will be worthy of the sowing, ripening, and reaping. Sir John Jordan has rightly said that, given time and patience, the Chinese will work out their own salvation and earn for themselves the place in the family of nations to which their numbers, intelligence, and industry so fully entitle them. I thank him for his sentiment, and agree with him on the point. Foreign interference will not only not aid, but will make the task doubly difficult.

Already China has adopted a policy which is consonant with

her needs of the day and with her prospects of the future. China stands for the Open Door of opportunity for all, for equal measure of commercial participation to those who wish to participate, for the absence of special spheres of influence—always a subject of foreign conflict and home peril—for the refusal to acquiesce in any trade monopoly, for no foreign intervention in her internal affairs, and for rigid honesty in the fulfilment of all her foreign obligations and the payment of all her foreign debts. This applies to all unsecured as well as to secured debts, which in dollars may appear high, but which in value, especially in reference to the taxable and taxed capacity of the people, are trifling in their burden. No Western nation but would in point of taxation change places with China. No Western country can show so small a debt reckoned *per capita* over the entire population. It is but a few shillings at the most.

China, too, is wealthy, because she is so little developed and possesses such great potentialities for development. Her railways barely scratch the surface of developable country—profitably developable. To this end some of the new lines should be built, such as the Szechuen-Hankow line, while some of the uncompleted lines should be finished, and these include the Canton-Hankow and the Lung-Tsin-U-Hai lines. The first-named would connect the Peking-Hankow line stretching to the North and the Canton-Hankow line stretching to the South. Over this line agricultural and mineral products would be carried from the remotest parts of the interior to the Treaty ports. Take the case of the Province of Szechuen. Eggs are so cheap that a price according to Western ideas is barely quotable. The supply of rice and wheat is illimitable and unlimited. The cost of living in this province can be reckoned at less than twopence a day, while in the Treaty and trade ports it is very much higher. If the surplus of food and kindred products could, by the improvement of transportation, be better and more widely distributed, the cost of living could be reduced throughout most of the country generally.

Of the Canton-Hankow line there is only about 200 miles uncompleted—between Chuchow and Suikwan. This line is known as the Hukuang Railway. For the complete termination of the work of construction, together with the provision of adequate rolling stock for the whole line between Canton and Hankow, the cost is assessed by experts at not more than about five million sterling, and the work, since the line has been surveyed, would not need more than three years to reach a satisfactory conclusion. There is a little history affecting the Hukuang Railway Bonds, which are largely held in London. The price was once as low as 45, and recently went up to 55, though it used to be 65 or thereabouts last November. The fall is due to the fact that the investing public were alarmed owing to a rumour that payment of the interest for December 15 last would be postponed as a result of internal troubles in China; but the Peking Government, as usual, furnished the necessary funds, and the full liability was duly met. Of course, the line is not paying, owing to its incomplete condition, but according to the terms of the loan agreement, the guarantee for payment both of interest and principal is provided, not merely by the line itself, but also by the salt and rice revenues of the Hupeh and Hunan provinces, and, in the ultimate result, by the Chinese Government itself. Accordingly, the payment of interest for last December and for June 15 last were both made from the salt surplus under the Central Government. Yet such was the unsettling effect on the market quotations of the loan of the rumours to which I have alluded, and such was the ignorance of the investing public, that the price to-day has not yet recovered. This, though, is merely a matter of time, since the loan is as secure as any other railway loan, like the Tientsin-Pukow Railway Loan, or the Honan Railway Loan, or the Shanghai-Nanking Bonds, whose prices remain high. Remember, in short, that when once the 200 miles of the Hukuang section to which I have referred are completed, the railway will be worked at a handsome profit, both by reason of its important situation and the dense population along the whole stretch of country.

Let me turn for a moment to the Lung-Tsin-U-Hai Railway Bonds. A large part of this line has been completed, at all events in the centre across the Honan and Kiangsu provinces, leaving only the extreme west end and the extreme east end still to be finished. If the whole line is finished, the products of Kansu and Shensi provinces will be carried out to the port of Hai-chow on the open China Sea. In short, this line is just as important and potentially prosperous as the Canton-Hankow and Szechuen-Hankow lines.

There is a great future in China for all railway construction. Labour is cheap; some sorts of material specially adapted to constructional work are plentiful. In many respects there is no shortage of what I may call building material, while engineering assistance and rolling stock can be obtained from Western countries. All that is needed to help China to build more railways or to complete those in a state of partial construction is foreign capital. China has capital, but her capital has for the most part been invested in the existing industries. According to the well-known economic principle, new industries require new capital. China herself has not much free money at home, so foreign capital is required and is welcome. The war interfered with the building of the above-mentioned lines. Foreign financiers could not fulfil their promises to furnish money during the progress of hostilities, and now, after the war, no offer has been made to China for even completing the important lines to which attention has been called. These lines therefore remain unfinished, and are not in consequence remunerative, with the result that the Chinese Government has to bear the expense both of maintaining the lines and of paying the interest and the principal of the loans. Foreign creditors are to some extent suffering from the widespread but unfounded rumours of inability to pay, but they can rest assured that their claims will be met, though the delay in the constructional work is far more disastrous to the Chinese Government than to the bondholders. Yet so convinced is China of the value of railways that the Government will gladly construct more lines if it can afford to do so. It holds this

view because it knows well that prosperity and economic development follow the extension of every railway-line. This has been established in Northern China—never so rich a country as the South—but where a glance at the map will show how the land has been opened out and up by railway construction. Far more lines exist there than in the South, with the result that transportation is convenient, easy, and benefiting the people, who find the advantage of improved communications a source of certain revenue and increased personal comfort.

Moreover, railways will not only help to develop commerce, but will tend to establish and promote political tranquillity. Unification will be easier, nearer, and more effective when the Hukuang Railway is completed. Thereby the extreme North and the extreme South will be brought within a few days of each other, with the result that political disturbances will be lessened at once and in time removed by the centralization of government, the co-ordination of provincial activities, and the better mutual understanding of the different peoples. Traffic and communication are the great promoters of peace and tranquillity. Hence, like most Chinese who understand the problem, I should welcome the resumption of constructional work on these lines if foreign capital should become available. We need it urgently for this purpose, and I feel certain the Chinese Government will not hesitate to open negotiations when a good and reasonable offer is forthcoming.

To lend money to China for any unproductive use is not advisable, but for such productive purposes as railway construction it is both fitting and proper and remunerative. It is true that some persons hold the view that no loan should be made to China, and that China should be compelled to do as best she can, without a penny of foreign assistance. The view has no real foundation either in fitness or intelligence if applied to all aspects of Chinese life, since foreign capital for railway and kindred productive work stands on quite a special plane. Without such capital how can China develop? How start on the work of modernization? As it is she cannot afford

to finish even the uncompleted railway-lines ; she cannot afford to buy railway materials from Western countries or to pay Western engineers for their help and direction in constructional undertakings ; she cannot afford money to pay for either locomotives or rolling stock from foreign manufacturers without a further supply of foreign capital. Hence, unless such assistance is forthcoming, I see no chance of the incomplete railway-lines being finished for many years to come. All new development will be impossible.

Let me, in short, point out that foreign financiers need not be afraid either as to the liabilities or the ability to meet obligations to pay of the Chinese Government. If they lend money to China for railway construction, there is no doubt of the ability of the lines to pay when once they have been built. As before the war, the Chinese Government will be ready and willing to afford all direct State guarantees for any railway loan which may be accepted. It will do so because it knows that the dense population and the vast natural resources of the country will afford an absolute certainty for the success of any approved railway scheme. In this policy China follows on American lines. The United States constructed many lines extending to uninhabited territories. They did not pay at first, but they paid richly afterwards. Australia is adopting the same policy. It ran the initial risk, but the results are justifying the policy, and will increasingly do so. Railways in China are profitable enterprises from the very start, since the population is on the spot and ready to welcome the innovation. In the case of the countries mentioned there was delay and possibly a little uncertainty in awaiting the full fruition of enterprise. There is none in China. The country as a whole will from every standpoint be benefited by the improvement of the means of transportation, while the world will be equally benefited by opening up a vast potential market for its manufactures and by ensuring an easy outflow of the illimitable natural products upon which its ever-increasing industrialism depends.

In short, the present political unrest in no way stands in the

way of economic development. In fact, it can be said that the sooner we reach a crisis in the political situation, the sooner will come the turning-point in our post-war recovery. People will interest themselves, and are interesting themselves, more keenly in national affairs, and will thereby contribute to the bringing about more speedily of a solution of the critical problem now confronting them. It is, perhaps, characteristic of the Chinese people that they have hitherto not taken such an interest, but the change now setting in is all to the good. In any case, China, in spite of politics, is economically improving, and therein we Chinese find ground for optimism and encouragement. To borrow a familiar Western metaphor, we may be groping in the dark, and awaiting the dawn, but we are all confident that this is at hand.

COMMERCIAL PROSPECTS OF BURMA WOODS

BY ALEXANDER L. HOWARD

IN the course of the last few years, since the Government of Burma inaugurated the new policy of exporting their valuable timbers to the United Kingdom and the Continent, there has been considerable progress made in this development of the resources of the Empire, although there is still room for a vast expansion.

At the annual Burma dinner held in London at the beginning of June, the late Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Reginald Craddock, K.C.S.I., made a pointed reference to the richness of the country of Burma in regard to its timber, and in the course of his remarks he urged all who had any desire to get rich quickly to invest all the money they had in that "land of promise."

It is a striking fact that while in 1920 Great Britain imported timber to the value of £82,000,000, yet the meagre proportion sent by India and Burma only amounted in value to £700,000, and this was, as the trade returns put it, "mostly teak." Yet the vast forest area of the State in Burma contains timbers the value of which is unsurpassed in any other forest area in the world. In a lecture delivered on June 1 by Mr. Austin Kendall at the Royal Society of Arts, the lecturer said that since "1907 the local production of resin (in India) has advanced from 5,000 cwt. to 82,000 cwt. . . . Similarly, Indian production of turpentine rose from 16,000 gallons to 279,000 gallons." It is indeed much to be regretted that as yet the same vigorous rate of advance cannot be quoted in regard to timber.

Much, however, has been accomplished. In January, 1921, when the regular liner ships refused to carry timber except at prohibitive rates, the s.s. *Rhodesia* was chartered at a record low rate of freight—namely, 70s. per 50 cubic feet measured in the round. This ship was followed later by the

s.s. *Clan Colquhoun*, which in consideration of a higher rate of 80s. collected freight both in Rangoon and Port Blaer, and delivered both to Rotterdam and to London. This was the first instance of a direct shipment loaded in the Andaman Islands. Other boats chartered since that date were the *Dalworth* (rate of freight 65s.), the *Baron Lovat* (rate of freight 60s.), and the *Australic* (rate of freight 50s.). It will be noticed that the rate of freight has steadily fallen.

During this period the demand for India and Burma timbers has steadily increased. It would be no exaggeration to say that the value of work carried out in these woods amounts to well over one million pounds, and they are to be seen used for decorative and constructional purposes in buildings both public and private all over London and throughout the provinces. Especially noticeable in this connection is the wonderful expansion in the consumption of teak. At the outset of the experiment of sending teak home in the round as it comes from the forests, it was constantly asserted that teak could not be sold in this form. Not only has this statement been falsified by the course of events, but larger quantities of this round teak have been sold than even the most sanguine had anticipated, and the purchases have proved wholly satisfactory to the buyers. There have been many instances where teak has been used where previously it would have been barred on account of its price. Railway companies which had been forced to abandon the use of teak for railway-carriage construction have been able to utilize it once more now that it is obtainable at a moderate cost.

The standard prices at which all the fine Burma hardwoods have been available during the nearly seventy years in which the Forest Service has been established in Burma has been on a ridiculously inadequate basis. Yet in the last few years these prices have so appreciated that for many timbers they have become almost on a level with that of teak itself. Notwithstanding this satisfactory advance, however, many of these woods are still obtainable at a price which compares well with that of all other hardwoods used for similar purposes.

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The following comparative prices, for instance, may be quoted :

	Per Foot Super.					Per Foot Super.			
	s.	d.		s.	d.	d.	s.	d.	
Mahogany:									
Honduras ...	1	9	to	2	6	Burma Padauk...	10	to	2 0
Cuba ...	3	6	,,	5	0	Gurjun ...	5	,,	0 9
Oak ...	1	6	,,	2	6				

Out of these supplies of fine Burma woods some fifty logs have been selected which in their high quality and beautiful appearance have in every respect equalled any other of the most decorative timbers of the world, such as, for instance, mahogany or satinwood. For many years past there has been a regular and continuous export of satinwood from Ceylon to all parts of the world. It is known throughout India and China, Europe absorbs large quantities, it is exported to Australia and Africa, while in America it realizes the very highest prices for the finest decorative work, for its great beauty of colour and figure is universally known and appreciated. Yet one individual log of Burma padauk (*Pterocarpus macrocarpus*) received in London within the last two years certainly equalled, if it did not surpass, in colour, figure, and texture, the finest satinwood ever yielded by the forests of Ceylon. These two woods are indeed very similar, though the padauk is a rich red colour, which soon tones down with exposure to a beautiful golden-rose shade. This particular tree realized for the Government of Burma the sum of Rs. 1,600 per ton as it lay in the forest.

In this question of introducing new woods on to the market the example of the United States may well be followed. It is no exaggeration to say that the timbers of America are known and used all over the world; such is the effect of vigorous American propaganda. In travelling out to the East, I found carpenters in Port Said working an American hardwood which had been brought from 2,000 miles inland to the American seaboard. In the railway between Calcutta and Darjeeling I found railway-carriages panelled with American satin walnut (*Liquidambar styraciflua*). In that very part of Bengal through which the train was running grow

large quantities of hollock (*Terminalia myriocarpa*), a highly decorative timber perfectly suitable for railway-carriage panelling, but which is at present utilized chiefly for the making of boxes.

It is no exaggeration to say that only a small fraction of the great forest wealth of Burma has been available up to date, for there are extensive areas almost untouched, and these represent a large capital locked up, and not only lying idle, but even deteriorating. Indeed, it is only in the exploitation of teak that the development of the forest resources has received the attention it merits. It is interesting to note that in other parts of the East, where teak is more costly and less easy to obtain, other timbers are used with success, in spite of the oft-repeated asseveration that any other wood but teak is useless to withstand the attack of the white ant. In Ceylon, for instance, the woods most used in the order of their importance are: Jak (*Artocarpus integrifolia*), sapu (*Michelia Champaca*), nedun (*Pericopsis Mooniana*), and, lastly, teak, which is less used than any other.

Much larger quantities of these Burma timbers could have been absorbed had there been better facilities for transport within the country, for the conversion of the extracted timber and for its export to the United Kingdom and Europe. In these respects it must be said that Burma is far behind the times. The revenue obtainable from the forests by the Government of Burma is closely interrelated with these matters, and the whole question is likely soon to become one of urgent and critical consideration. In the majority of other countries the realization of their timbers has been a matter of vital importance, and, indeed, of primary necessity to the very existence of the State. But in Burma it is very different, and until now the necessity has never arisen. In her comparatively primitive methods of exploiting her forests she lags far behind other countries, and in all directions new methods are necessary to facilitate and cheapen extraction.

The lack of communications, which has rested like a blight on all prospects of developing the country for many years past,

has nowhere been more felt than in the forests. The railway service may be said to be hardly developed at all, and while the Irrawaddy and other rivers are available, yet these two means of communication are very inadequate. Roads must be made, railways laid down, and even ships purchased, if a successful trade in these valuable timbers is to be generated. The port of Rangoon, which even now ranks thirty-second in volume of trade amongst the ports of the entire world, is capable of much greater expansion, and this would be facilitated were it free and open to all. Development on such lines as these will result in an organization which will ensure regular and consistent supplies, for it is of little avail to seek for and develop new markets for timber if supplies are not forthcoming which are adequate both in quality and in quantity. One of the noticeable features which hampers the extension of trade in Burma is the lack of healthy competition; and were this not so, progress would proceed more rapidly, for, as Alfred Marshall says in "Industry and Trade," "in a truly open market competition is often constructive and not ungenerous."

When I had the honour of addressing the Legislative Assembly in Delhi last year, I called attention to an important aspect of this subject, and that is the question of development by Government and development by private firms. Personally I am convinced that it is only by actual Government initiation and exploitation that these timbers can be brought into common use. For many years Government have endeavoured to encourage private trading firms to exploit these lesser-known native timbers, but they have so far met with little success, and I do not think they will meet with much more in the future. The whole problem suggests itself as too complicated and hazardous an enterprise for any private or public corporate trading concern to undertake, until it has been established by Government on a firm and substantial basis. It may be argued that both Government assistance and co-operation have been largely dispensed with in other countries, and that this might well be so in Burma. The answer to this is that in most countries where private enterprise

in forest industry has been pre-eminently successful there has been unlimited freedom and independence of action throughout the industry. In Burma, however, the forests are the property of Government, and Government is pledged to manage them with the object, not only of maintaining them in their present condition, but of improving them to the greatest possible extent in the interests of future generations. Unlimited freedom of action for private enterprise is therefore impossible in Burma.

If the considerations which I have briefly outlined be borne in mind, they may perhaps help towards securing a prosperous future for the timber trade in Burma, and so assist that great province to take the place among the countries of the Empire to which by her wealth and her position she is entitled.

THE POLITICAL CRISIS IN INDIA

BY SIR M. DE P. WEBB, KT., C.I.E., C.B.E., M.L.A. (INDIA)

WITH the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919 (9 and 10 of George V.) the British Parliament gave legislative effect to their declared policy of providing "for the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire."

At that time there were very many (I confess that I myself was amongst the number), who felt some anxiety lest Great Britain, in her desire to give to India all the advantages of self-government that she herself enjoyed, was moving too fast for the East, which, from lack of direct contact with the outside world, and in consequence insufficient knowledge of world affairs, is very conservative in thought, outlook, and action. Then, too, it was impossible to shut one's eyes to the many cleavages between race and race, religion and religion, caste and caste—cleavages so broad and so deep that it seemed doubtful whether the spirit of tolerance and the practice of compromise, so important in the everyday work of government, could be expected to bridge them at that stage of India's development. Further, and perhaps most important of all, it seemed doubtful whether India could produce in sufficient numbers Indian political leaders possessed of the necessary knowledge and broadness of mind, *and at the same time commanding the confidence and active support of all castes and creeds*, to carry on this new idea of democratic self-government. For without the willing acquiescence of the great mass of the people no Government in the world can expect to function for very long. Whatever doubts the more conservative types of British minds in England and India may have felt about these matters, the Coalition Government then in power in

the United Kingdom decided to make a move forward ; and the Government of India Act was accordingly passed by Parliament and entered in the Statute Book. Most criticisms were silenced ; and both Europeans and Indians proceeded to make the best of the new, reformed Constitution for India. That the new Parliaments for India might start well, His Majesty the King-Emperor sent H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught to inaugurate the new Central Legislature. The formal ceremony took place in the Assembly Chamber, Delhi, on February 9, 1921. As the impressions then made were of great moment, it will be necessary to recall some of the actual words used and the promises then made.

In the course of his opening speech His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, recalled certain constitutional stages through which India had passed—periods ending in 1861, in 1892, and in 1919. The transition from the almost irresponsible autocracy of the first half of the last century to the responsible dyarchy of to-day, though perhaps slow in the eyes of impatient idealists, had been by way of a steady and continuously increasing association of the governed with the Government. Lord Chelmsford particularly pointed out the great significance of the Act of 1919, which, he stated, “involved a great and memorable departure from the old system of Government. *It closed one era and opened another.*”

A few minutes later His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught read a message from His Majesty the King-Emperor, in the course of which His Majesty said :

“For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their motherland. To-day you have the beginnings of Swaraj within my Empire, and widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy.”

His Royal Highness then addressed the Assembly. In the course of his remarks he said :

"The principle of autocracy has all been abandoned. Its retention would have been incompatible with that contentment which had been declared by her late Majesty, Queen Victoria, to be the aim of British rule, and would have been inconsistent with the legitimate demands and aspirations of the Indian people, and the stage of political development which they have attained."

Following on these assurances of increased powers and responsibilities, the Finance Member (Sir Malcolm Hailey), when introducing to the new Legislature its first Budget, on March 1, 1921, confirmed the impression given three weeks previously, that autocracy had passed away. Thus, after explaining to the Assembly the new financial responsibilities on its shoulders, he went on :

"This House may—no doubt will—criticize the wisdom of measures that have been undertaken by us in the past, when the sole responsibility was ours. But for the future they will have to share that responsibility. If we incur expenditure, it will be under their mandate. If we impose taxation, it will be by their vote."

Here was a distinct and specific promise. If new expenditure or new taxation had to be imposed, *it would be only with the assent of the Indian Legislative Assembly.*

At this point it is necessary to recall certain sections of the Government of India Act. In order to provide against ignorance, obstinacy, or obstructive or wrecking tactics on the part of the Legislature, provision has been made in Sections 67a and 67b to enable the Government to overrule the Legislature and carry on, notwithstanding an adverse vote or series of votes. Thus, if the Legislative Assembly refused, for example, to sanction expenditure which Government consider necessary, then the Governor-General in Council can, if he declares the expenditure to be in his opinion essential, incur that expenditure notwithstanding the Assembly's adverse vote (Section 67a). So, too, if the Assembly refuses to vote taxation in the form or to the extent recommended by the Governor-General, then

the Governor-General can certify that the Bill imposing the Government's proposed taxation is "essential for the safety, tranquillity, or interests of British India," in which case the Bill, after certain formalities have been completed, becomes an Act. In this case the Act must be laid before the House of Commons for not less than eight days before it is presented for the assent of the King-Emperor. Upon His Majesty signifying his assent, and the Governor-General of India notifying the same, the Act has the full force and effect of law. But the Governor-General can, if in his opinion "a state of emergency exists which justifies such action," direct that an Act which he has "certified" shall come into operation immediately. In this case the Act becomes law at once, but is subject to disallowance by His Majesty the King-Emperor in Council.

The provision of these emergency safety-devices is quite sound, and nobody objects to them. But they are very obviously emergency devices, to be employed in cases of grave complication, and then only if the "safety, tranquillity, or interests" (Section 67b) of the country absolutely demand them. To overrule the Legislature in matters of ordinary business routine merely when there happened to be some difference of opinion between Government and the Legislature would be to ignore H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught's assurance that "the principle of autocracy has all been abandoned." Far better the Indian Legislature should make one or two mistakes than lose confidence in the Royal promise.

Let us now examine briefly some of the activities of the newly created Legislative Assembly, which commenced its regular work at Delhi on February 15, 1921. That individual members have on occasions revealed ignorance of their subject, and of the political experiences of other countries, there is no doubt. That the Assembly as a whole has once or twice taken the wrong course, very few competent observers would be likely to question. But such things happen in other Parliaments than those of

India. Could the House of Commons claim to be an exception to the rule that those who ordinarily do very well, occasionally make mistakes? I think not. In any case, even if an occasional blunder be admitted, it will be conceded by all that the Indian Legislative Assembly has carried through a great mass of most useful public work. Many thousands of questions have been asked and answered. Large numbers of searching resolutions have been moved, debated, and for the most part carried, including those of such wide importance as the following: Government Health Services, Removal of Racial Distinctions in Trials, Sukkur Barrage Irrigation Project, Appointing a Retrenchment Committee, Medical Education, Prohibition of Traffic in Girls, Railway Finance, Research Work, Military Policy, Organization and Training, Protection of Women Wage Earners and of Unskilled Emigrants, etc.

In addition to the above a large number of legislative enactments of far-reaching importance have been hammered into shape and put on the Statute Book, some of the most important dealing with Electricity, Emigration, Indian Ports, Negotiable Instruments, the Press, Workmen's Compensation, Cotton Transport, Mines, Boilers, Factories, Naval Armaments, Paper Currency, the Penal Code, the Civil Procedure Code, Income Tax, Stamps, Savings Banks, Money Lenders, Married Women's Property, Land Acquisition, etc.

Perhaps the most important work of the Assembly has been its courageous handling of the Budgets, and its provision of huge sums of money to meet the deficits caused very largely by debiting the whole of the cost of the last Afghan War and subsequent Frontier Expeditions to *current revenues and nothing to loans*. It dealt with its first Budget in March, 1921. The year then closing revealed an estimated deficit of $11\frac{3}{4}$ crores of rupees (nearly £8,000,000); whilst the Budget for the new year, 1921-22, showed an anticipated deficit of $18\frac{1}{2}$ crores

(£12,220,000). The Assembly voted, in order to cover this anticipated deficit, all-round increases of taxation—of customs duties, postage rates, income tax and super tax, and a surcharge on railway rates—estimated to bring in £12,665,000. When passing this Finance Bill, the Finance member remarked that it was, “if not a very pleasant measure, yet a sound piece of legislation.” I venture to say that for a young Legislature, which had been subjected to abuse by hostile and sometimes disloyal critics, the 1921 Finance Bill was a very courageous and statesmanlike measure.

Alas! the anticipated deficit of 18 crores actually grew into a deficit of 34 crores; whilst the Budget for the next year, 1922-23, showed an estimated deficit of no less than $31\frac{3}{4}$ crores (£21,166,000). To meet this very grave deficit the Assembly were invited by Government again to vote heavy increases of taxation all round, and also to double the salt duties, in order to yield a further £19,365,000 of additional revenue, and to budget for a deficit of £1,833,000. The Assembly were now thoroughly dissatisfied and alarmed at the Executive's apparent inability to control the Central Government's finances. On February 3, 1922, the Assembly had resolved to call upon Government to appoint a strong Retrenchment Committee. In March the Assembly cut down Government's demands for grants (*i.e.*, estimated expenditure) for 1922-23 by about nine crores (£6,000,000), rejected Government's proposal to double the salt duties, *but voted other increases of taxation, etc., estimated to bring in a further* £16,500,000. Here, again, it will be recognized that the Assembly acted with wisdom and foresight. Government accepted not only the cuts made by the Assembly, but also the Assembly's refusal to vote doubled salt duties, and endeavoured loyally to carry out the Assembly's wishes in every way. Government also appointed the Inchcape Retrenchment Committee, who commenced their labours in November last.

And then came the young Assembly's third Budget—

that for 1923-24. Whilst the year 1922-23, notwithstanding the increased taxation, showed a deficit of over £11,000,000, the Budget for the new year, as presented by Sir Basil Blackett on March 1, 1923, revealed a deficit of only £2,840,000. By cutting down certain demands for grants the Assembly reduced this anticipated deficit to under £2,500,000. The Government of India once more proposed to double the salt duties (which would yield £3,000,000 in 1923-24, and probably over £4,500,000 in 1924-25) in order to cover the possible deficit of £2,453,000 in 1923-24. The Assembly on March 20, 1923, again rejected this proposal. This time the Governor-General (Lord Reading), disagreeing with the Assembly, and holding the view that India's credit in the London money market would suffer if the anticipated deficit—under £2,500,000—were not covered in the way proposed by Government, immediately restored the doubled salt duties in the Finance Bill, and asked the Council of State (largely a Government-nominated body) to pass the Bill in its original form. This the Council of State, by the aid of its Government nominees, did. The amended Bill was again put before the Assembly on March 26, who again rejected the doubled salt duties. Lord Reading at once employed the ultimate emergency clause of the Government of India Act, and "certified" the Finance Bill under Section 67b, thus overriding the Legislative Assembly. Further, His Excellency, under the proviso of Section 67b, directed that the Act, as certified, should come into operation forthwith. The doubled salt duties are therefore now being collected amidst the protests of the people's representatives on the Council of State and Legislative Assembly who have objected to the doubled duties—some ninety-nine legislators in all.

It is important to understand exactly why the Assembly for the second year in succession declined to pass the doubled salt duties. In the first place, a tax on salt is in itself generally admitted to be a bad tax, for salt (like bread

in England) is a necessary of life, the reduced consumption of which must affect the health of the people. British statesmen have condemned and have endeavoured to reduce (if not abolish altogether) the Indian tax on salt. The tax is very unpopular, and its doubling at the present juncture has been strongly condemned in every Indian paper. Some leading European newspapers like the *Times of India* (Bombay) have also condemned the doubling of the salt duties in present circumstances.

But the majority of Indian legislators who are opposed to the doubled salt duties argue that the provision of another three to four and a half millions sterling of additional revenue (by way of unpopular taxation, too) is really unnecessary, having regard to (a) the Inchcape cuts of £13,000,000, and (b) the certainty of improved trade, and therefore improved revenues, in the immediate future. Could the whole of the Inchcape retrenchments have been carried through during the current year the deficit would probably have disappeared. And for the future, that portion of the "cuts" which is not of a recurring nature will be balanced by increased revenues, which are certain to follow the removal of all restrictions on exports, the disposal of almost "record" crops, and the gradual restoration of normal trade conditions. Thus further taxation is unnecessary.

Many members of the Assembly feel that the estimated deficit of 1923-24 need not have appeared at all. A little more severity in making cuts, a little more optimism in estimating revenue from railways, posts, telegraphs, income tax, customs, etc., as the result of the improved trade conditions referred to above, would have closed the gap. But if other ways were preferred, the debiting of certain public works expenditure of a capital nature to loans instead of to current revenues (which, as mentioned above, have borne the whole cost of a local war and heavy frontier expenditure) would have brought about this result. Or if instead of appropriating £1,000,000, as is now being

done by Government, Sir Basil Blackett had used, say, £3,500,000 from the inefficiently administered and over-swollen Gold Standard Reserve now lying largely inoperative at India's credit in London, this estimated temporary deficit would have disappeared.

But if none of these alternatives found favour in Government's eyes, then a small temporary surcharge (half an anna in the rupee was proposed) on custom duties, and taxes on income, plus a reimposition of the former 4 annas an ounce import duty on silver, would have yielded all the money required. Government could have carried two, perhaps all of these taxes by large majorities had they cared to do so. But Government elected to force doubled salt duties on the Assembly in preference to any other course.

The position now is this: A few members of the Assembly have resigned, and several others are talking of doing so. This is in itself quite useless except as an indication of the strength of feeling aroused by Government's action. The life of the Assembly is almost at an end, and the General Election—the first held since the reformed Legislatures have been at work—will take place in October. Already intelligent critics are asking legislators, in particular those in the majority who rejected the doubled salt duties, what steps they are going to take in the forthcoming elections to fight the hostile groups of Congress-wallahs, non-co-operators, Gandhi-ites, and enemies of British rule in India. So far, the loyal Moderates have been unable to give any answer, for the ground has been cut away from under them by the action of Government in certifying the Finance Bill of 1923, that has doubled the salt duties *in spite of the Assembly's adverse vote*. The coming elections will therefore be very critical ones. Hostile critics have repeatedly described the reforms as a mere sham on the ground that they do not give to Indian legislators real power, but simply conceal the same old autocratic methods against which modern political thought is fighting so persistently. The recent doubling of the salt duties by

"certification" seems to confirm this view. A largely signed petition by leading Indian legislators of both Houses—Council of State and Legislative Assembly (some ninety-nine members have spoken or voted against the doubled salt duties)—has been presented to the House of Commons, and now lies on the table of the House for members' consideration.

On June 14, when the House of Commons went into Committee of Supply on the Civil Service Estimates to consider the vote of £120,000 for the India Office, Mr. Trevelyan (representing the Labour Party), moved a reduction of the vote by £100 in order to challenge the policy of the India Office in supporting Lord Reading's action in the above matter. Mr. Trevelyan was careful to explain that the point he was raising was not primarily the merits or demerits of the doubled salt duty, but the administrative wisdom of using an emergency power on the present occasion, and the loss of confidence in British promises which had already resulted. Mr. Snell, another Labour member, emphasized this point, and expressed a fear that the people of India might in the circumstances regard Parliament as "faithless and unjust" unless some corrective action were taken.

The Secretary of State for India (Earl Winterton), when replying, entirely ignored this point, and confined himself to a lengthy repetition of the arguments already used by the Government of India and by Lord Reading—namely, that Government viewed with alarm the growth of India's indebtedness "due to persistent overspending" (a strange way of describing the Government of India's past financial policy of debiting the whole of the cost of the last Afghan War and subsequent Frontier Expeditions to *current revenues and none of it to loans*); that another deficit Budget could not be tolerated because of the danger to India's credit (a danger that no financial authority in India admits); that no other course being possible (which the Legislative Assembly in March last stoutly questioned), the salt duties

had to be doubled. Moreover, these doubled duties, Lord Winterton asserted, would press very lightly on the peoples of India.

To the petition to the House of Commons Lord Winterton referred in detail. His replies to the six objections raised by the petitioners were as follows :

(a) The petition quoted Mr. Innes, Member for Commerce and Industry, as describing the salt tax as "theoretically a bad tax." Lord Winterton replied that most taxes are "theoretically bad," and quoted Mr. Innes's later words, "He was utterly unable to agree that the enhancement of the tax was going to be any hardship to anyone—even to the very poor."

(b) To say that "it is wrong to tax a vital necessity of life, the reduced consumption of which is likely to affect the health of great masses of the people," is "language of exaggeration. . . ." "A family of five (Indians) now spend Rs. 10 a month on food on the basis of prices obtaining two years ago, and Rs. 5 a month as compared with last year, and against this, the *extra* expenditure on salt is at the most R. 1 a year."

(c) The petition stated "it is quite unnecessary to call up India's 'ultimate reserve of taxation' (Government's own description of the salt duties) *when the crops in India are amongst the finest on record, and the outlook in India is improving daily.*" Lord Winterton considered that the words in italics answered the first portion of the sentence. How, I cannot see.

(d) The petitioners thought it wrong "in the present difficult times" to impose an unpopular tax that would eventually yield £4,500,000 per annum when the present year's estimated deficit was under £2,500,000. Lord Winterton replied: "We are not concerned with what the tax may eventually yield, because it is only imposed for one year, and the Assembly in any case will have the opportunity of considering it anew next year."

(e) As to other forms of taxation less unpopular than doubled salt duties being possible, Government had consulted the various parties in the Assembly for, Lord Winterton believed, two days, but came to the conclusion that doubled salt duties were the best. (The actual consultation was a short meeting in one of the Committee Rooms lasting well under two hours—a kind of pandemonium whereat all spoke at once, and no conclusion was arrived at by members of the Assembly. Only Government can introduce new taxation, and Government could have easily carried by a large majority a restoration of the import duty on commercial silver, and a temporary surcharge on custom duties, had they so desired.)

(f) The petitioners stated that the estimated deficit of this year would disappear when all essential retrenchments had been made. Lord Winterton replied: "We have already given effect to several of these (Lord Inchcape's) economies."

Government's argument regarding the loss of India's credit in London, if an estimated temporary deficit of under £2,500,000 were allowed to appear this year, was completely discounted by Lord Winterton himself, who gave details of the "progressively more favourable terms" on which the last four Indian Sterling Loans had been floated

in London: and that, be it noted, *notwithstanding far greater deficits and a much worse outlook, for Lord Inchcape's recommendations and retrenchments had not then been made.*

Mr. Fisher (speaking, no doubt, for the National Liberal Party) said that he found himself in complete agreement with Lord Winterton's defence of Lord Reading's action, but he hoped that the addition to the salt duty was not permanent, and that an undertaking would be given by Government that it would be taken off as soon as the retrenchments now being introduced had been fully carried out. Other speakers emphasized the two conflicting views on the one hand that Lord Reading's action in doubling the salt duties was thoroughly sound, and on the other that a grave political blunder had been committed. The time allotted to the discussion of the vote, only four hours, having expired, amidst protests from both Liberal and Labour speakers, the debate stood adjourned, and India is therefore still awaiting Parliament's final decision in the matter. It is believed that, in response to requests from Tory, Labour, and Liberal sides of the House, Parliament will find another occasion in which to conclude the discussion and permit the Secretary of State to reply to the points raised by the Opposition in the House.*

* It is understood that the debate in the House of Commons on the India Office Vote will be resumed on Thursday, July 5.—ED., "ASIATIC REVIEW."

NOTES ON INDO-CHINA

BY LÉON ARCHIMBAUD

(Deputy of the French Parliament)

THE most important French colony, as far as the progress of education is concerned, is Indo-China. In that country there are to be found races possessed of great intelligence who are capable of assimilating our Western culture. They are at the same time endowed with a very old civilization, which in some respects is on a higher level than our own.

Proper instruction is even more essential in the Far East than in the West, as the whole system of society and government is dependent upon it. During many centuries only the literate people had a place in Chinese society, and that place corresponded with their University distinctions. A man's whole life was spent in passing examinations, and it was a frequent sight to see candidates nearly eighty years old pushing their way into examination rooms. These examinations lasted several weeks, and no candidate was allowed to communicate with the outside world. They were kept virtually prisoners, and their numbers were often several thousand.

It can be easily understood that the proper introduction of education was indispensable in order to prevent the indigenous inhabitants from becoming hostile. As a matter of fact, thirty years passed before Western education was introduced, and one can easily understand this negligence, as our attention was occupied by other cares. Until 1908 the Annamites had to rely on their own traditional education, consisting of exercises in memory training and the rhetoric which they themselves felt to be useless. From 1908 the Governor-General created the first University in Indo-China, the success of which was astonishing, for in a few days the aristocracy of Tonkin inscribed their names for the lectures. Unfortunately, political troubles led very quickly to the suppression of this University. A long time elapsed, and the renewal of this effort was due to M. Sarraut. The success of his plans is admitted even by the Annamites themselves. Last year M. Pham Quyu, a graduate of Tonkin, declared during a conference that "M. Sarraut had understood that it was not possible to govern an old race having behind it twenty centuries of history and the possessor of a long national tradition in the same way as one would govern the primitive peoples of Africa. . . . His words have gone straight to the heart and have evoked

an echo throughout Indo-China. M. Sarraut had gained the goodwill of the Annamites for all time."

Education in Indo-China is now completely organized, and consists of three grades—the primary, secondary, and superior—the first two of which comprise French and mixed schools.

Primary education is given in 24 French schools counting 786 pupils, and in 2,816 elementary schools counting 124,532 pupils. In the latter instruction is given in the Annamite language, and the pupil only learns the rudiments of French. However, in more important centres there are 238 schools fully equipped in which French is taught to 38,334 pupils. Lastly, above these there are 16 classes of instruction with 2,749 students. Primary education is being more and more developed: last year 76 new elementary schools were opened in Cochinchina alone.

Secondary education is given at the Lycée of Hanoi which houses 639 pupils, and at the college of Saigon with 251 scholars. In these two establishments the pupils receive French secondary education, including Latin and Greek, and local secondary education as well. The Lycée at Hanoi is particularly developed, and can boast of a cinematograph and a course of physical instruction. The studies at Saigon are not on such a high level, possibly on account of the climate which is very depressing. Possibly this school will be transferred to Dalat on the plateau of Langbian when that station becomes the Delhi of Indo-China.

Besides primary education of the superior class there is a training for professions which plays a very large part in the scheme and provides a secondary technical education.

Five industrial schools have been opened in each section of the Union, without counting the Asiatic School of Mechanics founded at Saigon in 1906, and comprising a course of three years, followed by a period of two years devoted to the practical application of the knowledge obtained. There are also schools of decorative art, the object of which is to apply the local arts to the needs of industry. At Giadinh is a school for design and carving; at Thudaumot furniture-making is taught; at Bienhoa ceramics and metal-work; at Phnom-Penh the school of Cambodian art gives instruction in the various phases of Khmer art. The school of applied arts at Hanoi trains cabinet-makers, sculptors, metal-workers, decorators, mechanics, chauffeurs, and lace-makers. Professional training of this kind, owing to its practical nature, is very much

appreciated by the inhabitants who join the classes in great numbers. The apex of this whole system, however, is the University of Indo-China, with 110 professors and 525 students. Amongst the latter are 30 Chinese Nationals, who carry the prestige of the University to the outer world. It is the creation of M. Sarraut, and it meets with the greatest favour of the inhabitants. Some Frenchmen think that perhaps it is a mistaken policy to lavish superior education on our subjects, and thus supply them with the means of doing without us. But the war has shown that this was a mistaken view, as was proved by their attachment to the allied corps. Doubtless the number of French officials is on the decrease, as the inhabitants gradually take over the larger number of the posts, but this is all to the good. It is the best proof we can have of the expansion of our civilization.

A few words may be added on the great problem of language. Which language should be the vehicle for instruction—Annamite or French? The point to consider is whether instruction in French is profitable for the mass of the population. It would appear that this is not the case, and that it is difficult to impose on children the study of a difficult language at the same time as the acquisition of general knowledge. The party known as "Young Annam," who cherished dreams of an Annamite State, are carrying on an ardent campaign in favour of instruction entirely in Annamite. To justify this theory they have recourse to the cry that the natives should develop according to their own standard, and that they should remain within those limits. Moreover, they praise the Annamite language and boast of its precision and sweetness. It may be answered that there is no Annamite literature beyond popular songs which are certainly charming and which are being collected. The chief objection, however, is that the Annamite language, in order to express articles of daily use, must borrow from the Chinese and French, the result of which is a mixed vocabulary with many foreign words. Besides, how can one imagine effective instruction in the Annamite language when one is studying physics or chemistry. To sum up: only certain Annamite nationalists demand the abolition of the French language, clearly in order that they may exercise a certain power over the whole population; but the latter does not in the least desire the return of the era of the Mandarins which was so oppressive, but, on the contrary, rather the development of French instead. It is there that their true interests lie.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE NEWSPAPER PRESS OF INDIA

BY EVERARD COTES

THIS paper is an attempt to dissect out the newspapers from the other contributing causes which, combined with one another, make up the political situation in India of the present day. It is a factor, I shall endeavour to show, of much larger significance than is at all generally realized.

What, then, are the newspapers of India? This question is not as easily answered as it may seem. I was myself a good many years in journalism in that country before I began to find out at all completely. My own work brought me chiefly into contact with the larger journals. I shall refer to them presently, but must begin very much lower down with the vernacular sheets of which there are hundreds. I have not had very much to do with these vernacular sheets myself, and the weird characters in which they are printed, be they Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, Guzerati, Tamil, Burmese, or any others of the many languages spoken in India, are mostly beyond my comprehension, though the news agency I managed supplied a number of them directly, and practically all of them indirectly, with a large portion of their news.

How, then, do these vernacular sheets affect the life of the people of India? To understand this, we must begin with the village which, as all know, is the unit of the social fabric in the country. It is here that the vernacular sheet exercises most of its influence. The schoolmaster, the honorary magistrate, or the local pleader may be the only actual subscribers, but the contents are read aloud and discussed in the long evenings to an extent that makes the effective circulation very much larger than the smallness of the sales would seem to indicate. At one time of my career

I could have guided the visitor into offices in odoriferous gullies in Indian provincial towns where the vernacular sheet takes shape. Here could one see the reed pen of antiquity still industriously at work on the lithograph stone. Here inking was done by hand, and wooden presses creaked to the straining muscles of brown-skinned coolies, and imperfectly clad editors, managers, and printers toiled cheerfully through the hours for remuneration that the poorest European would have refused, for great amongst his own people is the *Chappakhana Malik*, and much is the influence he wields. In some of the bigger centres, and especially in Bombay, the vernacular paper is to be met with in a further condition of development, housed in spacious editorial offices, and provided with modern machinery, and highly trained managers and staffs. To this class belong such important and widely read Guzerati newspapers as the *Jami-Jamshed*, or *Samachar*, the *Sanvartaman* and *Parsi*.

The stage next to the vernacular newspapers in the Indian press world is filled by Indian-run English journals. These are newspapers printed in English, turned out by European methods, and often conducted with ability, though entirely in Indian hands. An excellent account was given some years ago in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, one of the liveliest of these journals, of how it had changed its language from the vernacular to English in a single night, nearly half a century ago, in order to escape the official supervision imposed by Lord Lytton's Press Act, which applied to newspapers appearing in languages other than English. The reason for this famous piece of legislative discrimination against vernacular journals appears to have been that certain papers published in Indian dialects had been found by the officials of the day to be disseminating sedition, whereas those at that time appearing in English were all in British hands and, therefore, not suspected of subversive tendencies. In the generation which has since elapsed,

the example set by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* has been followed by other newspapers of similar class, and the number published in English is now considerable. I have yet to learn, however, that the use of the English language has had any modifying effect upon the views they express which may be in favour of, as well as against, the Government. Some of these Indian-run English newspapers are big and powerful. The *Bengalee* of Calcutta, long edited by Surendra Nath Bannerjee, now a leading member of the Bengal Government, may be taken as an example. Sir Surendra Nath Bannerjee, as he now is, will not mind my saying that thirty years ago the *Bengalee* was printed upon an old-fashioned press and reckoned its circulation in hundreds. When I last saw it, it possessed rotary presses of modern pattern, and had become a power from one end of India to the other.

A number of other daily newspapers are included in the same class. I refer to such journals as the *Hindu*, the *New India* and the *Indian Patriot* of Madras, the *Tribune* of Lahore, the *Leader* of Allahabad, and the *Indian Mirror* of Calcutta.

There are several newspapers in which, while the ownership is Indian, the directing staffs are largely European. These take their politics from their owners and express all shades of opinion. Amongst them I may name the *Indian Daily Telegraph* of Lucknow, the *Chronicle* of Bombay, and the *Empire* of Calcutta. They are a class of journal at present represented only in the bigger cities, but one that shows signs of developing.

As was to be expected, so essentially a Western institution as the press, when grafted upon an ancient Oriental civilization, has taken on picturesque characteristics from its new environment. It retains, nevertheless, a surprising amount of its Western flavour. The leading article may be written by a gentleman in a *dhoti* sitting crosslegged on an Oriental carpet, just as well as by a frock-coated editor in surroundings that would not be out of place in London.

The advertisements may be largely devoted to the sale of patent medicines of familiar European and American brands. Amongst them, however, one can find such purely Oriental notices as those devoted to the purchase of promising University students to become the husbands of still unsophisticated daughters of prosperous Indian parents. But the manner of the editorials is European down to the use of the pompous Fleet Street "We."

The papers I have so far mentioned are all owned by Indians. Behind them and forming the backbone of the press of India is a class of journal of a very different kind. I refer to a whole battery of powerful European newspapers. These are owned, edited, and managed by Europeans, and are often most ably conducted. Most of them appeal primarily to the British commercial and official classes. They are also read by educated Indians, and are much quoted in vernacular and other Indian papers. They represent the aristocracy of the newspaper press of India, and, like all other classes of journalistic enterprise in India have been growing vigorously of late years.

When I first went to India, the late Mr. Robert Knight was eloquently preaching in the *Calcutta Statesman* a liberalism, which in those far-off days was regarded as dangerous by conservative Anglo-Indians. It created an enormous impression at the time, and was the first effectual stirring I became acquainted with of principles now accepted officially in far more daring form than their first advocate suggested. The *Calcutta Englishman*, another leading Anglo-Indian paper, reflected Tory politics under the genial personality of the late Mr. J. O'B. Saunders. The *Allahabad Pioneer* had not then developed the caustic genius of Mr. George Chesney, who subsequently served it so brilliantly, but it had already become under its founder, the late Sir George Allen, a power in the official world. The *Times of India* was laying the foundations of the great influence it has subsequently won under such editors as

Sir Thomas Bennett, Mr. Lovat Fraser, and Sir Stanley Reed. The names of Mr. Rudyard Kipling and Mr. Kay Robinson had become familiar to Anglo-Indians in connection with the *Civil and Military Gazette*. It was only later on that I became acquainted with the achievements of Mr. Lawson and Sir Frank McCarthy who have since made their respective papers, the *Madras Mail* and the *Rangoon Gazette*, each the leading Anglo-Indian organ in the province concerned.

Other outstanding names that occur to me in connection with the Anglo-Indian press are those of the late Mr. Howard Hensman, and the late Sir Maitland Park, who at different periods represented the *Pioneer* at Simla. I must also not omit those of Mr. Paul Knight and his three gifted brothers Hugh, Robert, and Phil, the last named, I am sorry to say, recently deceased, who have continued the work of their distinguished father, and brought the *Statesman* to the position of influence and authority it now occupies.

It is Anglo-Indian journals in India like the *Statesman*, *The Englishman*, the *Times of India*, *The Pioneer*, the *Madras Mail*, the *Rangoon Gazette*, and the *Civil and Military Gazette*, that set the standard for journalism in the country at large and act as a moderating influence upon the whole. Their significance would in any case be large, and it is magnified many times over by the existence of the vernacular and other Indian papers, which—however extreme they may sometimes be in their views—draw much of their information from the more moderate British organs, and carry it in only partially transmuted shape to strata in the community, that would otherwise be at the mercy of sometimes inconceivably fantastic or even diabolically misleading and mischievous rumours.

The importance of the newspaper press of India is increased by the existence of a fine agency service of world news cabled to it daily by Reuter's organization. This was originated by the late Baron de Reuter, and has been much enlarged under his successor, Sir Roderick Jones. It is an

organization which has recently sustained a severe loss in the death of its much-respected Eastern manager, Mr. A. H. Kingston. I may also be permitted to mention another extensive Indian news organization, now also in Reuter's hands, with which I was myself for many years connected, and of which I am still exceedingly proud. I refer to the *Eastern News Agency*, with its branches the *Associated Press of India* and the *Indian News Agency*, which handle the internal news of India: much as is done in England by the *Press Association* and in the United States by the *Associated Press*.

I should here speak of a remarkable change which is gradually coming over Anglo-Indian journalism.

Twenty-seven years ago, when I was running the *Indian Daily News*, then one of the smaller of the Anglo-Indian newspapers, in Calcutta, thousands of young Indians were already, season after season, receiving elaborate English education in the Calcutta and other Indian Universities. Amongst my colleagues on the Calcutta Municipal Council, where I then had the honour to represent the Calcutta Trades Association, were highly cultivated Indians, who made long and eloquent speeches in high-flown English. Indians, nevertheless, occupied generally only subordinate posts in Anglo-Indian newspaper offices. Many a sweltering night I had in the course of my duties on the *Indian Daily News* to leave the quiet and comparatively airy offices of the European editorial staff and to descend into the noisy inferno of the composing, correcting, and printing rooms beneath. Here Hindus from Bengal and Muhammadans from the North-West Provinces, clad each in little more than a cotton sheet, toiled in a dense atmosphere of acrid *hubble-bubble* smoke, and fumes of ink, steam, and lubricating oil mingled with emanations from semi-naked humanity in tropical mass. Grimy punkahs fluttered actively overhead, and stirred, if they did not renovate, what we breathed. The work of preparing the issue of the night, nevertheless, went actively forward to a babel of

high-pitched Bengali and sharp Urdu tongues. Incredibly dirty type was picked by hand out of tiny compartments in wide wooden trays, where it had been put ready in advance by Indian distributors, and was clapped with extraordinary dexterity and skill, each letter into its place in the *stick* or little brass holder. Thence it was passed on in more solid blocks to *forms* on an ancient flat-bottomed press, which presently would clang wearily to the thrusting of a wheezy oil engine, as the thousand or more copies that formed our morning edition were slowly ground out. Eurasian correctors in shirt sleeves rolled to the elbow crowded one another round a dimly-lighted table in a stifling dungeon alongside.

It was the sound policy of the *Indian Daily News* to employ Europeans, who having to be imported, were necessarily expensive, only in such posts as could not be filled efficiently by local and, therefore, cheaper Indian journalists. As editor of this particular organ, I had, therefore, to study all possibilities of increasing the proportion of Indians employed. One of the sources I explored was that of the Calcutta University. I took on graduate after graduate and endeavoured to train them to the work required. My experience, however, was that, at that time—it was nearly thirty years ago—very little could be done in the direction aimed at. Indian talent and education of the requisite standard appeared to be far too scarce, and what there was of it far too highly priced to be at all economically used as a substitute for Europeans to any very considerable extent.

I have been much struck, therefore, by the rapidity of the increase that has since taken place in the supply of Indians capable of assuming a real share in the higher branches of European journalism in India. With the passing of the clanking flat-bottomed presses, the cranky oil engines, and the insanitary conditions I have described, and with the introduction, in their place, of modern methods and machinery, has come also what, to me, seems a very

significant movement in the direction of the substitution of Indians for Europeans in the higher posts. When I left India four years ago, Indians had found their way into a number of editorial rooms, long the exclusive sanctum of Europeans. Managerial posts, too, were held by them to an extent which, a generation previously, would have been thought entirely out of the question in well-run offices. In the correcting rooms and the reporting establishments, the change in the direction of the reinforcement of European by Indian talent has been even more pronounced. I have seen the shorthand work gradually change over in similar manner. I could even name a number of Indians who are doing excellent work as special correspondents, though this is a branch of Anglo-Indian journalism, where the difficulties to be overcome are extraordinarily great, owing to the writing having to be in a foreign language, and addressed to readers with a very different outlook upon life from that of the writers. I should mention also another very important change that has taken place. Thirty years ago, the Anglo-Indian and the Indian press, with some honourable exceptions, were as the poles apart. Neither understood the other, nor were the two at all generally able to combine in any united movement. Now the same news agencies serve both alike. The line of cleavage has become political instead of racial. One observes sustained endeavour on the part of the members of the Anglo-Indian press to understand their Indian colleagues and to make personal friends with them. Amongst Indian journalists, too, one finds a real desire to reciprocate in kind, and to put aside age-long burdens of Oriental suspicion and mistrust. Relations of mutual respect and cordiality are growing up which, as I shall presently show, are having far-reaching results.

It will be seen from all this that the newspaper press of India differs from the newspaper press of England chiefly in matters of adaptation to local conditions. It is compiled in similar manner. It depends upon systems of news-

gathering, reporting, and commenting, which, though much less elaborated, are essentially similar to those of Fleet Street. The men who direct the principal newspapers in India have almost all been trained, either directly or indirectly, in British journalistic methods. That the organs of the Indian press appear in a number of different scripts and languages to correspond with those of their readers; that the lithograph stone and the indigenous reed pen may, in some cases, even still do duty for the rotary printing machine and the linotype setter; that some of the compositors may be ignorant of the meaning of the words they set up; and that to a few of them the very letters they employ may be symbols only without significance even in sound, do not remove, though they definitely modify, the essential features of resemblance that underlie the whole.

THE PRESS IN INDIAN POLITICS

We may now proceed to consider how this press, itself so essentially an offshot of Europe, acts and re-acts on Oriental politics and thought.

The voter in India, such as he is, to whom the political fate of that great country is now being gradually transferred, is not inert. He does certainly in some vague way think out for himself certain political problems—especially such as are connected with the hunger (*bukha*) and the pence (*paisa*)—that so intimately affect the well-being of himself and his friends. Ignorance, credulity, and emotion may be his age-long heritage, but this only makes it the more essential that his education should not be unsound. The Brahmin and the Mullah, who are his prophet and his priest, do something to direct his basic human impulses of acquisitiveness and philoprogenitiveness, and to develop them in the direction of the more complex sentiments of altruism and love of country. The Pundit, too, may help to awaken corporate consciousness out of the maxims from *Khoran* and *Shastras*, which his pupils cypher in crabbed

Hindi or flowing *Urdu* on the *dhoti* smudged slate of the village school. It becomes important, therefore, to recognize that Brahmin, Mullah, and Pundit are all diligent readers of the newspaper press. Education in the ordinary sense ceases in India, as elsewhere, when a boy leaves school. The newspaper then steps in, and I may say in most cases is almost all that the ordinary adult Indian reads. Many reasons combine to bring about this state of things. The Oriental is little distracted by side issues. Games and sport, for example, which fill so large a place in the life of the ordinary European, leave him cold in the great majority of cases. The poverty of other subjects of public interest in India, and the decay of religion which the late Sir William Meyer has pointed out in his encyclopædic gazetteer was once the main subject of discussion in the Indian press, have been other reasons why newspapers take a place in the life of the politically conscious classes of India relatively much larger than in the corresponding community in any other country in the world.

The Indian has a very special mentality of his own, due possibly to the heat of the climate of the land he inhabits, the mixture of Aryan, Dravidian, and other races from which he springs, the kaleidoscopic history through which his ancestors have passed, or all of these combined. It disposes him to be argumentative, and to achieve in words rather than in deeds. Journalism thus makes a special appeal to him as a career, and he is taking it up in increasing numbers. The intellectual Bengali, the contemplative Tamil, the swift-witted Mahratta, and the outspoken Sikh, may differ fundamentally from one another alike in physical attributes and in material outlook, but they have in common the fact that they are all swayed by phrases and emotional ideals to an extent the more phlegmatic Westerner often finds difficult to understand. This common temperamental characteristic may be increased or diminished by education, but it is always there, and enormously enhances the influence of the

written word. It also magnifies grievances and makes their expression essential.

These general considerations all require to be taken into account in appraising the nature of the part played by the press in India, as the principal organization which affords the orator, be he impassioned, fanatic, or platitudinous beurocrat, that wider audience which the spoken word cannot reach without its help.

I suppose we must take it as arising from Indian official recognition of these basic facts, that a long series of repressive Press Acts have been placed at different times in the past half-century upon the Indian Statute Book. Most of these Press Acts have now rightly been repealed or mitigated, in deference to popular Indian opinion. Bitterness produced by them, however, remains, and helps to bring about an attitude of mind which finds it easier to echo loudly-expressed platform oratory, than to incur the odium of ranging itself with the harassed forces of a Government now apparently become uncertain even of its title to protect itself and its friends. With Government weak and Opposition strong such restrictions as are still nominally unrepealed leave the press practically unfettered and with political influence that grows stronger every day.

One of the results of this state of things is that the Indian editor of yesterday is becoming the leading politician of to-day.

Sir Surendra Nath Banerji, Mr. Sastri, and Mr. K. C. Roy, also the late Mr. Tilak, the late Mr. Gokhale, and many another artificer of the present democratic constitution of India, have owed much of their influence to having been, at one time or other, engaged in Indian newspaper work. Another fact to be noted is the attention which even the extremist Indian patriot pays to the press for inspiration in advance for his deeds, and for justification for them after they have been done.

As an example of this, I may mention that the police succeeded in learning the date of manufacture of one of the

bombs, thrown ten years ago at a criminal intelligence officer in Calcutta, by politically minded Indian students, from the fact that the contents included shreds of paper torn from the dated pages of a recently published Indian newspaper, noted for its violent doctrines, which had been used to wrap up the picric acid forming the kernel of the political argument intended to be used on this occasion.

I have also heard of cuttings from the columns of what is, perhaps, the most sedate and conservative Anglo-Indian journal in India being carried at the head of an Indian Home Rule procession through the streets of Calcutta, so much importance was attached by the leaders of the popular movement concerned to their having found in this journal—usually so antagonistic to their political faith—arguments which they thought told upon their side.

It is the press, more than any other agency, which for many years past has kept public attention from one end of India to the other concentrated upon political as opposed to other issues. It is the press to-day, better-informed and continually growing in circulation and authority, which enables the Indian voter to hear in his village more or less accurate versions of the speeches of the member who represents him at Delhi, and which makes it possible for him also gradually to form some kind of a dim idea of the questions that are agitated there. It is the hope of the newly-introduced scheme of democratic government in India that sooner or later a voter will be evolved who will be capable of casting a reasonably independent and intelligent suffrage. No one who knows India can doubt that this vital, if still largely hypothetical, but not on that account at all ultimately impossible pivot in the governmental machine, needs all that can be done to help him. Such help can be given most effectually, I maintain, through the medium of the press, which for all its liveliness, and despite the excesses of its extremist wing, is a permanent force of almost unlimited capabilities which are growing and expanding on every side.

How far press activity will conduce to stable administration in the future must depend largely upon the extent to which it is able to continue to enlist the co-operation of Indians and Europeans of character and ability in its service. If there be one conviction more than any other which the old European newspaper man takes away with him from India, it is, I think, of how essential is whole-hearted co-operation between these two sets of men in the interests, not only of Indian journalism itself, but also in those of the country as a whole. It is a co-operation I have found that is capable of being evolved and maintained wherever mutual relations are based upon a foundation of equality, and wherever they are cemented by personal intercourse and good-feeling. In this connection I would specially speak of journalists from Bengal in general, and from Eastern Bengal in particular, as this much-libelled region supplies so preponderating a proportion of the rising generation of Indian newspaper men, but I also include Madrassis, Parsis, Pubjabis, Mahrattas, and men of Hindustan. All of them no doubt have weaknesses and disabilities—who amongst us can say that this is not also the case with himself? They also, I have found, possess gifts and virtues which in the past, I think, have not been recognized nearly as fully as they deserve. I should like to say, therefore, that I have known Indian journalists working in far-off Mofussil stations who could write the truth about crimes of sedition and other political happenings coming within their ken, only at the cost of risk to themselves, not merely of personal violence from one side or the other, but also of social ostracism from their own relations even harder to be borne. Yet I have known these men send to the news agency I was concerned with, not once or twice, but regularly—day by day and week by week for years together—reports and statements which have proved upon close subsequent investigation, for they have often raised storms of criticism, to be almost entirely devoid of conscious bias. I have had Indian colleagues

and friends whose loyalty to the organization we were mutually connected with has stood the test of foul weather as well as of fine—men who have maintained a high standard of integrity and devotion to duty through many years of often exceedingly poorly remunerated service. The number of such men in the ranks of Indian journalism is increasing, and I cannot too much emphasize the importance of encouraging them.

The European, of course, is also essential to the partnership I have indicated. Coming as he does from a more stable civilization, he brings into the combine traditions of Western efficiency without which journalistic advance in India can be neither sound nor enduring. In order that the European newspaper man in India may be a help and not a stumbling-block in the way of progress, it is absolutely necessary that he should be himself of good standing. I cannot too strongly deprecate what has occasionally happened in the way of engaging in England journalists for service in India who do not possess this vital qualification. To send out inferior white men to serve on Indian papers is, at best, to waste money, and, at worst, to introduce an element liable to ally itself with the very considerable forces which make for that race hatred that has long been the greatest danger that threatens India.

This brings me to the question of extremism in the Indian press and all that is therewith involved. Here I may perhaps be forgiven for repeating two very trite generalizations, for they seem to me to be both important and often overlooked. One is that upon the whole the men who run newspapers in India, like those concerned with most other enterprises in this imperfect world, are generally out for nothing more idealistic than to make a living for themselves and their families, and to see their undertakings flourish. The other fact is that every newspaper which fails to attract attention, and therefore readers, also fails to sell or to obtain advertisements, and sooner or later disappears. It is only human nature in these circumstances for an unpros-

perous journal—whether those responsible for it be Indians or Europeans—to take the cheapest, the quickest, and the easiest means of attracting attention. This ordinarily, of course, is to make violent attacks upon the best known and least popular organizations within reach. In practice the principal object selected for attack is usually the Government, since this most nearly fulfils the conditions indicated, while, unlike the private individual, it has the further qualification that it does not as a rule succeed in hitting back very effectually. Grounds for the onslaught are easy to find, as Governments tread heavily on many highly sensitized toes. Competition in attacking Government has thus arisen, from reasons quite apart from politics, amongst the less reputable journals, which in India are practically all in a more or less chronic condition of financial tightness. When upon this highly combustible material is poured the petrol of burning politics, in so fiery an intellectual atmosphere as that of India, it is not surprising that the resultant conflagration should be considerable. It is thus that has arisen much that would otherwise be inexplicable in the less prosperous and therefore less responsible section of the press of India of to-day. It is possible indeed to say that a press which, as a whole, has proved itself to be by far the greatest educational force in the country includes two quite distinct wings. One of these wings is composed of financially substantial and therefore responsible journals—vernacular, Anglo-Oriental, and English—which, though sometimes misled, and always critical and independent, are entitled to every bit of the consideration that appertains to the press in other parts of the world. The other wing, for reasons special to India, is made up of a class of organ which all sober thinkers, just as much in the press as in other branches of the community, would desire to see improved out of the way. Such improvement, I think, can come about only by the slow process of absorption into the ranks of responsible papers. Many attempts have been made officially, with the help on the one hand of the pains

and penalties of special press enactments, and on the other of official competition, to drive the less responsible of the extremist papers off the market. The first of these methods has roused so much suspicion and opposition in circles quite independent of the objects of discipline, that it has had to be very largely abandoned. The second, I may say without disparagement of the utility in certain limited cases of such organs as the *Fauj Akbar*, an official vernacular journal admirably run for Indian sepoy, has hitherto failed to affect the situation appreciably. A solution, I venture to think, will only be found eventually in the growth and expansion of financially independent and therefore responsible journals. This progress will be expedited or retarded, not only by such slow causes as the extent to which education grows, but also by the more direct action of such copyright and other facilities as are afforded to the press generally, and according to the extent to which political, commercial, and industrial developments in India enable legitimate newspaper enterprise to thrive. It cannot be brought about, however, by a wand of magic, and must in any case take time.

Because changes are gradual, however, they are not less liable to be far-reaching. The press of India has developed in the most wonderful manner in the period I have known it, and its growth upon the whole has been for the good of the country. Its advance in the future is certain to continue. The increasing share taken by Indians in the running of it in no way diminishes the field it offers for European talent. The responsibility of its work demands the best in the way of men that the West as well as the East can offer. Neither Indians nor Europeans by themselves can run it to the best advantage, but be the right men of these two communities cordially combined in its service, it can bring, I maintain, into the realm of solid achievement far more in the way of valuable results than is now even envisaged in the unsubstantial sphere of thought.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, April 9, 1923, when a paper was read by Everard Cotes, Esq., entitled "The Newspaper Press of India." J. A. Spender, Esq., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., the Right Hon. Lord Pentland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Lionel Davidson, K.C.S.I., and Lady Davidson, Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir George Shaw, C.S.I., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir Valentine Chirol, Sir Thomas J. Bennett, C.I.E., M.P., Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Mr. S. Lupton, O.B.E., Mr. John Kelsall, Mr. F. H. Skrine, Miss Cornelia Sorabji, K.I.H., Miss Scatcherd, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. O. Lloyd Evans, Mr. and Mrs. J. P. Bedford, Colonel F. S. Terry, Major G. W. Gilbertson, Mr. Brownrigg, Miss Shaw, Mr. G. B. Colman, Mr. W. T. Coulton, Mr. F. C. Channing, Miss Collis, Mr. J. P. Collins, Mrs. Drury, Mr. and Mrs. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. J. Sladen, Mr. J. E. Ferrard, Rev. O. Younghusband, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mrs. Martley, Miss Partridge, Mrs. White, Mr. R. G. Armstrong, Mr. Moulvi A. R. Nayyar, Rev. H. Halliwell, Miss Delaforce, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is my very pleasant duty to introduce to you Mr. Everard Cotes, who is going to read a paper on a subject which was never more important than at the present time. The Indian Press has always been an anxious problem, but now, when we have embarked upon more democratic institutions, to have knowledge and understanding of it becomes a matter of the greatest importance to the Indian Administrator and, indeed, to the English people. There can be nobody better qualified to speak on this subject than Mr. Everard Cotes. He has spent a life-time in India serving on Anglo-Indian papers and organizing news-services in India, and I suppose he has had opportunities of seeing all parts of India which have been open to very few officials. (Applause.)

The paper was then read.

Miss SCATCHERD read the following extract from a letter which she had received from Dr. John Pollen:

"I consider the East India Association owes a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Everard Cotes for his able, thoughtful, and most encouraging paper on 'The Newspaper Press of India,' and I am delighted you have secured such a broad-minded, clear-headed man as my friend Mr. J. A. Spender as a chairman.

"It is comforting to be assured that the growth of the Indian Press has

on the whole been for the good of the country, and that the cordial co-operation of Indians and Europeans of the right sort will make it more of a success for the good of all than it has ever proved in the past.

"I knew Surendra Nath Bannerjee—now Sir Surendra Nath—of the *Bengalee*. He was a 'competition wallah' of my year, and I am one of the few who know from the Collector of his day, and from the late Sir Charles Elliott, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, how different was the treatment accorded to Surendra Nath from that which would have been accorded to a European civilian in his place! But those were the days of superstitious prejudice when—

'We looked, in course of time, to see
Muir, Lawrence, rank with Chatterjee,
And Plowdens alternate with Dutts,
And Ghoses elbow Elliots!'

But those days are happily now dead in the I.C.S.; and it is refreshing to learn from the lecturer that 'nowadays one observes sustained endeavour on the part of the Anglo-Indian Press to understand their Indian colleagues and make personal friends of them.' It is certainly most pleasant to hear that relations of mutual respect and cordiality are growing up which are having far-reaching results; and I may perhaps here mention that amongst those who have helped to foster good feelings and to do good in India there are few journalists more successful than my old friend Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E.

"I remember well Mr. Robert Knight and his gifted sons of the *Statesman*, and how effectually he and they stirred the principles (then anathema, but now accepted officially and in a far more daring form), and, of course, I know Sir Thomas Bennett, M.P., Mr. Lovat Fraser, and Sir Stanley Reed, all happily still with us. I rather wonder the lecturer has not mentioned Maclean and Gratton Geary, who were no mean leaders of thought in my day, both in old Bombay and throughout India.

"What the Press really needs is healthy action with due control by the cultivated judgment of society, and I agree with the lecturer in considering that this is a slow process, and mainly depends on the proper education of the people. The leading out and uplifting of the masses should, therefore, be our first care.

"J. POLLEN."

Mr. SKRINE said that he might fairly claim to speak of the Anglo-Indian Press with inside knowledge, inasmuch as he had contributed many columns to the *Pioneer*, the *Englishman*, and to the *Indian Daily News*, under Mr. Cotes' able editorship. He thought that London pressmen hardly realized the difficulties under which their colleagues in India laboured. The first was climatic; to write leaders and correct proofs at a temperature of 100° was no easy task. While editors at home were surrounded by a staff of specialists who were sometimes a little jealous of outsiders, the relatively small circulation of Anglo-Indian dailies compelled their colleagues in India to welcome amateur contributions. One of these confessed to the speaker that he often filled yawning columns by inditing

letters to himself, and starting controversies in which he was the sole disputant. (Laughter.) Lastly, there was the difficulty of working with underlings who knew little or no English; the sixty odd compositors in the *Englishman's* office recognized the types only by their feel! It was not generally known that some of Lord Macaulay's famous Essays were set up at No. 9, Hare Street, Calcutta, and sent to the *Edinburgh Review* in galley-proofs. He congratulated Mr. Cotes on his able and illuminating address.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER, dealing with the subject of the lecture from the point of view of an administrator, said it had been his good fortune or misfortune while Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab to have had a good deal to do with the Indian Press, especially the more shady section of it. It was of this he would chiefly speak. He gave it a good deal of attention, and received from it a good deal of attention in return—perhaps this was for their mutual benefit. He did not agree wholly with the lecturer as to the similarities between the English and the Indian Press; he thought they were rather superficial, at least in the provinces, and that on examination there would be found to be a great difference between them. In England to start a newspaper there was considerable capital necessary, large premises, responsible business and editorial management, and an efficient and highly trained staff. Hence there were few mushroom newspapers here. In the case of an Indian paper there was little or no capital, usually mean premises, very little sense of responsibility, little or no previous training among the staff; in fact, very often the men who had failed to pass the University examinations drifted into journalism as a *pis aller*, and the ranks of the journalists were also swollen by men who had either left or been driven out of the Government service. He could quote scores of instances. Under these conditions there were a large number of irresponsible journals started. These had to endeavour to make both ends meet, and he was afraid they often tried to do so by unworthy methods, by what the lecturer had called a system of blackmail. It had been authoritatively said both in Parliament here, and in the Assembly in India, that a large number of journals in India were started with a view to blackmailing the native princes of India; and he personally knew of many such cases. He remembered asking a wealthy gentleman in India who owned a paper and complained that he was losing money by it why he went on doing so, and he said it paid him, because if he did not have a paper of his own he would have to spend more in blackmail.

Another matter which had been brought prominently to his attention in the Punjab was the acrimony with which religious controversies were fomented and pursued in certain sections of the Press. The Punjab had three great religions, Muhammadan, Hindu, and Sikh, and some of the organs of those communities were and are engaged in a campaign of mutual abuse and vilification. The matter had become so acute as to threaten the peace of the province, and as Lieutenant-Governor he had dealt with it by putting the papers in question, whether Arya Samaj, Sikh, Muhammadan, or Indian Christian, under heavy security. By this means he had succeeded in bringing about comparative decency in

religious controversy. He believed that his action had the approval of the great mass of the people who wished to live in harmony with their neighbours, but naturally it drew on him the hostility of the Press.

Another serious abuse of a certain section of the Press was the prevalence of obscene and indecent advertisements. They must remember that in these matters the Indian standard was very different from the British, so that the latter could not be fully applied. But complaints had been made to him by Indians with regard to these indecent advertisements, which were not always confined to the less reputable papers. The method he had adopted had been to serve the papers with a warning that the obscene advertisements must disappear, and, if they did not take heed of the warning, then to prosecute them under the law. The authorities did not press for heavy sentences at first, but if the offences were repeated a heavier fine was imposed. By this means they had succeeded in cleansing the Press to a considerable extent. He had received a message from Indian ladies thanking him for the efforts which the Government had made in cleansing the Press, thus enabling them and their children to read the papers.

The lecturer had told them that one of the surest means of obtaining notoriety and increasing circulation was to attack the Government, and anyone who knew the history of seditious movements in India realized that they were very largely fostered by certain sections of the Press. Since 1897 the Bengal Revolutionary Movement was promoted in that way; also the similar movements in the Deccan and in the Punjab. In 1914 and 1915 there were in the Punjab serious rebellious outbreaks which were mainly promulgated by seditious vernacular newspapers. The infamous *Ghadr* newspaper, issued by Har Dyal in California, and published in four or five Indian vernaculars, was the most potent incentive to mutiny and rebellion at that period, but they had succeeded in excluding it from India during the war. Then after the Armistice there was Ghandi's so-called passive resistance movement, which was inaugurated in January, 1919, which swept over the country like a tornado, causing riot, murder, and rebellion, and which, like every other such movement, had been largely propagated by the Press. The *Bengalee* in Calcutta deserved credit for having pointed out whither the movement was leading, and for warning the public against it. Other papers disregarded the warning, and proceedings were taken against them. To prepare the ground for the seditious campaign of 1919 some twenty mushroom papers were started in the Punjab, Delhi, and the United Provinces between January and April with the direct object of fostering hostility to Government and defiance of authority. It would be interesting to trace who was at the back of these papers and how they were financed. All, or nearly all, came to an untimely end, but not till they had done their evil work. This showed what a powerful agency for evil the Press could be in the conditions that existed in India.

In 1919, as they knew, the Reforms were introduced, and as a consequence there was a demand for a repeal of the Press Laws. The question was examined by a Committee of the Legislative Assembly, who reported that as the revolutionary movement was now quiescent and the organiza-

tions that supported it had ceased to exist, the Press Laws might be safely repealed! They were repealed accordingly. The prescience of the Committee, which included the Home and Law Members of the Government of India, may be judged by the fact that within a few weeks the Moplah rebellion broke out. That rebellion cost 10,000 lives and infinite suffering to 1½ millions of people, a high price to pay for a formula—the liberty of the Press. In dealing with the Press of India, he hoped it would be realized from what he had said that one had to adopt a different attitude, because the conditions were radically different from those to which they were accustomed in England. In England the people who read the newspapers were people who could reason for themselves, who were as a rule moderate in their views and the expression of their views, and people who would not be led into lawless outbreaks by exaggerated or malicious statements in the Press. In India more than nine-tenths of the people were wholly illiterate, and could only obtain their news by word of mouth; they were inclined to swallow as true anything that appeared in print. The literate class was also very emotional and easily misled: Most people were wanting in the moral courage which would enable them to resist blackmail or libel, and therefore the ground was exactly suited for the unscrupulous journalist, and he was afraid in many cases the unscrupulous journalist had taken advantage of these conditions. If they were to protect the ignorant and credulous masses from these evils they must realize that they could not at present allow in India the unfettered liberty of the Press, which was the pride and privilege of this country. (Applause.)

SIR VALENTINE CHIROL said that the Press had played a very important part in India, and it was a misfortune and a grave mistake that the Government and the official class in India had not realized early enough its importance, and had failed to form and instruct public opinion. For many years it had been the habit in official circles either to ignore the Press or to underrate its influence, and very rarely had attempts been made to make the policy of the Government understood—i.e., to bring it within the field of knowledge of a politically immature people. Until relatively recent times, newspapers had to be content with official communiqués, often issued in a form which only the official mind could understand. As far as the Government gave any information to the Press it reserved it in those days for one particular paper, the *Pioneer*, which was a very able paper, but one which had come to be regarded as the sole recipient of the Government's confidence. This had a very bad effect upon the other Anglo-Indian papers, and also upon the Indian Press. When Mr. Hensman, one of the most upright and ablest journalists in India, who was the *Pioneer's* correspondent at Simla, ventured on one occasion to offer a mild criticism of the policy of the Viceroy, his name was eliminated from the visitors' list at Government House. This connoted a complete misconception of the functions of a newspaper. There had been considerable progress since then, but there was room for more. The Secretary of State for India had recently appointed another Royal Commission to consider the question of the public services of India.

He (the speaker) had had the honour of serving on a previous Commission on that subject, and he knew how difficult the task of such a Commission would be. The appointment of such a Commission was, however, regarded as absolutely necessary, and it was contended that in no other way could the changes be made which were necessary with regard to the organization of the public services in India under the new conditions of Indian Government. The Commission on which he had served had achieved quite remarkable unpopularity, and the same thing might be predicted for the new Commission, and unfortunately neither the Government of India nor the India Office had made any attempt to prepare Indian public opinion and to explain the character and purpose of the Commission. When the announcement was made he had written a letter to the Editor of *The Times*, in which he had explained what he understood to be the chief purpose of the Commission. As they knew, the Indian Legislative Assembly had rejected the vote for the expenses of the Commission. He had received letters from two Indian friends who were members of the Legislative Assembly, saying that it was very unfortunate that his letter in *The Times* had not appeared in India before the debate took place, because if the reasons he had put forward for the appointment of the Commission had been made public in India, especially with an official *imprimatur*, it would have made a considerable difference in the result. When attempting to train people for self-government the most important thing was to explain to them policies that were being initiated. They could not expect to have the support of public opinion unless they attempted to inform and to guide it. That was what every Government had learnt to do in this country. Why not in India? (Applause.)

Sir THOMAS BENNETT said that since he started his career in Indian journalism in the year 1884 there had been enormous progress made, mainly since he left the country twenty years ago. Formerly the personal note was more unpleasantly heard in the English Press in India than it was to-day, and Eatanswill provided little in comparison with some of the polemics between Anglo-Indian journalists which he remembered. Mr. Cotes had spoken about introducing Indians into the English newspaper offices. He agreed with Mr. Cotes, and while he (the speaker) would be the last to advocate in any large degree the Indianization of the English Press in India, he had always thought they had made a mistake in not availing themselves more largely than they had done of the collaboration of Indian writers. He had been one of the first to introduce an Indian among the staff of leader writers, twenty-five years ago, and he had never regretted it. There were many among the Indian community who wrote excellent English, particularly among the Madrasees, and newspapers could obtain direct knowledge of facts in regard to Indian life from them which probably an Englishman would be less able to give. The element of perspective and proportion should not be lost sight of in dealing with the question of the Indian Press. With regard to the remarks of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, anyone who did not know much about India, in listening to those otherwise apposite remarks would think that all the journalism of India was mischievous and dangerous, but that, of course,

was not so. They often saw in the Indian Press to-day very admirable sentiments. There were elements of good in Indian journalism, but it was still a long way short of arriving at a reasonably good idea of what journalism should be; it was not sufficiently informing; it was as a whole too exclusively given to political criticism and to intemperate attacks on the Government. The educative side of Indian journalism had yet to be brought out, and until that was done it would be very far short of what it ought to be. With regard to the relations between the Anglo-Indian Press and the Indian Press, the Anglo-Indian Press not only served the English and the European community but it could do enormous service in setting before Indian journalists examples of sober, reasonable, and informing criticism. To perform the true function of journalists Indian editors had to give much more information than they do, and to instruct as many as were within their reach of the 300,000,000 of the people of India. For this reason the relations with the Anglo-Indian Press and the native Press must be relations of mutual goodwill, and it was the duty of the Anglo-Indian Press to set an example of fairness and sympathy with the people around them, even though sometimes it might not be reciprocated. He believed that the Anglo-Indian Press had a mission of great importance before it under the new Constitutional conditions which prevailed in India. It was the mission of the Anglo-Indian Press to serve England and to serve India. There never had been greater opportunities for the Anglo-Indian Press than there were at the present time. So long as that Press could exercise a restraining and moderating and educative influence it would be doing enormous service to the Empire and to India. (Applause.)

Sir PATRICK FAGAN said that he found considerable difficulty in understanding the remark which had been made that the Indian Government had systematically neglected to communicate information regarding official matters to the Press. In his own experience, which extended over thirty years, large masses of official reports and statistics were published at frequent intervals, and they gave ample information regarding the policy and activities of Government and of its departments. True it was that such information was not expressed in words or in ideas of one syllable, but demanded study and consideration from those who desired to criticize Government. The Indian-owned newspapers, however, for the most part persistently neglected such material, because their main object was the vilification of Government, the distortion of its motives and the fomenting of racial animosity and of racial feeling. To take such a subject as agriculture, for instance. Scarcely ever did one see any rational reference to agricultural improvement or development; and there were very few even educated Indians who appreciated the extent to which by Government influence agricultural progress had been fostered in India. Very notably was this the case with the great system of co-operative credit. With regard to the recent appointment of a Royal Commission on the Indian Services, there could be very little doubt in the public mind as to the reasons which were considered to render it necessary, for the questions with which it was to deal had been publicly discussed in India during the last three or four years, and indeed longer. He was therefore unable

to understand how Government had failed in its duty, as had been suggested by one speaker, in not publishing an official explanation of the step.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen,—I think we must thank Mr. Cotes most cordially for the very interesting paper which he has given us, and the other speakers for the extremely interesting debate which has followed. I do not feel that I am really qualified to offer any observations of my own, but I did happen ten years ago to spend four months in India, and some part of that time I devoted to attempting to inform myself about the Press of India, not so much the English Press, with which I had already some acquaintance, but the vernacular Press, which, owing to my ignorance of the languages, was more or less a closed book to me. I remember that I got myself into some little trouble with Anglo-Indian journalists for my rashness in handling a subject on which I was very likely to be misled, and I well know the difficulties. I am very glad to hear from Mr. Cotes that there is a great change in the Indian Press, particularly in the matter of blackmail, which undoubtedly was practised by some of the less reputable Indian newspapers, and which the Indian journalists agreed with me was an offence which affected not only the individual who committed it, but the whole newspaper world. The subject of good libel laws and good protection against the abuse of the Press is enormously important, not only to the Government, but to the Press itself. Most of us in this country dislike the laws of libel, but we are convinced in our own minds that a good and strong law of libel is one of the secrets of an honest and decent Press. (Applause.) I think the Indian Press could be greatly helped by friendly relations with their English colleagues, and I believe they are susceptible to influences wisely addressed to them from that quarter. In my own experience they did what was extremely useful to me: they arranged a series of conferences with various Indian writers, not merely journalists, but writers on a variety of subjects who were in the camp at the Delhi Durbar. We discussed a great variety of subjects, and I was greatly indebted to them for helping me to get as much knowledge as I could in a short time of what was in their minds on social and religious questions. I carried away with me a very vivid impression of their intelligence, and I cannot help thinking that more communications of this kind would be useful. We also discussed many questions concerning the Indian Press, and I took the liberty of speaking very frankly to them upon some of the topics which have been raised here to-day. As to the relations of the Government with the Indian Press, it seems to me to be immensely important that the Government should not get in the habit of regarding the Press as the enemy, because it dislikes the criticisms of some newspapers. If you regard the Press as an enemy and you do not take more pains to instruct and influence it than the mere publication of statistics and Blue books you will always be in trouble, and your trouble will increase as the Press gets more educated. The Press is inevitable; it is there, and if you are going to work on anything like democratic lines the Press is part of your governing system. Your Assembly and your elections are all nothing if there is not a Press of some

sort. Without newspapers you are without eyes or ears or means of gathering information about the ideas which are prevalent in the country. Without a Press you are worse off than with a very critical Press. Nobody can deny that in a country in which vast numbers of the people are in a comparatively primitive state the Government must have some control over the Press; yet the Government will be wise to let the vernacular Press have the utmost liberty compatible with public order in criticism of itself. That seems to me to be extremely important, if only for the sake of keeping the Government informed of the views of the people. If you abolish the expression of criticism you do not abolish the criticism, and you may have it in a much more dangerous and underground form. I will not pursue these observations, which are only those of an observer from without, but I should like to tell Mr. Cotes how greatly we have appreciated his paper and what a valuable contribution it is to this extremely interesting subject.

Mr. COTES thanked the meeting for the manner in which they had received his paper.

On the motion of LORD LAMINGTON a hearty vote of thanks was by acclamation accorded to the Chairman and the Lecturer.

The CHAIRMAN having thanked the meeting on behalf of the Lecturer and himself, the proceedings terminated.

THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN LAND REVENUE

BY SIR PATRICK J. FAGAN, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

THE title of this paper is, perhaps, sufficiently suggestive of the speculative nature of the subject with which it attempts to deal. India in transition, political, economic, moral, social, is a trite commonplace of the thought of the day: and yet to those who have some little knowledge of portions of the vast illiterate and inarticulate masses forming more than 90 per cent. of the 320 millions who people the Indian continent, it is perhaps permissible to doubt whether material change in *their* outlook on life has really been so rapid and so far-reaching as is generally represented; whether their main concern is not still with the secure and continuous development of the more humble economic and social interests of their daily life and toil rather than with lofty political aspirations; whether they really appreciate disturbance, not to say upheaval of their "placid, pathetic contentment," to quote the words of a famous report. To the European political thinker, living in an environment of practically universal literacy, differentiation between a small educated minority and a vast surrounding illiterate mass is so strange as to be practically unrealizable; whereas in India such a differentiation stands out in naked reality, a factor of the utmost political importance. But it is at the same time undoubtedly true that strong currents of politico-racial and nascently nationalistic sentiment are flowing over the thin educated surface film of the Indian population, which, on the available figures for literacy, may be put at about six per cent. of the whole. How long will it be before such currents have permeated the still comparatively tranquil, underlying masses; and what developments, at present unforeseen,

will the process involve? That in the main is, I suggest, the problem which faces those who are responsible for the welfare of India to-day. Under such conditions speculation is an inevitable element in dealing with any question which touches the future of India and of Indian administration. That, then, is my chief excuse for the nature of this attempt to deal with one such question. Another is that though speculation is a hazardous undertaking, exposing the author to drastic criticism, it at the same time suggests and fosters discussion.

The present land revenue of India has behind it a long historic past, stretching back in its germinal stages long beyond the commencement of our era; while it is inextricably interwoven with the growth and development of landed property rights in the Indian continent. With its history I propose to deal only in briefest detail, and only so far as is necessary for the proper subject of this paper. It is often thought to be a unique phenomenon of its kind; but that is very far from being the case, at any rate as regards its origin. It is only an instance of a practice, nearly universal in the primitive stages of political and economic development, by which the political ruler or chief of the tribe or of the primitive State claimed and received, in accordance with a recognized seigniorial right, a share of the produce of land from the actual cultivator, a share which constituted, probably, the main item on the receipt side of the ruler's combined private and State budget. In many, though not perhaps in all Western countries, the recognition of such a claim has tended in greater or less degree to lapse out of existence as the result of a variety of economic and political causes. But not so in India: there, it is broadly true to say, throughout the devious course, or rather courses of its history, the claim has never been foregone and never repudiated, whatever the vicissitudes of form which it has experienced or the accompanying, not to say bewildering varieties of land tenure to which it has given birth. Though in the course of

historical development it has been more or less transformed, the continuous existence and recognition of the claim can be traced throughout the history of most of the Indian continent. In short, the payment of land revenue to the State has been uniformly an incident and an obligation attaching to indigenous Indian recognition of permanent rights over land in favour of individuals and communities.

In the Hindu era the traditional, but by no means the invariable share of gross produce taken by the Raja or ruler was one-sixth. The Muhammadan conquerors maintained their predecessors' claim; and in order to render it more effective, developed and organized a definite land revenue system, with which, of course, the names of the Mughal Emperor, Akbar, and of his famous Hindu Finance Minister, Raja Todar Mal, are intimately associated; and of which a full account is contained in the memoir known as the *Ain-i-Akbari*, written by Akbar's minister, Sheikh Abul-Fazl. The Muhammadan demand for land revenue, which was largely assessed in cash, was based on a third share of the gross produce as compared with the Hindu one-sixth; but it had reached an even higher standard in many places, if not generally, before the advent of the British. It was the Muhammadan system, or rather its decayed and disorganized remains, which the British took over at the commencement of their rule, on the assumption of the *Dewani* of Bengal, Bihār and Orissa in 1765. It may, therefore, be said without exaggeration that it was Akbar's great land revenue settlement and his general revenue system which formed the foundation on which the corresponding institutions now existing have been built. The Indian land revenue, then, is no new creation of a "Satanic" alien government, but an ancient Indian institution inherited from previous generations of Indian rulers; a point which cannot be too clearly emphasized.

It would be impossible, and indeed irrelevant, in a paper

such as the present to sketch even briefly the development of the British-Indian system of land revenue administration, characterized as it is by wide local variations in the application of fundamental principles and in the nature of the land tenures which it affects and which are to a large extent its outcome. The main principles may be stated, perhaps not inaccurately nor inadequately, as follows :

Firstly, the determination of rights in land ; primarily the rights of those who are liable for the payment of the State's demands ; and, as a necessary adjunct, the rights of those who hold subordinate but permanent or semi-permanent recognized interests in land.

Secondly, the limitation of the State's demand for land revenue ; this being secured by assessing it not as a share of the gross or total produce of land, as was generally the practice under the primitive indigenous system, but generally as a moderate share of the net rental as estimated on the data available. I need scarcely point out that the second principle, so far as it is observed—and fully observed it generally is—secures a subsistence, and in most cases a good deal more than a subsistence, for the actual cultivator and a substantial share of the rental for the land revenue payer, a state of things which was by no means assured under the indigenous system of a share of the gross produce for the State. It is this limitation of the State's demand, as introduced by the British Government, which has in fact given material reality and value to rights which previously under indigenous rule had often little more than a sentimental existence.

The above fundamental principles were reached not at once, nor in any one particular locality ; but in the course of some fifty years, as the result of laborious and extended investigation and of growing experience of novel conditions and of strange usages and customs, dissimilar to anything then actually existing in the native country of the new rulers. The latter for the most part wisely held their

hands before committing themselves irrevocably to definite systems. There was indeed one exception: the permanent settlement of Bengal, effected by Lord Cornwallis in 1793, under the orders of the Home authorities and in the teeth of experienced official opinion in India. It covered the provinces of Bengal, Bihār, and Orissa, as then existing, and was subsequently extended to portions of the Madras Presidency and to certain other tracts. Its characteristic features, of course, were the fixation of the State's land revenue demand in perpetuity and the definite conferment of proprietary rights on the *zamindārs*, or ex-Mughal revenue contractors, in respect of the lands concerned, for the land revenue of which they became liable. Many years were to elapse before the subordinate rights of tenure holders in the permanently settled lands received attention. The merits and results of the Permanent Settlement have been the subject of prolonged discussion and of much more or less drastic criticism into which it is neither necessary nor possible for me to enter. So far, however, as these results have been evil, the responsibility rests on the Home authorities of the time, who, relying on *a priori* theories, disregarded the more cautious course advocated by officials in India who knew enough to know that there was much more to be known before coming to a definite decision on a vital point of administration. The main gravamen of the charge against the settlement has been, of course, that it has deprived the State of all participation in the greatly increased rental of land, which as long ago as 1871-72 was officially stated to be many times the amount of the permanently fixed land revenue. According to the official statistics of 1919-20 the total of that revenue in the provinces of Bengal, Bihār and Orissa, Agra and Oudh, and Madras stands at approximately 2·9 million pounds sterling. On the data available in the same statistics I calculate that, at the existing standards of the neighbouring temporarily settled tracts, the revenue of those permanently settled should be roughly 2·5 million pounds

sterling more than it is; a figure which, if correct, is some measure of the bounty which a minority of the landowners of India are enjoying as a result of the action of Lord Cornwallis.

Let us turn now to a brief consideration of the position which land revenue receipts have occupied in the finances of India during the past half century. Variations in the sterling value of the rupee introduce inevitable complexity into any comparison of the past and present fiscal figures of India; but, allowing for this, those appended below (in round numbers) are perhaps sufficiently accurate for the purpose in view:

Year.	Total Income of the Indian Government.	Land Revenue Receipts.	Proportion of Land Revenue.
	£ Millions.	£ Millions.	Per Cent.
1871-1872	50·1	20·5	41
1881-1882	64·0	21·1	33
1891-1892	68·8	23·9	34·7
1901-1902	76·3	19·1	25
1911-1912	82·8	22·1	26·7
1919-1920	131·6	24·5	18·6

Fifty years ago land revenue was the backbone of Indian finance, the next largest items being opium, 9 million pounds, and salt, 6 million pounds. In 1919-20 land revenue receipts stood at 24·5 million pounds, the pound being taken at fifteen rupees instead of at ten as in 1871-72. Land revenue was still the largest head of income; but it was closely followed by net railway receipts with 21·3 million pounds; while we find also such comparatively high items as Income Tax, 15·4 million pounds; Customs, 15 million pounds; and Excise, 12·8 million pounds; figures not dreamt of by the Finance Minister of the seventies. The result is in accord with the well-recognized normal course of fiscal development, in which State income from State property, such as is the Indian land revenue, tends to decline, not necessarily in absolute amount, but in the proportion which it bears to income from taxation proper. Nevertheless land revenue still re-

mains an indispensable, though not the only buttress of the Indian fiscal system. It should be observed that since the introduction of the reformed Constitution in 1921 land revenue has become an entirely provincial head of receipt; and as the Indian provincial exchequers, under the fiscal arrangements which have been adopted, do not share in the important heads of Customs and income-tax, land revenue is at present and at any rate for a long time to come must, it would seem, continue to be the sheet anchor of their finances.

But, in truth, the ultimate future of the Indian land revenue has to be considered from a wider point of view, a point of view which embraces the future political development of India in its bearing, firstly, on the peace, security, and efficient government of the Indian continent; and, secondly, on the nature of the fiscal system which an Indian democracy, if and when it comes, will adopt, and of the distribution of fiscal burdens which it will seek to enforce. Here, indeed, it is that we enter the wide field of political and economic speculation. The avowed object of the reformed constitution, which has recently been introduced, is "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the Empire." These few pregnant words, of which the meaning, the issues, and the outcome are to be revealed in the course of the next century, or perhaps still later, express what is probably the most momentous political enterprise to be found in human history. Never before, so far as I am aware, have the future political destinies of one-fifth of the human race been compressed into a formula so brief and yet so replete with enormous consequences. How far the words were the result of insight, of careful consideration of the issues involved in the light of available knowledge, of some clear vision of the political and social conditions which will constitute the future goal, it is not for me to venture to judge on the present occasion. Time, in due

course and in its own way, will doubtless give unanswerable replies to such questions. What I am concerned with is the fact that India has been definitely started on the path of democratic self-government of the responsible type. To consider whether the path is one along which it will be possible for her to proceed to its ultimate goal would be obviously beyond the scope of this paper. But, in view of recent events, this much may, I think, be said with confidence : that the path will be neither smooth nor easy, nor progress either uniform or devoid of aberrations and retrogressions, more or less temporary though these may be. Assuming, however, future democratic development ; a point which is fairly clear is this : that the 70 per cent. of India's population which directly depends on agriculture for its daily bread must play an effective, not to say a predominant part in any Indian democratic system which is to lay claim to being a natural and healthy Indian development. It is scarcely conceivable that within any measurable interval of time the predominance of agriculture as the premier occupation of India can be threatened, much less vanish, in spite even of the fervour of those who seek in high protection a means towards the speedy and intense industrialization of India " by a rapid increase of machinery, factories, and great manufacturing cities," to quote from a recent paper read before this Association.

I am, therefore, perhaps not unduly rash in anticipating that in the increasingly democratic Indian political system of the future, as contemplated in the recently introduced constitution, with its representative bodies more and more closely, and, as it is hoped, more and more intelligently controlled by growing electorates, preponderantly agricultural and rural, questions relating to agriculture, land, land tenure, and the fiscal burdens attaching to them will in an increasing degree occupy the time and attention of the provincial Governments and Councils. I speak here not entirely without reference to facts ; for before I left India last year, I had on several occasions opportunities of dis-

cussing such questions with agricultural members of one provincial Legislative Council and of taking part in more formal debates dealing with some of these questions in the same Council; and the experience thus obtained tends to confirm the views which I have suggested. Moreover, a recommendation made by the Joint Committee of Parliament, in their report on the recent Government of India Act, to the effect that the principles governing the Indian land revenue should be reduced to statutory form, so far as this has not already been done, will doubtless encourage the early ventilation of such questions. The reflective agriculturist land revenue payer, and of these there are not a few even now, aware that land revenue has in the past been the most evident and the most pervasive element in the fiscal demands of the State, is disposed to contend that the time has come for some redistribution of the burden in the direction of more adequate taxation of industrial, commercial and professional wealth; and while no doubt inclined to exaggerate the amount of such wealth, he has insisted, and I think rightly, that the pitch of income-tax, an impost which, of course, does not apply to agricultural incomes in India, has been unduly low, and that its assessment has been evaded to a substantial extent and without much difficulty by methods not uncommonly prevalent in Oriental countries, nor unknown elsewhere. Recent years have undoubtedly seen some alteration in this state of affairs. I have already indicated that income-tax has now become a substantial item in the annual receipts of the Indian Government. Let me quote definite figures. In 1909-10 the yield was 1·56 million pounds; while during the four years ending with 1919-20 it ascended steeply to 3·7 million pounds, 6·3 million pounds, 7·7 million pounds, and finally to 15 million pounds. Of the latter sum, however, some 11 million pounds were collected in the provinces of Bengal and Bombay alone, that is to say, mainly in the cities of Calcutta and Bombay, leaving only some 4 million pounds for the rest of India. There is then

some ground, whether justifiable or not, for the comparison which presents itself to the land revenue payer between land on the one hand, and trade and industry on the other, as contributors to the finances of the State.

Pressure in the direction of relieving land of some part, at least, of its fiscal burden will, I anticipate, mainly take three directions :

1. A reduction in the standard of land revenue assessment ; that is to say, broadly speaking, in the share of net rental claimable by the State.

2. An extension of the term, or period of temporary settlements.

3. Limitation of the proportion of enhancement impossible at successive settlements. I propose to say a few words on each of these points.

The share of net rental claimed by the British Government has undergone successive reductions since the days of the permanent settlement of Bengal at the end of the eighteenth century. It is not generally recognized, I think, that that settlement was, at the time when it was made, a very severe one if judged by modern standards ; for the demand was considered as equivalent to ninety per cent. of the net rental, a figure which would be regarded as preposterous at the present time. In the settlements effected in the United Provinces between 1820 and 1840 the standard adopted was five-sixths, which was lowered to two-thirds in the latter year, and to one-half in 1855. In the Punjab since 1871 the standard has been one-half, and the same proportion applies to the Central Provinces and Madras and, I believe, to the greater part of Burma. In practice the standard is treated as a maximum which may not be exceeded, and the actual assessments imposed are frequently, if not generally, well below it. In the Punjab settlements, for instance, which have been carried out during the last ten years, the average proportion of the estimated net rental which has been actually taken has been about one-fourth in place of one-half. The result has been

due to the practical impossibility of imposing the large enhancements of demand which, in consequence of the great increase in agricultural assets, due to higher prices and to expansion of the cultivated area, the application of the theoretical maximum standards to actual or estimated net rental would have yielded. The demand for a reduction of these standards has thus been already met in part; but in pursuing the subject the landed interests will, I have little doubt, lay stress on a comparison with the corresponding standards observed in the case of income-tax. Under the present Indian Income-Tax Act, annual incomes between Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 10,000, figures, of course, very far in excess of the annual incomes of the vast majority of Indian land revenue payers, are charged at rates between $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 per cent., against which 25 or 30 per cent. for land revenue in the case of net agricultural rental certainly looks large. The suggested argument is, of course, fallacious in that while emphasizing the superficial similarity between income-tax and land revenue in respect of their operation as charges on income, it disregards their otherwise essential dissimilarity in origin and nature. The former is a demand of the State in virtue of its general taxing power; the latter is far more in being an ancient seigniorial claim of the State, always recognized as a liability and an obligation attaching to rights in land throughout India. It is to be hoped that an attempted assimilation of land revenue and income-tax for fiscal purposes will be firmly resisted, both theoretically and practically. Assimilation would presumably involve, *inter alia*, the exemption, as in the case of income-tax, of agricultural incomes of less than Rs. 2,000 per annum; a measure which would undoubtedly wipe by far the greater portion of the Indian land revenue out of existence altogether. In the Punjab, and I believe also in the United Provinces, a reduction of the maximal standard from 50 to 33 per cent. of the net rental has been suggested by the landed interests in the course of discussions which have already taken place; but, as I have already indicated,

the latter figure is itself in excess of the share of rental which has actually been realized in recent settlements in the former province. The practical results of the suggested reduction are, therefore, not likely to make themselves felt for some time ; but pressure in the direction of further reductions in the future will no doubt continue ; so that it is possible that in time a proportion as low as 20 per cent. or less may be demanded.

It is, however, for the extension of the term of temporary settlements that pressure will probably be greatest. At present the normal term is thirty years over the greater part of British India, though under special circumstances shorter terms, generally not less than twenty years, are fixed. It is, I think, likely that the landed interests will demand an extension of the term to fifty years at least, while the substitution of permanent for temporary settlements will probably be broached, if indeed, not urged. As regards portions of India outside those which have been under a permanent settlement since the end of the eighteenth century, such a substitution was definitely negatived by the Secretary of State in 1882 after many years of discussion ; but there is apparently nothing to prevent the question being reopened in the future in the Indian Legislative Councils, in the direction of extending the area of permanent settlement ; or of revising arrangements in those to which it applies at present so as to bring them into line with the rest of the country, and thus remove the differentiation which has long existed in favour of the landed proprietors of Bengal and Bihār and of portions of Madras and the United Provinces. It is, however, unlikely that so large and so contentious an issue as the latter will be raised for many years to come, if at all. A conceivable alternative to the wider introduction of a permanent settlement is the redemption of annual land revenue by the payment of its capitalized amount. It is, I think, not improbable that schemes for the gradual adoption of such a measure will be put forward, and possibly find favour, in

the future in the provincial legislatures as a means of raising capital for productive works. Indeed, before I left India I saw one such tentative scheme framed by a well-known Hindu gentleman who, among other things, has been a highly successful agriculturist. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of such schemes, one chief difficulty will be to fix terms for redemption which shall be at once fair to the State as well as sufficiently attractive to the land revenue payer.

The ostensible reasons generally urged for the extension of the term of temporary settlements are: firstly, an alleged discouragement to the making of permanent agricultural improvements, arising from the liability of the assets created by them to an early assessment to land revenue; and, secondly, the harassment caused to the rural public by settlement operations. The first reason has little or no foundation in fact, since improvements of the kind involved are expressly exempted from any enhanced assessment; in Madras and Bombay for ever, and in other parts of India for a period, irrespective of the term of settlement, sufficient for the capital sunk to be fully recouped from the additional assets created. As regards the second reason, improved executive and administrative machinery for the rapid prosecution of settlement operations has largely reduced, if not removed, a grievance which is, of course, of the kind which must, all the world over, more or less inevitably attend the assessment and realization of State income. An extension of term will, it is obvious, *pro tanto* deprive the State of its claim, based on immemorial usage, to a share in that unearned increment of agricultural land which must inevitably accompany economic development, and thus exclude it from the fiscal support derivable from the growth of a steadily, if comparatively slowly, expanding source of income. On such a view fifty years seems to be too long a term, having regard to the inevitable future fiscal needs of the Indian provinces, and to the depletion which the finances of several of them

show even now within a short period of the introduction of the new constitution. The whole question will constitute one of the many tests which India's hoped-for democracy will have to face in the course of its arduous journey to the goal which has been set before it.

As regards the proportion of enhancement of demand which may be imposed at the termination of the period of a temporary settlement, certain restrictions are already observed in some provinces. They usually take the form of limiting immediate increase of demand to a fixed proportion, generally 33 per cent. (in one case 25 per cent.), and postponing the imposition of any further increase, considered to be claimable, for terms of five or ten years from the date of the commencement of the new settlement; the object being to secure the gradual, as opposed to the sudden realization of large enhancements of revenue to which the State may be found to be entitled. As a matter of fact enhancement over a considerable tract of country nowadays seldom exceeds 33 per cent. by much, if at all; except in regions which have undergone rapid and extensive development through the introduction of canal irrigation. Efforts will doubtless be made sooner or later to secure further and more drastic limitation.

During the last fifty years the Indian land revenue, reckoned in rupees, has increased by a proportion which lies in the neighbourhood of 80 per cent.; but it is fairly evident that the combined result of the lines of pressure which I have indicated above will, in so far as they may be successful, tend to deprive it of such elements of expansibility as it still possesses. The effect of this will fall primarily and directly on the finances of the provincial governments, in which, as I have already observed, land revenue, under the new constitution, is the chief item of receipt; and the only one, except perhaps Excise, capable of a steady, if slow, expansion which can be forecasted. The effect will, of course, be accentuated if, as is conceivable, the landed interests should go so far as to press not

merely for a drastic limitation of the future growth of fiscal receipts from land, but for their actual reduction. The immediate present, indeed, is the day of retrenchment, not only in England, but in India also. If India, however, is to make moral and material progress under the new political and administrative system, growth in the expenditure of the State must, in accordance with a universally prevailing principle, be inevitable, and a corresponding expansion of income equally so. Whence are the provincial Governments to secure it if a main source of expansion is to be blocked?

The fiscal problem is one which will demand, is, indeed, even now demanding, from the provincial Councils intelligence, self-restraint, and a sense of public responsibility. How far the demand is being met I do not propose to consider, but that met it will have to be is clear beyond dispute. It is by no means unlikely that in the course of future debate and discussion the whole theory of the Indian land revenue will be attacked, and the validity, under modern conditions, of the seigniorial claim of the State disputed. Assume—and I trust that it is a very large assumption—that such contentions were accepted; what would be the result? The ancient land revenue of India, as such, would presumably disappear. How then would the yawning gap of some 25 million pounds in the annual provincial finances be filled? The only possible methods would be either, firstly, the taxation of the unearned increment from land, in accordance with the ideals of some modern economists, and of others, and that probably at a considerably higher standard than is applied to rental at present for the purposes of land revenue; or, secondly, the imposition of an income-tax on all agricultural incomes, on that of the landed proprietor as well as on that of his tenants, who at present, of course, do not pay land revenue to the State. Such an income-tax would have to include within its scope incomes far below the present limit of exemption, which is Rs. 2,000 per annum. In short, income-tax on the lines of

the British Schedules A and B would be introduced for agricultural land throughout India. Either of these measures might fill the gap, but the complexities of assessment and collection would be enormously greater than at present; while, looking at the comparatively easy operation of the present system, it is difficult to contemplate with equanimity the volume of popular discontent which would be aroused.

Given, therefore, a democracy of reasonable intelligence, effectively controlling its representatives in the Councils—I do not attempt to estimate the extent of the assumption—anything like a complete abolition of the land revenue in India is not, I think, to be seriously apprehended. Its continuous growth, however, will very probably be checked in the more or less distant future, perhaps almost to the point of extinction. It will then be for the provincial Governments and for the popular Councils, which will control them, to devise measures for meeting the growing cost of administration; for grow it must, even though the axe of retrenchment be periodically applied. What those measures will be I will not venture to prophesy. But in this connection it is to be observed that the main sources of income in which comparatively rapid expansion may be anticipated, such as Customs, Income-Tax, Railways, fall to the Central Government under present arrangements. It seems highly probable, therefore, that some readjustment in this respect between it and the provincial Governments will, sooner or later, become inevitable.

Finance is one of the perilous rocks which threaten the bark of Indian democracy in its voyage to the Land of Promise; and, in its dealing with Finance, the treatment of land revenue will demand foresight, courage, and self-restraint.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, May 28, 1923, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, at which a paper was read by Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., entitled, "The Future of the Indian Land Revenue." Sir William H. Vincent, K.C.S.I., was in the chair.

The following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Pentland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownagree, K.C.I.E., Sir Frederick Nicholson, K.C.I.E., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Charles Mules, C.S.I., Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir William Ovens and Lady Clark, Sir Robert Fulton, Lady Fagan, Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. F. W. Woods, C.I.E., Mr. E. R. Abbott, C.I.E., Mrs. Anstey, B.Sc., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-i.-H., Miss Scatcherd, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mrs. Drury, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. O. N. Ahmad, Mr. F. S. Tabor, Colonel F. S. Terry, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Miss Nina Corner, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Miss Partridge, Mrs. Martley, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. F. Grubb, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen,—I have been asked to introduce to you Sir Patrick Fagan, who will address you on "The Future of the Indian Land Revenue." I may say that I know of few people more competent to speak on this subject than Sir Patrick. He has had a long and distinguished career in the Punjab, a province famous for its land revenue administration, and he is a man known in the province for his capacity and sound judgment. I myself can speak with some knowledge of this, having had the good fortune to work with him on many occasions; he has, I may add, devoted much of his life to a careful study of the subject on which he will lecture to-day. I will not waste any more of your time, but will ask him to commence his lecture. (Applause.)

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN announced that the meeting was now open for discussion, and he would first of all ask Miss Scatcherd to read a communication which had been received from Dr. Pollen, their late Secretary.

Miss SCATCHERD said that Dr. Pollen had written his usual letter with regard to the paper, but as time was short she would only read one or two extracts from it. They were as follows:

"In India pre-eminently the tenure of land was originally a simple tribal one. The patch was cleared by the individual family, and the tribal chief or herdman, or godhead (if any), was given a share of the produce (if produce arose). Landlordism, in those days, there was none! All land belonged to the tribe and was the common property of all, and the common sense of the East and of India early invented a simple quit-rent, or crop-share, to be paid by the successful cultivator. This he always

paid, if he could! India happily escaped the evils of feudalism, and I agree with the lecturer that the common sense of the Indian Democracy (which in my opinion in all land matters is vastly superior to that of the Anglo-Saxon) will never abandon or give up its Indian Land Revenue, which is the chief and simplest source of its income.

"The fact is, Indians long ago recognized the palpable truth which is only just now beginning to be learnt by the West—viz., that land has *no intrinsic value* of its own! It cannot be eaten; nor can it, like gold, be hidden, buried, or carried away. Bad land, incapable of crops, here in the middle of London, may command millions, while millions of acres of the most fertile land in India may be described as absolutely valueless, and is abandoned to jungle. It is *the people round it* who make land valuable, and the first step in all agricultural development is to encourage and protect the cultivator, and this the Indian Village System certainly did; and now no Indian cultivator seriously objects to pay the quit-rent required by the State, provided the percentage of the crop is kept fair and low. The cultivator understands quite well that the so-called 'rent' or land tax is not in any way like the Income Tax or any other impost imposed by the whim of the State, but a very old tribal customary claim or cess which accompanies the right to cultivate and entitles the cultivator to certain privileges. It is a common mistake to confuse the Indian Land Revenue demand with the tax arbitrarily imposed here in England under our landlord-and-lawyer-made law! The Indian Land Revenue demand is not the queer thing called in the West 'rent,' the original cause of all the murder and agrarian outrages in Ireland! How the tenants in Great Britain would rejoice if they were only called upon to pay the small Indian Government demand instead of the heavy rents they now pay their so-called landlords!

"Let us hope that the ancient equitable and democratic Land Revenue System of India may not be wantonly touched or foolishly upset by the new Legislative Councils. There is nothing now to prevent the Indian tenant or occupier from improving his property or holding, for I remember, even in my time, 'the Tyrone or Ulster Tenant-right' was recognized at any rate in Bombay and Madras! Under it all improvements become the property of the occupant and constitute his working capital and the security for his skill and ability.

"Thirty years is quite long enough for any settlement. But increases in demand should be gradual and always limited to, say, 25 or 30 per cent. To make any settlement permanent would be sheer absurdity and contrary to all native sentiment.

"In supporting Sir Patrick Fagan I now say: Let the new Legislatures continue (or revive) the old native Government taxation if they would avoid being dashed on the rocks of financial disaster in their voyage to the land of promise!"

Mr. CHANNING said that he agreed generally with Sir Patrick, whose experience had been much on the same lines as his own. Any scheme of redemption of land tax must be based, he thought, on a permanent assessment of the tax. It was so in England, where the land tax was fixed in

perpetuity on the separate parishes in 1798. Since then about half the land tax had been redeemed, and that fact made it difficult to reform the taxation on land. All stereotyped valuations soon became unequal; so that the taxpayers no longer contributed in accordance with their means. If the permanent settlement were now extended to the whole of India the existing inequalities would not disappear, as the incidence of land revenue was so different in the areas now under permanent and in those under temporary settlement. As to what the future may be, he was not a prophet; but apparently under any real system of self-government the agricultural interest will be dominant, and whether the results will be to the liking of the commercial and professional classes time will show.

Mr. F. W. Woods said he thought the lecturer had dealt with the subject in too narrow a spirit; he seemed to regard taxation as something beneficial in itself, and that the material progress of the country would advance in proportion to its taxation. He drew a distinction between land revenue and income tax. He said in his paper: "Income tax is a demand of the State in virtue of its general taxing power; the latter is far more in being an ancient seigniorial claim of the State, always recognized as a liability and an obligation attaching to rights in land throughout India." It seemed to him that was a distinction rather than a difference; a matter of words. It was said that they had taken over the system of land revenue from the old Mogul rulers, but there were many of the old practices of the ancient rulers they had decided not to continue, and it was quite reasonable to reconsider the land revenue system on its merits. The lecturer had told them that originally land taxation in Bengal was fixed at 90 per cent. of the net rental, later being reduced to five-sixths, afterwards to two-thirds, and then to a half; and in the Punjab recently to about a quarter. This all went to show that at the time of each such reduction it was recognized that the taxation had been too high, and that it was desirable to lower it. A continuation of the process of reduction might bring it down to the level of the income tax, or the income tax might be scaled up to the level of the land tax.

He did not see that there was any distinction in the matter of immemorial usage between land taxation and any other form of taxation; all taxation was of immemorial usage, whether it was a hut tax or a poll tax, or any other kind of tax. It was only a question of administrative procedure in what form taxation should be levied. The lecturer showed statistics of land revenue receipts for the last fifty years, but his figures obscured matters through being expressed in terms of sterling instead of in rupees. The figures in sterling implied that the land revenue remained almost stationary, although in terms of rupees the revenue yield had been nearly doubled. It stood to reason that with the development of railways, customs, and so on, that the land revenue receipts bulked not so largely, in comparison with the total revenue, as it used to; but it was still an expanding source of taxation.

One fact, of course, was obvious, and that was that the Government must have taxes in order to carry on, but it need not necessarily lean so heavily on land taxation; it was entirely a matter of procedure based on

State policy. Curtailment of expenditure was a sound alternative to heavy taxation, since ample revenues were apt to encourage bureaucratic extravagance. The lecturer finished off by saying he wanted to know what would take the place of the land revenue if land revenue were to disappear? He had himself acknowledged that income tax could take its place simply as a matter of procedure. The rest was a question of policy.

He agreed with the lecturer that sound finance was the essence of the foundation of all government, and that the treatment of land revenue questions would demand foresight and self-restraint; as to "courage," of course they would have to distinguish between courage and rashness. It was more essential that there should be self-restraint and foresight. (Hear, hear.)

Sir CHARLES MILES said he presumed there can never be any question of extending the area under permanent settlement so long as a sane and reasonable Government exists in India and this country. That settlement, a folly the offspring of ignorance and incompetence, has been completely discredited, and no revenue officer could be found to defend it. He had himself been one for some thirty-five years. But though Government is now, as all Indian Governments have been from time immemorial, the owner of the land, all who had passed their lives amongst the people of India felt how important it was to protect the interest of the agricultural classes in every possible way. There had been in the past a tendency on the part of those in authority at the top of the tree to make the period of settlements too short; in his part of India they had had to suffer under ten years' settlements, and he had frequently urged that they should be for not less than thirty years as a minimum; it was not fair to the cultivating classes that they should at comparatively short intervals be subject to scrutiny and possible increases. He thought, speaking generally, that thirty years was a fair term. Where great irrigation projects were being carried out, of course Government might say: If we have more than a short term the cultivator will reap the benefit. Why should not he reap the benefit? He laboured under the most terrible disadvantages; the seasons were never to be relied upon. He suffered from droughts and floods, locusts and rats, blight, the ravages of wild animals, and many other troubles; therefore, if there was any little benefit to be obtained, by all means let him have it. (Hear, hear.) Unfortunately of late the agricultural classes had been undergoing a period of great ferment. They were most contented in the good old days, but, as an example of the mischievous agitation of recent years, since he had left India, from one of the richest and most prosperous parts of the Province in which he served, owing to the machinations of the notorious Moslem Ali brothers, the Hindu Gandhi, and their partizans, many thousands had suddenly and causelessly fled into tribal country and Afghanistan, where numbers had met with a most miserable fate. In the old days the rural classes, zemindars, peasant farmers, and labourers, looked upon their district officers as men who would and could protect their interests as, to use their own expression, their father and mother. Now all was changed. But difficult as the position of the present-day

district officers is, they are still doing their utmost to keep the old spirit of loyalty alive, and one of the most important means to that end assuredly is to charge the agricultural classes moderate rentals and in renewing settlements to grant them a good long fixity of tenure. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Mr. PENNINGTON said he would like to ask one question, and that was as to the position of the cultivator. The lecturer had said that the actual cultivator was protected against all increase, but he did not see how he was protected at all; at any rate he never was in his time.

Mr. COLDSTREAM said that he would have liked the lecturer to have given a little more detail in his statement regarding the actual practice of assessment of land revenue. Sir Patrick was very well qualified, from his long experience and his great sympathy with the people, to tell them a good deal as to how the system worked, and how it was adjusted with reference to the seasons and the various calamities of nature which may affect the income of the cultivator. In his opinion, as the result of considerable experience in India, he felt that the present Government viewed the cultivator with great sympathy, and the system which had been elaborated during the past sixty or eighty years in North India met the case entirely; it was a system on which much care had been expended. He thought that anything like complete abolition of the land revenue would never come to pass. It was important that they should bear in mind that the assessment of land revenue was one of the sources of income to which the Indian people had been accustomed for ages past, and they should take great care that the idea that the State had a claim on the share of the produce should be maintained, and not allowed to slide, though it should be adjusted with the greatest care and consideration. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. ABBOTT said there was a matter he would like to draw their attention to, and that was that between the land revenue in India and taxation there was a very great difference, which Mr. Woods apparently had not recognized. He had never come across anybody who clamoured to pay taxes, but it was not an uncommon experience in India to find people coming forward and clamouring to pay land revenue. That was an extraordinary thing, and distinguished the payment of land revenue from the payment of ordinary taxes. As a Collector he had men, widows, and even children battering at his door to accept the payment of land revenue due on a disputed holding. The point was that the payment of land revenue was the outward and visible sign of an inward right; that was to say, the payment of land revenue in the eyes of the zemindar was a sign of his right in the land which he cultivated (hear, hear), and even if the entry in the records were destroyed or lost, the fact that he had been seen to give his contribution to the quota collected could be vouched for by everybody, and as an outward sign of his title to the land. In considering the future of land revenue in India, therefore, they had to take cognizance of the fact that the zemindar himself insisted upon paying it; he might object to paying the amount claimed, but that he should pay land revenue was a cardinal point in his village polity. In considering the future of

land revenue they must also recognize that there was a very large rural zemindar majority in the Councils. No doubt, within the necessities of balancing the Budget, there was a tendency to reduce the percentage of profit which the Government claimed as its due, and also to increase the length of the term for which assessments took effect. He himself was strongly in favour of those two tendencies. (Hear, hear.) He had recently had occasion to advise on the system of land revenue imposed by one of the great feudatory states of India, and he was astounded to see the great progress the British Government had made in the leniency of its assessments as compared with the Government of that particular state. The percentage which the Governments in Northern India took from the zemindar was now much less than when he first went to India. The 33 per cent. which it was now proposed to make the legal maximum in place of 50 per cent. of the rental, the present maximum, if adopted, would not in practice make any great immediate change in the amount of land revenue collected, but it would be a starting-point from which further leniency might be expected. He was strongly in favour of every effort being made towards greater leniency within the possibilities imposed by the financial obligation of paying one's way. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. RICE said that he had listened in vain for any constructive criticism of the title of the paper, but it seemed to be the assumption generally that land revenue itself was essential to India, and most of the discussion had been devoted to showing not only that land revenue was essential, but in what direction it could be improved, and as to how great a blessing it had proved in the past. Mr. Woods had made the pregnant suggestion: Why have land revenue at all?

Mr. WOODS: No; I said there must be taxation, but that it need not necessarily come from the land.

Mr. RICE said they ought to look at the subject from the objective point of view of what was likely to happen. It was said that land revenue was immemorial, and that they had only improved upon it. There had been a great many other changes in India. While the India of thirty or fifty years ago was very much on the old lines adopted by the ancient rulers, nowadays India was changing rapidly, and there was a considerable clamour for alteration in the executive machinery, and it was quite possible that an entirely new democratic Government in India might begin to question whether the system of land revenue was the best thing for India. If they could abolish land revenue, it would be a good thing for the agricultural population. He did not say land revenue was a good thing or a bad thing, but in the future it was quite possible a democratic Government might prefer to raise the revenue in many other ways; it was not at all beyond practical politics that the whole question of land revenue in the future might be discussed, and other means found for supplying the money.

Mr. F. S. TABOR said that with regard to the point which had been mentioned as to why there should be land revenue at all, if they looked at the question as it stood they had in India landlords who owned the land

and revenue; they had either inherited it or bought it, and they knew it was subject to land revenue when they bought it. The land revenue in India varied according to the assets, and if land revenue should be abolished it would simply be making a free gift to those owners of land, just the same as if they were to abolish the tithes in this country. He himself lived in a district where the tithe was higher per acre than the land revenue was in India. They might say: Why not abolish that? If they did, that would be a free gift to the owners of the land, and there was no reason at all why that should be done, any more than they should abolish land revenue in India.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, it seems to me that there is really very little difference of opinion, save perhaps on the part of one or two members of the audience, on the question whether land revenue is a fair form of taxation in India, or a sound method of securing revenue for the Government; there may be differences as to the amount, and as to the period of each settlement, but the general consensus of opinion is, I think, strongly in favour of the view that land revenue is *per se* not an objectionable levy, and I venture to suggest that there is a great deal to be said in support of that position. One great merit the land revenue system has is its antiquity, for men bear more readily a form of taxation to which they have long been accustomed. Further, as was pointed out, suddenly to abolish land revenue now would be merely to benefit one particular class consisting largely of people who have no claim to hold the land free of assessment. I do not myself believe also that if you were to free the land from all payment of land revenue to-morrow you would benefit the position of the actual cultivator in the future—say five or ten years hence—in the least. There is nothing in our experience to support such a contention; apart from all this also I suggest that the abolition of land revenue as a source of income is not a practical proposition at present. I have never heard of this being suggested in India, nor would it be possible to substitute for land revenue any demand in the nature of income tax under present conditions. I do not think that anyone with recent experience of administration in India would regard that as a feasible proposition.

There are one or two points in the address on the future of land revenue to which I should like to draw attention. The lecturer said, for instance: "70 per cent. of India's population which directly depends on agriculture for its daily bread must play an effective, not to say a predominant, part in any Indian democratic system." Now, if members have examined the composition of the new Councils they will see that every effort that is possible has been made to secure rural representation, and, in fact, in the Provincial Councils rural representatives command a large majority. In the United Provinces Council during the last year the landlord interest was able to oppose successfully efforts made on one occasion by a Minister of the Government, and on another occasion by a member, to alter the law affecting the position of landholders to their disadvantage.

Similarly, if you take the Punjab—I hesitate to say that the figures I put before you are definitely correct—but I think there are about forty-five landlords, or persons connected with agriculture, out of about sixty in the local Council. In the Legislative Assembly there are twenty-five landlords

besides lawyers interested in land. Seats have been reserved for landlords in all Councils, and in addition to that they secured more seats through the ordinary rural electorate. In fact, the ryot looks on the landlord as his supporter and as one of the best representatives he can get *vis-à-vis* urban members.

I should like also to answer a question a lady asked about agricultural agitation in India; undoubtedly there has been a great deal of such unrest in recent years. For instance, in certain districts of Oudh last year there was agitation of a dangerous character, and, even if promoted by political agitators, it was carried on by the rural population against the landlords of Oudh, who are more in the position of feudal landlords than zemindars elsewhere, in that they claim greater privileges than ordinary landlords. Similarly, in other parts—e.g. in Behar and Chota Nagpore—there have been from time to time outbreaks of agrarian disorder, the tenants in some cases claiming the lands as their own property. Another question discussed was the probability of a reversion to the permanent settlement. One speaker suggested this was not a real danger as long as there was a sane Government in India or at home. I cannot answer for the sanity of the Government, but I may say that there are no indications of the insanity taking that particular form, nor is it likely it will. The rural interests are very largely represented in Councils, but the landlords know very well that directly the idea is started that no increase in revenue is payable it is a very short step to saying that no increase in rent is payable, and he is not in the least likely to support such a proposal. No doubt landlords might almost support permanent settlement, but I think the tendency in the country is rather the other way, and to say where there is permanent settlement that it should be done away with for the benefit of the State. The landlords in Bengal certainly have been apprehensive of this, and are anxious to know how far the covenants entered into will be observed and are binding on their successors. In fact, however, the benefits of a permanent settlement to the actual cultivator are very doubtful. If you read the Land Revenue Resolution published by Lord Curzon's Government, you will find that whereas in Bengal the State realized about four crores in land revenue, the actual assessments on the tenants was something like sixteen crores, and that the tenants pay far more than they pay in other Provinces. My personal experience in one or two districts confirms this view.

As one speaker remarked, rents in Bengal are amazingly high, and it was this that was one of the reasons for the Bengal Rent Commission in 1879. One remark more and I have done. The lecturer at the end of his paper said: "Given, therefore, a democracy of reasonable intelligence," and I want to warn the audience that in my judgment it will be a long time before you have a real democracy of any kind in India. A transfer of power at the present moment would certainly not be the transfer of power to a democratic Government, but a transfer from one oligarchy to another. (Hear, hear.)

LORD PENTLAND, in proposing a very hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer and the Chairman, said they would like to record their grateful

thanks to Sir Patrick for his remarkably interesting paper, and the judicious examination of the whole subject of land revenue, and their gratitude was increased by having Sir William Vincent in the chair. He had only recently returned from the closest touch with affairs in India, and they were delighted to see him looking so well. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

The LECTURER, in reply, said there was only one point he would like to refer to, and that was Mr. Woods's remark that the lecturer appeared to be a person who regarded taxation as a blessing in itself. He would like, however, to assure him that as an Irishman—and one smarting under a 5s. or a 4s. 6d. income tax—he was very far from entertaining any such idea. If he might say so, with well-simulated indignation, he desired to repudiate the suggestion *in toto*.

In conclusion, he would like to thank them all for the very kind way in which they had referred to his paper; it had been sufficiently long, and if he had dealt with the subject in more detail, as had been suggested, he would probably have had to detain them beyond the limits of their patience. (Hear, hear.)

The proceedings then terminated.

COMMERCIAL SECTION

INDIAN PORTS

BY SIR GEORGE BUCHANAN, K.C.I.E.

INDIA has a coast-line of over 4,500 miles, an area of over 1,800,000 square miles, and a population of 350,000,000, but chiefly due to physical conditions she has only five ports of any magnitude, Karachi and Bombay on the west coast, Madras and Calcutta on the east coast, and Rangoon for the Province of Burma.

It is believed that a brief review of the financial status and development of these ports since the war may be of interest, as although they differ considerably in the nature of their trade and facilities provided for its accommodation, there is sufficient similarity to warrant a comparison on broad lines.

The ports are, for example, chiefly terminals, as distinct from ports of call, such as Colombo, Hong Kong, and Singapore, and therefore the tonnage of shipping entering the ports is a fair indication of their actual sea-borne trade. They are also all worked under the general control of the Government, and their statutory constitutions and powers are similar.

There is, however, one difference between the ports of Bombay and Karachi on the west, and the ports of Calcutta and Rangoon on the east, inasmuch as the former are seaports proper, whilst the latter, being situated on the banks of rivers at a considerable distance from the sea, are committed to a considerable annual expenditure in lighting, buoying, surveying, river conservancy, and river pilotage.

In the year 1921-22 these five ports had an aggregate gross revenue of 597.55 lakhs of rupees, and expenditure of 750 lakhs of rupees, and a capital debt of 3,780 lakhs

of rupees ; the registered tonnage of shipping entering the ports was 14,300,000, and during the year 17,268,979 tons of goods were handled.

India is primarily an agricultural and mineral country, exporting her produce in return for manufactured goods, but industries of all kinds are rapidly developing, and each year India becomes more self-supporting ; cotton and jute mills are numerous, and the iron and steel works of Bihar and Orissa are the largest outside Europe and America.

The principal imports consist of building materials, iron, and steel, hardware, piece-goods, clothing, machinery, food-stuffs, and sugar.

The exports comprise cotton and cotton goods, wheat, rice, and other grain, seeds, jute and jute goods, tea, hides and skins, kerosene oil, coal, manganese ore, and lead.

Bombay is the principal port of shipment for cotton and cotton goods and manganese ore ; Calcutta for jute and jute goods, tea, coal, and seeds ; Rangoon for rice and rice products, timber, kerosene oil, and lead ; Karachi for wheat.

The grain is bagged, there being no grain elevators in India, although their installation at Karachi, which is the great port of shipment for the Punjab, has been under consideration for many years.

The system of port administration in India is by means of self-contained, self-supporting Port Trusts, the members of which are in part elected by public bodies and in part nominated by Government. The Trusts are subject to the control of Government, especially in regard to finance, and all revenue-producing works have to be shown to be self-supporting in the near future and economically essential to the welfare of the port and the community before they are sanctioned, whilst in the case of non-revenue-producing works the Port Authority has to prove its capacity to pay interest and sinking fund on loans raised for their execution.

Proposals have recently been made to co-ordinate railways and ports by placing them under one control, and the

committee appointed in November, 1920, by the Secretary of State for India to enquire into the working and administration of Indian railways made the following remarks :

" We recommend that there be a Member of Council in charge of communications, whose portfolio should comprise railways, ports, and inland navigation, road transport (so far as it is under the control of the Government of India), and posts and telegraphs. Perhaps in making this recommendation we are going beyond the strict terms of our reference, which is concerned only with railways, but the connection of railways with other forms of communication is so close that we think we are entitled to make it.

" The advantages of a close relationship between railways, ports, water transport, and road transport are obvious. They need correlation by a common controlling authority ; they are feeders to each other, but at the same time their conflicting interests as carriers necessitate expert supervision and protection ; all methods of transport are necessary for the development of India, and all new schemes, whether for transport by rail, road, or water, require to be considered by the same authority as a part of a well-ordered general programme. Only imperial questions connected with road transport would, under our scheme, come under the immediate supervision of the Ministry, local road questions being left, as now, to local authorities.

" The only connection at present even between the railways and the ports which they serve is through the Member of Council, who is common to both. The Departments that deal with them are separate. And in many respects the ports are subject not to the Central Government at all, but to local governments.

" All the witnesses whom we examined on this point agreed that there were strong reasons for a change. One instance will suffice. The Calcutta Port Authority are undertaking the enlargement and re-equipment of their Kidderpur docks to accommodate the rapidly growing traffic. They have in contemplation a large scheme involving the expenditure of many millions. They are also adding to the accommodation of their port railways. The lay-out of the docks cannot be settled till it has been decided how much of the necessary siding accommodation is to be provided respectively by the railways on railway property and by the Port Authority on dock property. The Port Authority cannot be certain what coal-tipping appliances to order till it is settled what form of coal wagons

the railways will use. The railways, on the other hand, cannot be certain that the appliances will be suitable for their wagons. There is no machinery for bringing together the various parties in interest, still less for deciding when the parties differ. The Department of Commerce, the Railway Department, two railway companies, the Calcutta Port Authority, and the Government of Bengal, all are involved and take a hand in the decision.

"The necessity for close co-ordination so as to dovetail together the work of the docks and the railways that serve them has long been recognized in England. In recent years—not without hesitation as to the propriety of strengthening railway monopoly—Parliament has allowed railway companies, in order that the two services might be in one hand, to acquire the docks in the first-class ports of Southampton and Hull. Still more recently private arrangements have secured the same result in the great port of Cardiff. And the Ministry of Transport Act, 1919, gives the Minister considerable powers to co-ordinate the facilities and methods of working between railways and such dock undertakings as are still independent."

Up to the present no effect has been given to the committee's recommendations, and the report is still "under consideration."

The Indian ports derive their chief revenues from dues on vessels and rates on goods, the proportion being approximately in the ratio of one-third vessels to two-thirds goods, and the rule, originally promulgated in the report of the Royal Commission on the Port of London, to the effect that everything which uses a port should contribute to its working and maintenance, is generally followed.

A considerable revenue is also derived from rents on lands, warehouses, and other buildings, on the port estate, this being usually a constant number which affords a useful reserve in case of fluctuations of annual receipts from other sources.

The ports are not intended to make a profit on their year's work, but are supposed to pay interest and sinking fund on loans raised, maintenance charges, working expenses, and general charges, whilst in the case of non-

revenue-producing works, such as breakwaters, river training works, etc., funds are raised by means of special dues on both vessels and goods, or occasionally by a Government grant in aid.

Bombay and Calcutta have their own harbour railways encircling the port and worked by the Port Authority, and railway companies or State railways, as the case may be, hand over the wagons at a certain point. Other ports have their own railways worked under an agreement by the railway companies. Calcutta and Rangoon have also the advantage of extensive water transport systems to the interior in addition to railways.

In one important respect Indian ports differ from home ports inasmuch as there is in India practically no competition for the trade which flows naturally to the one and only coast terminal serving a particular area, whilst in the home ports trade has sometimes half a dozen alternatives in the way of ports, and is able to pick and choose.

Calcutta, for instance, which is the natural and at present only outlet for the rich and densely populated valley of the Ganges, cannot help being a large port, and prospers, one might say, in spite of itself, because the history of port development in the past is not one of which Calcutta can be proud.

In the matter of accommodation and facilities, Indian ports differ considerably, and as this is not a technical paper, it may be as well to explain that by accommodation and facilities is meant the provision of dock-quays, wharves, or sheds, where steamers can come alongside in safety to discharge or receive passengers and goods, along with sheds and warehouses wherein the goods can be stored.

Vessels are berthed either at quays inside wet docks which are entered through gates and a lock, at wharves built on the banks of a river or inside sheltered harbours or jetties projecting into a river or harbour.

Bombay relies almost entirely on wet docks. The Prince's Dock, begun in 1875, and completed in 1880, has

a basin accommodation of 30 acres, and a depth at the entrance of 28 feet below H.W.O.S.T.

The Victoria Dock was put in hand in 1885 and completed in 1888, with a basin of 25 acres and an average entrance depth 2 feet lower than the Prince's Dock.

Lastly, the Alexandra Dock was begun in 1905 and completed in 1914, with a water area of $49\frac{1}{2}$ acres and an entrance depth of $37\frac{1}{4}$ feet below H.W.O.S.T.

The Prince's Dock and Victoria Dock can accommodate 27 vessels of a length from 300 to 500 feet, and the Alexandra Dock 17 vessels of 500 to 525 feet, whilst there is one berth alongside the dock for mail steamers.

The Port Trustees are at present discussing further port accommodation either in the shape of another wet dock or wharves in the harbour.

Karachi has converted what in 1839 was a shallow more or less land-locked lagoon into a fine port with 8,600 feet of deep-water wharfage, equivalent to seventeen steamer berths, besides wharves for country craft and the coasting steamer trade.

The deep-water wharves have a depth of 28 feet alongside at H.W.O.S.T. which it is proposed to increase to 34 feet, and a comprehensive scheme for additional wharfage has been sanctioned and is awaiting finance.

Calcutta combines wet docks with river wharves. The wet docks at Kidderpur were completed in 1892, and contain eighteen berths for general produce and ten coal berths.

The river berths are used solely for the import trade, and are 4,750 feet long, or nine ships' berths.

A large new wet dock-system is at present under construction, and was inaugurated and named the "King George Dock" by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught in February, 1921. The new dock will have a water area of 190 acres, 25,000 feet of quay-wall accommodating thirty-five steamers, and a depth of water at the entrance at highest high water of $45\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

In addition to the wet docks, five additional jetties are being constructed in the river in the vicinity of the dock.

It is hoped that the new dock will be sufficiently advanced to be opened for nine berths in 1927, and the only criticism one can make is that if the Port Authority had had more foresight and imagination the dock would have been on the verge of completion in 1914, and would have cost little more than half the present rates.

Calcutta's greatest drawback is the unstable condition of its river, and at certain times the draught of vessels passing up at high water is limited to 27 to 28 feet.

Madras has been described as a challenge flaunted in the face of nature, as it is an artificial harbour formed of breakwaters thrust into the Bay of Bengal and exposed to the full force of the south-west monsoon. Deep-water wharves, sheds, and other appliances of a modern port have been constructed, but nevertheless, in the event of a gale, all commanders of vessels are recommended by the Port Authority to go out to sea as soon as the danger signal is exhibited on the port flagstaff.

Rangoon is the centre of the rice trade, and exports from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 tons per annum, the outstanding feature being the simplicity, cheapness, and despatch with which the export trade is conducted. The paddy is brought from up-country by rail and water to the mills. Every mill is situated on the banks of a river or creek and has its own jetty, and when the paddy has been converted into rice and bagged for shipment, the bags are thrown into cargo-boats waiting alongside the mills and conveyed to the vessels moored in the stream, the river taking the place of wet docks in other ports; the work of loading can proceed on both sides of the vessels night and day, and there is no Eastern port where steamers get better despatch.

For the import trade deep-water wharves have been constructed on the banks of the river, and for the great up-river trade numerous floating landing-stages have been erected.

At the present time the world is largely occupied with schemes for conserving capital, and in port extension projects it is a general rule that wherever it is possible to do so deep-water wharves should be substituted for wet docks.

At Rangoon the bulk of the export trade does not even require deep-water wharves, as vessels lie at moorings in the river, but the Port Commissioners are obsessed with the idea that because Calcutta and Bombay, under quite different conditions, have wet docks they are a necessity for Rangoon, so a comprehensive and costly system of wet docks, complete with locks to pass through the largest steamers, have been designed, and H.R.H the Prince of Wales, when he visited Burma in 1922, was pleased to permit the proposed docks to be named the "Prince Edward Docks." Fortunately the naming of the docks does not confer sanction to the project or provide the necessary funds, and it is to be hoped that in the public interest wiser counsels will prevail, and that this crazy scheme for wasting public money and ruining the port of Rangoon will be postponed indefinitely.

Sir William Broodbank, in his interesting paper on "Problems in Port Administration," observes that in the provision of new accommodation and facilities for trade the main problem is how to anticipate future demands without unduly taxing the present users of the ports, and in comparing British and American engineering practice he points out that the American takes care so to construct his up-to-date facilities that by the time they get out of date the question of scrapping does not disturb his financial equilibrium, but that the Britisher makes his solid concrete quays and massive walls, and when the time comes to reconstruct he has to write off an enormously heavier capital.

There is, unfortunately, a very great deal of truth in Sir William Broodbank's remarks, as it is frequently overlooked by port officials that the port is made for the

convenience and assistance of trade, and that schemes magnificent in conception and execution, although highly creditable to the engineers, are useless if they are unnecessary or financially unsound.

The following tables and comments thereon show briefly the financial status and magnitude of the ports and extent of their trade in comparison with 1913-14, which was the last pre-war year and also the year when each port had reached its highest level of prosperity.

The figures are taken from the administration reports of the various ports, but as each port has its own way of keeping accounts and statistics and of compiling its annual reports, it is difficult to compare one with the other except on broad lines.

BOMBAY

Year.	Ordinary Revenue.	Ordinary Expenditure.	Establishment.	Interest and Sinking Fund.	Net registered Tonnage of Vessels entering the Port.	Total Tonnage of—		Total.
						Imports.	Exports.	
	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
1913-14	98.79	79.27	16.83	53.49	4,656,515	Not available	Not available	
1919-20	196.90	194.42	—	—	4,221,530	3,139,000	3,114,000	6,253,000
1920-21	222.97	221.57	—	80.68	4,822,510	3,322,000	2,750,000	6,072,000
1921-22	217.17	227.80	53.88	85.81	5,401,178	3,978,000	2,747,000	6,725,000

Bombay was India's principal war port, and therefore did not suffer financially from the war.

The revenue has increased, in 1921-22, 119.8 per cent. since 1913-14, but the expenditure has increased 188 per cent., and the establishment 220 per cent. This is to a great extent due to the working expenses of the new docks, which were only opened in 1914.

The deficit of 10 lakhs in 1921-22, with a greatly increased tonnage both of shipping and goods, is largely due to a decrease of 36 $\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs in receipts from ground and shed rents.

KARACHI

Year.	Ordinary Revenue.	Ordinary Expenditure.	Establishment.	Interest and Sinking Fund.	Net registered Tonnage of Vessels entering the Port.	Total Tonnage of—		Total handled.
						Imports.	Exports.	
	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
1913-14	48.22	39.00	2.91	14.71	2,056,379	1,483,069	1,067,004	2,550,073
1920-21	58.31	59.39	7.86	15.36	2,108,346	820,641	330,357	1,150,998
1921-22	63.18	62.70	7.70	15.69	2,346,617	434,277	696,309	1,130,586

As compared with 1913-14, the tonnage handled at Karachi shows a great falling off in 1921-22, mainly due to the stoppage of wheat exports. Working expenses have, however, increased, and it has been necessary to raise rates. Fortunately, as it was a war port, Karachi was able to pay its way during the war years.

In 1921-22, out of the total revenue, 6.13 lakhs was met by surcharge and 6.30 lakhs was arrears due by Government.

CALCUTTA

Year.	Ordinary Revenue.	Ordinary Expenditure.	Establishment.	Interest and Sinking Fund.	Net registered Tonnage of Vessels entering the Port.	Total Tonnage of—			Grand Total Goods handled.
						Imports.	Exports (general).	Coal Exports.	
	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
1913-14	151.28	156.61	29.92	60.05	4,256,987	1,800,673	1,231,589	3,017,180	6,049,442
1919-20*	223.55	225.51	—	60.90	2,941,846	1,366,812	1,146,479	2,264,976	4,778,267
1920-21	266.08	251.61	53.90	62.60	4,017,514	1,098,347	1,133,719	3,046,400	5,278,466
1921-22	219.17	240.39	60.13	63.35	3,446,021	1,319,772	974,783	1,687,222	3,981,777

In tonnage of vessels entering the port and in tonnage of goods handled, Calcutta has not yet reached pre-war standard; the ordinary revenue has, however, increased 44.8 per cent., and the ordinary expenditure 53.5 per cent. over 1913-14 figures.

The increase in revenue is largely accounted for by increases under the heads rentable lands and buildings and by raising certain rates and dues.

The expense of working the port has increased hugely under every head of account—cost of establishment having gone up 100.9 per cent.

* Special war surcharge of 64.66 lakhs.

MADRAS

Year.	Ordinary Revenue.	Ordinary Expenditure.	Registered Tonnage of Vessels entering the Port.	Total Tonnage handled.
	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Tons.	Tons.
1913-14	15.27	11.39	1,777,470	797,665
1920-21	29.58	22.13	1,662,444	848,756
1921-22	25.43	23.21	1,943,159	874,080

Madras has in 1921-22 got well past the 1913-14 figures of trade, and has a surplus of revenue over expenditure.

RANGOON

Year.	Ordinary Revenue.	Ordinary Expenditure.	Establishment.	Interest and Sinking Fund.	Net registered Tonnage entering the Port.	Exports and Imports. Total Tonnage handled.
	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Tons.	Tons.
1913-14	51.84	37.03	6.95	15.58	2,946,774	4,557,401
1920-21	54.61	54.12	11.10	17.94	2,800,513	4,037,923
1921-22	59.33*	65.95	14.00	19.98	3,098,509	4,562,094

In 1921-22 Rangoon had just exceeded the pre-war tonnage of shipping entering the port and of goods handled.

The ordinary revenue was 59.33 lakhs compared to 51.84 lakhs in 1913-14, but the ordinary expenditure had advanced from 37.03 lakhs to no less than 65.95 lakhs.

* Plus 15.85 lakhs surcharge.

EDUCATIONAL SECTION

EDUCATION IN CHINA

BY DR. S. LAVINGTON HART

THAT the subject which I have the honour to discuss is a large one is evident from the fact that there are in the elementary schools of China, apart from all other grades of institutions, more than four million scholars. If for a moment or two we try to envisage this huge number, and reflect that before long there will be many more ; while at the same time we remember that the education of all these masses is in a state of transition and that the next few years will be the formative period during which the character must finally be given to the instruction of one-quarter of the human race, we must be driven to the conclusion that there are very few questions that can exceed it in magnitude.

Even if our survey of this theme prove of necessity to be but partial, it may be that it will help us at some further time to enter upon a fuller and more comprehensive study. The subject is certainly worth it.

The revolution dates back, as everyone knows, to the days after the war with Japan and the Boxer rising.

But revolutions are never produced suddenly, nor are they spontaneous. However rapid the outburst and sweeping the changes, there is always a long time of preparation. The accumulation of conditions which make the old impossible, and the spreading of the spirit which ushers in the new, are there long before the arrival of the circumstances which force on the revolution.

The unexpected failure of the Chinese army when confronted with Japan, and the tragic ending of the Boxer endeavour for freedom from the presence of foreign in-

fluences, these constituted the needed circumstances. The conditions which were gradually though imperceptibly rendering a continuation of the old régime impossible it is not for us to consider here ; but with the new spirit that had been at work and at last gave direction to the outburst for freedom, we as educationalists are concerned.

For more than a half-century it had been spreading and growing, like the leaven in the meal or the seed in the ground.

Robert Morrison was there early, even perhaps earlier than R. S. Brown, who opened a school at Macao in 1839. Although not on Chinese soil, Morrison's Anglo-Chinese school at Malacca was for the Chinese, and as soon as possible—that is, in 1842—it was removed to Hong Kong.

Another equally striking and significant beginning was made in the early forties at Ningpo by Miss Aldersey, an English lady, who must have been gifted with the rarest enterprise and fortitude to have been able to conduct a school for girls in that city so long ago, and to succeed in having some sixty scholars, the majority of whom were boarders. It must never be forgotten that the education of girls will prove the crucial point in the history of China, as in every other country. How much is owing to Miss Aldersey for the new departure she originated eighty years ago it would be hard to estimate.

Many others went forth who had continued in their narrow spheres. Need we mention the names of the founders of the schools that have influenced China? St. John's University ; Nan Yang University ; Pei Yang University at Tientsin ; the Tung Wen Kuan ; the origin of the Government University, in Peking, and the Pei Yang Medical College in Tientsin ; all these were founded by men, let it be remembered, who had gone to China as Christian missionaries. Names like Boone, W. A. P. Martin, Kenneth Mackenzie, Timothy Richard, and those of many others still living, will long be remembered.

One of the earliest results was that Chinese students,

amongst them T'ang Shao-yi, Liang Ming-ting, and their comrades, were sent abroad, to the United States for the most part. This small beginning of a very large movement was due to the foresight of statesmen like Li Hung Chang, and if his example had been more freely followed, the changes introduced by the Revolution would have come more peacefully to China. For although the educational reformation in itself was bloodless, it was not possible that some should not have to pay the price, and this they did right nobly. My first years in China were spent at Wuchang. The grandson of T'an, the governor of that city, was brought under the new influences, and alone in all his entourage he was being prepared for martyrdom. K'ang Yu-wei, profoundly impressed by the necessity for radical reforms, had found in the Emperor Kuang Hsi a ready convert, for his heart also had proved fertile soil for the new seed. The famous edicts were issued in 1898, and among other reforms was the proposal for the organization of modern schools throughout the whole Empire wherein Chinese and Western learning should be taught. There were to be district schools and colleges in the prefectural cities and provincial capitals, all leading up to the University in Peking. Though the old system of literary examinations was still to continue, its days could not but be numbered, for through the edict it was plain that the State considered it to be its duty to educate and not only to examine.

Opposition to radical changes of this order was certain, and the celebrated *coup d'état* showed how strong the opposition was. The young Emperor found himself a prisoner in his own palace, and the Reformers had to flee for their lives. K'ang Yu-wei escaped through the help of his friend Timothy Richard, but young Mr. T'an and some of his comrades in the movement were seized and put to death.

Just as he was condemned, T'an said some memorable words: "I am glad," he declared, "to die for my country ;

but be assured that for every one of us who die here to-day there will arise ten thousand to carry on the work." Prophetic words that have proved true indeed, for through the death of T'an and his friends was born *Young China*, and the success of the revolution was assured!

All this was before the Boxer troubles. After the failure of this rising the Empress Dowager showed that she had learnt some wisdom, for in 1901 she issued an edict furthering the plans already proposed by Kuang Hsü. The examination halls were to be turned into colleges, but the examination system was to continue. However, at last, in 1905, the age-honoured old-style literary examinations were abolished.

The political revolution of 1911 added still more radical changes, for the new provisional government eliminated the study of the classics from the primary schools, and ordered the preparation of new textbooks, which were to be in harmony with the new spirit of the age.

But enough of dates and bare recapitulation of facts.

To me, and I hope to most, the significant thing about these changes is not that certain edicts were issued in Peking, or that such and such a far-seeing statesman promulgated certain reforms, but that the spirit of the people themselves was changed, and that instead of the old-style scholar there was rising fast in every part of the Empire the new Chinese student. And China owes as much to-day to the new student as the Empire did in the former days to the well-known classical scholar.

I noticed this change in the attitude towards Western learning very forcibly, for just before the Boxer troubles I had ventured on certain very mild suggestions for alteration in the curriculum of a small school in Tientsin; indeed, it was merely the addition of arithmetic to the Chinese abacus system, which was already being taught. A teacher, himself a distinctly bright and clever Chinese scholar, deprecated the innovation, which he spoke of as

being stupid. The innovation was not much of a success, I am bound to admit.

I came home in 1899, and returned soon after things were beginning to settle down after the shock of the anti-foreign uprising. I found everything changed: people were thinking differently; instead of having to suggest in a tentative way that some Western learning might prove useful, I discovered that there was an eagerness to learn on the part of even those who had held aloof before. It was then that the college over which I have had the honour to preside was started; and I, for one, must always consider the founding of this institution as a direct outcome of the change in the popular estimate of the value of the new learning. At the suggestion of two eminent Chinese scholars the Chinese name of "Hsin hstieh," new learning, was given to it, and this title helps one to remember to-day that in 1901 the education which is now so common and widespread in China was a new thing, but a new thing to which the people with unexpected favour turned most readily; for the revolution in education was not a matter of official dictation, it was essentially a desire on the part of the Chinese man in the street. This fact needs to be pointed out; for we have to assert that "China" is, not the Government nor the Tutchuns, but the people. And if we spell this word with a capital P, we can allow to the people of China the famous words of Le Grand Monarque: "*L'État—c'est moi!*"

I am far from wishing, while speaking of purely educational matters, to slip into national or political questions; but it is allowable to point out one lesson, that all might learn with advantage, from the readiness I have been referring to on the part of the people of China to alter their standpoint on a matter which had always been held of the first importance in that country—namely, the instruction and education of their young men and the preparation of their rulers and officials.

It is a proof of the alertness of the nation, of the juve-

nility, one might say, of this ancient race, that they can show themselves capable of understanding the signs of the times and profiting from almost overwhelming disaster, turning even their reverses into gains because of the elasticity of their national life. It is not difficult to give way to pessimistic views when considering the present position of China ; but these reflections on the power of China to recover and improve her position, which, I believe, follow naturally from the review of the intellectual revolution of the early days of this century, should help to stay our yielding to despair, and give us fresh stimulus to offer any help in our power to a country so well fitted to profit from our aid.

It must also be remembered that the revolution was a perfect reversal of things held inviolable and sacred up till then.

Tradition was ignored. The whole policy of trusting their nation to the highest of their classical scholars, indeed, the system itself of making all instruction turn on the gaining of the time-honoured classical degrees—all this was given up.

If we try to picture what a similar change might mean in this country, we shall understand the change more fully. Think of the institutions in Great Britain which are hoary with age and endowed with the richest tradition ; for instance, the training and the degrees at Oxford and Cambridge, the public school life of Eton or Harrow and other great schools, not to speak of all the primary instruction throughout the land, being given up as out of date and sacrificed in order to introduce a new plan from abroad. Would we ever prove willing, even when faced with the gravest national peril ?

Anyhow, there is some room for us to reflect on the suggestive comparison as we close this first part of our review, the revolution in education of twenty-five years ago.

The next point to consider is the fear of denationalization, or, shall I say at once, the *alleged* fear of de-

nationalization? For I fear that even if I have succeeded in bringing you with me so far in our survey, ways may begin to part just at this point, for there has been not a little controversy as to the existence of this danger.

Not that anyone will be found who is anxious to denationalize; we are all against such a process, be it for China or any other country. The controversy lies not there, but in the actual question as to whether there is fear or not that modern education, as it is at present and as it is going to be, is likely to weaken the strong characteristics of the Chinese people.

Care must be exercised as to the precise meaning we attach to the word, and also as to the special direction which the dreaded process is supposed to take.

Generally speaking, what is meant is that the scholar or student becomes unfitted by his studies and his life in the school for the ordinary occupations that lie before him and the plain duties of citizenship. The result of education in such a case is that he is either removed from his proper surroundings or feels himself above them because of the new ideas he has received.

Now, to be quite fair, one must recognize that this charge may be levied against any school or any education if it is at all "modern," whether the school be under foreign or Chinese supervision.

Indeed, in this sense similar accusations might be brought against education at home, for the same results can be seen at times in this country. And yet who would wish to condemn educational endeavours on this ground?

"Denationalization" of this order is not confined, however, to education. The same phenomenon is in clear evidence as the natural result of "modern" commerce. It is distinctly a breaking away from the honoured past when, instead of the old-fashioned and harmless water tobacco-pipe, cigarettes are indulged in, or other articles of foreign origin are bought and used to the detriment of the indigenous produce.

A remarkable commentary on this charge of denationalization is, however, found in the fact that quite recently—that is, within the last two or three years—a determined effort has been made by the leaders of associated schools under Christian management to supply a new type of school altogether for the large country districts. In these new institutions education would be given to the children of farmers so as to fit them for remaining on the land as agriculturists, but with enlarged views as to their calling and fresh insight into their duties as citizens.

The very reverse of denationalization !

At times, however, another meaning is attached to the word, and as the question is sufficiently important, it may be well to enquire into it further.

Do we mean that there is danger that through modern education in China there will be produced a loss of love of country or a neglect of national customs? Or is the fear founded on the dread that the new learning will lead to slackness in the cultivation of the language of China?

It is not necessary to say anything on the first of these three causes for alarm. It has been proved again and again during the last decade that of all the classes of the people the student class is the most patriotic, the most willing to think out the great problems of the country, and the most willing to sacrifice interests and prospects in order that the country may be saved.

And this is true not only of those who are studying in their own country and see its need with their own eyes. It is especially true of the students who are studying away from their home—for instance, those at work in this country. Where are there any more enthusiastic believers in the pre-eminence of China than the Chinese living here in Great Britain? Where are there any, even among the ranks of the old-style scholars, who are so confident that China will pull through or so determined to help her do it? No; there has been no loss of patriotism through the pursuit of the most modern education.

Now as to the second of the indictments. Is it true that educationalists are responsible for changes in the habits of the people, and even for neglect of some of the national customs?

We plead guilty to the charge, and, moreover, would do so again if the need and the opportunity arose.

Not that all the customs are to be changed; perhaps none know better than educationalists the excellence of the ancient practices and quiet virtues that happily abound still in China; but many things have changed, and if the responsibility is laid at our doors, we do not refute the charge. Let me be a little more precise. Everyone knows, for instance, the fashion of the old-style scholar in China: a little ponderous, slow-moving, with most conscious dignity and impressive importance. Was this to continue? In 1911 the Government emphasized the need of physical exercises for students, and recommended the practice of games and sports. But years before this became a matter of official recommendation, we had decided upon this very course in our own college as in many other colleges.

It was in 1904, if I remember right, that we decided upon having an athletic meet in our college, the events of which were to be open to all students in Tientsin. These were the first sports for Chinese students to be held in that place, as far as I know. The results were far from bad, though I remember that we became quite excited when one of our fellows cleared 6 feet 6 inches at the pole vault competition. We did not anticipate then that one of his successors would prove the champion at the same event in the Far Eastern Olympic meeting at Tokyo, and win the place for his country with a far higher record.

Some Chinese officials were present, and in his kindness at the end of the meeting one of them declared to me that we were doing a splendid thing for China that day.

But not all were so free to appreciate the new thing

in the life of students. One of our men had brought his uncle to see the sports. The old gentleman was a fine example of the Chinese scholar, with a high literary degree. He witnessed a part of the proceedings, and then went off in high dudgeon, declaring to his nephew that he had always heard of the cruelty of the foreigners, but had never been willing to believe in it; but now he knew that it was true, for he had seen foreigners that day drive Chinese students so that they had to run like horses and jump like dogs!

In those days we were breaking through certain customs roughshod; nevertheless, it had to be done, and we are glad to-day that we had a part in bringing the new and very sturdy Chinese athlete into existence. He will have to be reckoned with, not only in Far Eastern competitions, but here at home and in America.

One of the beautiful things in China is the spirit of reverence towards seniors and especially towards teachers. When our college began a little over a score of years ago, that spirit was freely shown to me and others—that is, it was shown in the old and recognized way.

If a student saw me while he was riding in his rickshaw, he would of his own free will and in obedience to the fine feeling I am referring to stop his rickshaw at once and jump off, so as not to be seen riding when his teacher was afoot. And if he was wearing his spectacles, off they would come. To-day these things are not to be seen. Is it that the feeling of respect has grown less? Many would say so; I do not. Now our scholars are riding, not only in rickshaws, but, as most do, on bicycles, and especially motorcycles. Or else it is the electric tramcar. Shall I be foolish enough to expect my students in the midst of fast, busy traffic to stop and descend from motor-bicycles or tramcars? Naturally not. I look for the respect, which I know they are only too willing to give, not along the old lines, but along the new, which must prevail under the changed conditions of modern life.

Forgive my labouring this self-evident point. It is but an example of much that has to be done to-day. We must cease judging by the criterion of the past; we must look for the reality, and be willing to admit a complete change in form. To-day, and it may be to-morrow, we must exercise understanding leniency, for it is hard for a whole nation to change within a few years its standards of what is right and seemly. Much has changed, and we educationalists have had no small part in bringing it about.

But there remains the last criticism—namely, the lessening love and study of the language of China.

Now this is confessedly a difficult subject. Nor is the solution easy to find.

It must be admitted that if Western learning is to be added to the study of Chinese literature and language, there must be less time for the acquisition of that proficiency in Chinese which is both the admiration and the envy of even Sinologists.

As a well-known Chinese, a member of one of the former Cabinets, said to me recently: "Something must be done about the study of Chinese; boys cannot be expected now to give the time they used to devote years ago; besides, it may be seriously questioned whether the absorption of the mind of the child or young student in a single pursuit for such a length of time can be justified from an educational standpoint."

Modernists among both teachers and students have been accused of sacrificing the interests of Chinese studies for better proficiency in mathematics or some other branch of Western learning. While this may be true in a few cases, it is to be doubted whether it is generally true; and where the impeachment has to be admitted, the pressure of a too full curriculum is to blame rather than any lessening of the regard for the language of China or a failure to recognize the beauty of its literature.

That those who have drunk deeply at the well of Western learning have not lost their love for Chinese lore

is evident from the great part that has been taken by Chinese trained abroad or on modern lines in China in the recent revival of thought and writing that is one of the outstanding features of the third decade of this century: I refer to the Renaissance Movement.

Apart from the greatness of the topics discussed in this new movement, it seems that from it will come a new language to China, a language that will serve to unite the country and express in a living way the mind of this new China. The hope must be expressed that in this way some lightening of the task of acquiring a thorough understanding, and a capacity for clearness of expression, may come to those on whom the double burden rests of being masters of their own tongue and of at least one foreign language as well.

Perhaps the question might be asked: Why not give up English then? If we on this side of the world could agree that this would be the wisest course, it is much to be doubted if in China the step would be taken. English has come and come to stay, for better or for worse. It is our duty to ensure that it shall be for better, for better mutual understanding, better mutual intercourse, better international relations.

It is hopeless to expect that in this country there will be a turning towards Chinese as a vehicle of thought; it is almost too much to expect that Britons in China will do much in business or other walks of life through their proficiency in Chinese, though happily there is marked improvement in that direction. If China and Great Britain are to understand one another, if we are mutually to learn from one another, it follows that all this must come through the knowledge the Chinese gain of our language, while we passively sit still and allow others to work out the approach. Let us for all our sakes hope that the knowledge of English will spread and increase in China; much depends on it, even in the region of politics and international relations.

So we who have been at it may plead in extenuation of

some of our grave faults that we have done something for both countries, though at times it seemed as if we were merely there for teaching the A B C.

What enthusiasm there was for it when once the tide turned!

We had a number wishing to be taught as soon as we opened the college early in 1902. Men as well as youths came, and we did our best to accommodate them all. The result was that classes were somewhat mixed; young and old had to be put together. There is a story told of those early days in our own college. As everyone here knows, the number of surnames in China is somewhat restricted, so that many must be called by the same name. There are many Wangs, or Lius, or Changs, and so on.

Two students of the same surname Wang were in one of these early classes, a young fellow, and one distinctly his senior. They went on with their studies day by day until the examination, when unfortunately the junior passed and the senior did not. This might not matter much in ordinary circumstances, but in this case it was fatal, for they were father and son! And when they got home, so the story runs, the son caught it well at the hands of his father. The story may be apocryphal, but I fear that it is true.

English has come to stay, and so has Western learning in all its branches. But there is no fear that through this spread of learning from abroad the Chinese are going to lose the valuable characteristics which have marked them out from other races. They will absorb a great deal; but all the learning they will absorb will be assimilated and adapted to their own special purposes, and the national traits, though they change somewhat in form, will remain always characteristically Chinese.

Whenever there has been known a process of absorption and assimilation in which both Chinese and foreigners have been involved, it has never yet been the Chinese who has been absorbed.

SCIENCE AND MEDICINE

THE PRESENT POSITION OF LEPER WORK
IN INDIA

BY FRANK OLDRIEVE

(Secretary for India, the Mission to Lepers)

UNDER the reforms medical work is a transferred subject, and leading Indians all over the country are taking a keener interest than ever in the health problems of their country. They realize that it is vastly important that the people of India should have, as far as possible, every chance of being freed from some of the diseases which have scourged the country for so many years. There is an interest in plague work, in malaria fighting, in the elimination of other troublesome diseases that was not so apparent some years ago, and this is as it ought to be. If India is ever to take the place, as many of us believe she will, in the Empire, that she ought to occupy, her people must be healthy.

There are three great endemic diseases in India. Tuberculosis, syphilis, and leprosy. The first of these, which is blighting so many many thousands of Indians every year, was reported on some years ago, and a comprehensive survey made of the ravages of the disease and the steps which ought to be taken to stem the tide which threatens to carry away whole communities. But nothing to speak of has been done; the problem is too great to be tackled. The second has such a grip of so many millions of the people that it, too, seems impossible to stamp out. The third, however, leprosy, is not too great a problem to be tackled successfully, and I have no hesitation in saying

that India could be rid of the scourge of leprosy within thirty years if the right steps were taken now.

THE NUMBER OF LEPERS IN INDIA

It is exceedingly difficult to give any estimate of the total number of lepers in the Indian Empire to-day. The census figures of 1921 give the total as 102,513, as against 109,094 in 1911. But it is doubtful if this figure represents anything more than the worst cases, and possibly a majority of this number are the begging and pauper lepers who are seen all over the country. Dr. E. Muir, the Leprosy Research Worker at the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine, says that "we think that it would not be an overestimate to put down the number of lepers in India somewhere between a half and one million." Many connected with leper work to-day are astonished at the number of early cases who are now coming forward and asking for treatment, and it is very doubtful if many of these were entered as lepers in the census. At a large medical institution in Calcutta it was recently discovered that out of a menial staff of sixty men no less than four were lepers.

The table on the opposite page gives the figures from the last two census returns.

From these figures it will be seen that in the larger provinces there are still thousands of lepers, the majority of whom are probably practically begging and pauper lepers. It is, of course, most cheering that even in the enumeration that has been given there are said to be 6,581 less lepers than there were in 1911. It is most probable that about the same care was taken this last census as was taken the previous one, so that the figures may be taken as some evidence of the decrease in the incidence of the disease. The most striking features are the apparent decrease of more than 4,000 cases of leprosy in Bihar and Orissa, while, on the other hand, there is the increase of more than 2,700 cases in Burma. As a whole, it is difficult to say whether there has been any real decrease in the number of lepers in

the Indian Empire. It may have decreased in some places and increased in others. Evidence has several times reached me that in special centres there has been a decided increase, but we do hope that the work done by The Mission to Lepers, Government, etc., has had the result of bringing about a decrease in some places.

LEPERS IN THE INDIAN EMPIRE

Provinces, Etc.	Number of Lepers 1911 Census.	Number of Lepers 1921 Census.	Increase or Decrease.
Bengal	17,485	15,897	- 1,588
Bihar and Orissa ...	16,935	12,269	- 4,666
Madras	16,648	15,753	- 895
United Provinces ...	14,520	12,649	- 1,871
Bombay	10,303	9,709	- 594
Central Provinces ...	7,307	8,025	+ 718
Burma	7,038	9,765	+ 2,727
Assam	4,372	4,464	+ 92
Punjab	3,091	2,727	- 364
Central India Agency	1,288	949	- 339
Rajputana Agency ...	650	405	- 245
N.-W. Frontier Province	282	211	- 71
Others	435	373	- 62
<i>Native States :</i>			
Baroda	445	552	+ 107
Gwalior	—	418	—
Hyderabad	3,758	4,214	+ 456
Kashmir	1,352	1,485	+ 133
Cochin	—	466	—
Travancore	—	2,058	—
Mysore	767	314	- 453
Sikkim	24	11	- 13
Others	2,394	—	—
Totals	109,094	102,513	- 6,581

That segregation is necessary has been proved by wide experience in other lands, and that it is successful is beyond a doubt. I am indebted to Sir Leonard Rogers for the facts and figures given in the table on p. 494.

From these striking records we can see that it is most probable that infection is directly communicated in some way or other from a leper to a healthy person through the causative bacillus. When we remember that leprosy is not

hereditary—and this is accepted on all hands now as an established fact—it does mean that if we could only deal with the present generation of lepers and with those who now have the disease in the system but are not aware of the fact, but in whom it will develop in a few years' time, we should be able to rid India of the presence of this disease.

TABLE OF 700 RECORDED CASES OF THE PROBABLE SOURCE OF INFECTION IN LEPROSY

Mode of Infection.	Number.	Percentage.
House	180	25·7
Room	35	5·0
Bed	64	9·14
Attending on lepers	139	19·87
Leper playmate	23	3·28
Close association with leper	113	16·14
Wet nurse	8	1·14
Wearing leper's clothes	3	0·43
Vaccination	4	0·59
Inoculation from leper	3	0·43
Conjugal	85	12·14
Cohabiting	43	6·14
Total	700	100·00

Segregation should be encouraged along two lines. The asylums belonging to The Mission to Lepers, and other bodies doing leper work, where voluntary inmates are received and cared for, should be enlarged where necessary and made up to date and attractive. Some of the smaller ones, which are inefficient and uneconomical, ought to be closed down and the inmates persuaded to go and live at a better institution. The others should be enlarged to receive 500 inmates, and should be made to serve a district. The larger asylum will be able to have better equipment and a more competent and better qualified staff than the smaller one; it will also be more economically maintained. Where there is a district in which there are a large number of lepers and no asylum existing, an asylum should be built on modern

lines, as a colony or settlement, where agricultural work can be undertaken by the lepers.

The second line along which segregation should be undertaken is the extension of the work which has been actually commenced by the Bengal and Madras Provincial Governments. Here leper settlements are being built to provide for the accommodation of the pauper and begging lepers, who will be compulsorily segregated under the Amended Lepers Act of 1920. In Bengal over 700 acres of a site was presented to Government by The Mission to Lepers, through the generosity of a European businessman of Calcutta. Plans are being prepared, and it is hoped that building will be commenced before long. It is only the provincial financial stringency that prevented a start being made more than a year ago. In Madras, through the action of Her Excellency Lady Willingdon and others keenly interested, a site of more than 400 acres has been obtained, and a commencement has already been made in putting up buildings. Bombay is now considering a scheme for removing the existing Matunga Leper Asylum to the mainland and combining with it a large settlement for pauper lepers. The United Provinces has good plans ready, but no money with which to carry them out just at present. Bihar and Orissa is helping a scheme in the Santal Parganas which is likely to develop into a leper settlement of considerable dimensions, while a central settlement for compulsorily segregated lepers will be undertaken as soon as possible. The Central Provinces Government is at present helping The Mission to Lepers to build a model leper asylum, which is much needed, while it will have its own leper settlement as soon as money is more plentiful. The other Provinces are considering schemes of one sort or another, and one hopes that in Burma a real effort will soon be made to deal with the large number of lepers in that beautiful land.

If these schemes can be undertaken soon I firmly believe that when the next census is taken it will be evident that

such a method of segregation is successful in bringing about a diminution in the number of lepers in the country.

The most hopeful feature of the present situation, however, is that of the success of the latest treatments for the disease itself. We are using in India those introduced by Sir Leonard Rogers, and now being carried out all over the country under the supervision of Dr. E. Muir. This is not the place nor the time to deal with this question in detail, but I have no hesitation in saying that we are now beyond the period of what might be called experiment. The treatments now being used so widely are giving results beyond the hopes of many who have worked for long years among lepers. I have myself just returned from a tour in India, and during my stay I visited twenty-two leper asylums, and, among them, all the largest in the country. Wherever the treatments are being used carefully and systematically the lepers are recovering. I have seen several hundred lepers who are recovering. Their ulcers are healing up; indeed, in some asylums, bandages are hardly ever seen, the anæsthetic parts are becoming full of feeling again, the faces are becoming normal once more, the nodules are disappearing, and the general health is wonderfully better as a result.

In one asylum, where Dr. Mrs. Kerr is giving the treatment to 250 lepers, some of the inmates met together for a praise meeting, to "thank God that once again they could feel prickly heat." In the same asylum the lepers regularly play football, badminton, have Swedish drill and do cooly work, besides having splendid gardens where they grow vegetables.

DECREASING DEATH-RATE AMONG LEPERS

One of the most striking results of the new treatments is that the general health of the lepers improves wonderfully and the death-rate decreases. The following figures are from the Purulia Leper Asylum (belonging to The Mission

to Lepers), where there are usually between 600 and 700 inmates :

Year.	Total Number of Deaths.	Average per Month.
1919	266	22·16
1920	214	17·83
1921	111	9·25
1922 (10 months)	38	3·80

Of course, we know that in 1919 the death-rate was somewhat higher than usual, but we also know that in 1921 and 1922 the new treatments have been given to the majority of the leper inmates. Hookworm has also been treated of late, and this has almost certainly had a little to do with the decrease, but, allowing for all these things, those who know best are certain that most of this extraordinary decrease—for note that it has fallen to about one-sixth of what it was in 1919—is due to the fact that the lepers are recovering, and that is a wonderful thing to see.

It was at this asylum that a few months ago no less than six girls who had been inmates of the leper asylum for some time were, after careful treatment, pronounced to be, as far as Dr. Muir could tell after the most critical examination, free of the disease. If they remain free then they are cured, but, seeing how long an incubation period leprosy has, it would be unwise to say so now. But they are apparently free of leprosy. That is indeed much to be thankful for.

To sum up the present position. Voluntary segregation is the right thing to encourage for those who will segregate themselves and receive treatment. Compulsory segregation is the course to follow in the case of those who persist in mixing with the healthy population and thus spreading the disease, as is the case with pauper and begging lepers. The extension of the use of the latest treatments is most important. Special leper clinics should be established by Government in suitable centres and the treatment provided

free. And, lastly, an educational campaign should be commenced as soon as possible, and information about the disease itself—how it is spread and how to diagnose it, also the benefits of segregation and the efficacy of the latest treatments—spread all over the country. The situation was never more hopeful, and a wisely directed campaign against the disease would be certain to end in the stamping out of the disease in the whole of India. If it can be done then we ought to try and do it, and do it now!

HISTORICAL SECTION

THE EMBASSY OF SIR WILLIAM NORRIS, BART., TO AURANGZEBE

BY HARIHAR DAS, F.R.S.L., F.R.HIST.S.

CHAPTER I (*Continued*)

IN the following letter William Norris mentions that Lord Rivers sails to join the army in Flanders, but is driven back by a storm. The nation expects news of an attack on the French lines.

LONDON,
June 8th, 1695.

HONRD SIR,

The enclosd [missing] came to my hands yesterday soe I tooke the first opportunity of sendinge it to you though I had nothings of moment to incert with it. My Lord Rivers & the Commanders that went with him I hope are gott safe in Flanders by this time though they mett with a storm & contrary [MS. "contratry"] winds in their passage which forced them back to Shernesse & were all separated from their Convoy. Wee are now in daily expectation to heare from the Army that the King has Forcd the Lines, for he is fully resolvd on the attempt & I hope itt will be with successe: I suppose you have been joy fully receivd att Leverpoole before this; I mean by those whom you have been assistant to in regaininge their libertys. I perceive by the list that Brother Dick & his Landlord are down for Bayliffs though I doubt not but will execute their office very cordially: pray give my humble service to all our good Freinds there next time you goe: I hope this will find you safe & hearty after your journey. I was to wait on my Lord Macclesfield this morninge to know when he designed for Lancashire but his honour was not stirringe & desird me to come to morrow. Pray give my Duty to Mother & Love to sisters my wife gives her humble service & Nick hopes you will not forgett him nor his service to the young Lady I heare

Sam Legay is come to town but have not seen him yet
I am Honoured Sir

Your affectionate Brother &
humble servant
WM NORRIS.

pray remember me heartily to your good neighbours
Alderman Percivall and Mr. Cooke.

Addressed : These

To Thomas Norris Esq^r
Att Speake Hall neare
Leverpoole
In
Lancashire.

Frank.

William Norris and Joseph Maudit were active defendants of a suit between the cheesemongers and the Corporation of Liverpool in 1695 which is alluded to in the following letter :

LONDON,
June 29th [1695].

HONRD SIR,

I have been soe much out of order for these ten days that I could but just write a line to my Brother Dick last weeke & send him enclosd your note for 30 guin[eas] : I received the 40 guinnys very safe I suppose he has either . . . * your note or sent it to you : Mr. Braddon was with me this morninge who came directly from the Secretarys office & told me he expected to have the Charter returnd from Flanders by Tuesday next & then doubts not but to dispatch it in a fortnight if the petition of the Cheese mongers proves no obstruction : I fancy he is in some want of supplys in carryinge the businesse on for he borrowed 30^{lb} of me last weeke (but this only to your selfe) Mr. Mauditt came to take his leave of me this weeke & was to sett forwards for Leverpoole yesterday in the Chester Coach. I shall stay in Town till Mrs Cecill is well again after her Lying in which will be A month att least if I can doe you any service in this or any other matter I shall be most ready Wee have no forreign post scince Tuesday soe consequently no news & are very quiett

* The word here is indecipherable.

att home pray give my Duty to my mother Love to
sisters & humble service to all friends & acquaintance[s]

I am Honrd Sir

Your affectionate Brother &
humble Servant

WM NORRIS

Addressed : These

To Thomas Norris Esq^r

Att Speake Hall

neare Leverpoole

In Lancashire

Endorsed by Thomas Norris : "Wm N for 40 guein."

William Norris also worked to secure the Charter granted to the town in September that year. "These Charters were very far from giving universal satisfaction amongst the burgesses. They did not create any system of municipal representation analogous to the Parliamentary system of the country ; but rendered the town council self-elected, leaving only a nominal control to the burgesses, in common hall assembled."^{*} At this time the name of Liverpool was becoming increasingly famed as a place of business facilities. It is at this period, the reign of William III., that the commercial prosperity of the town may be said to rise, for these years saw the inauguration of several enterprises calculated to further the progress and importance of the town, which "began more rapidly to advance in size, population, and commerce." Most of William Norris's contemporaries in Liverpool were influential men, "amongst whom are divers eminent merchants and tradesmen, whose trade and traffic, especially into the West Indies, makes it famous, its situation affording in great plenty, and at reasonable rates than in most parts of England, such exported commodities as are proper for the West Indies."[†]

He has business with Sir F. Child, and sends Thomas

^{*} See pp. 337-9 of the "History of the Commerce and Town of Liverpool," by Thomas Baines.

[†] See p. 301 of the Fox Bourne's "English Merchants."

Norris the details of his account: Admiral Rooke is reported off Ushant. He also mentions the Venetian Ambassador's visit to the House of Commons.

LONDON,
Apr. 23rd, 1696.

HON^{ED} SIR,

I received yours & went accordingly to Sir Francis Child & received of him the 100^{lb} you sent me a bill for I likewise examin'd him as you [d]esird how accounts stood betwixt you which he show'd me in his booke 1000^{lb} he stood indebted to you of which he had discharg'd by 2 bills both paid to me 200^{lb} soe that 800^{lb} remains due to you of which I suppose you have given my mother Bills for 500^{lb} soe that accordinge to your own account 300^{lb} will remain due to you when my mother is paid. The enclosd [missing] will give you the best accounts of the late Tryalls and wee have little news else stirring but that wee had the good news just now of Admirall Rookes safe arrivall 20 leagues of Ushant soe that to our great Consolation (for wee have been under some apprehensions) wee may expect him as the wind stands tomorrow morninge. The Venetian Ambassadour sent to desire the favour off seeinge the house of Commons to day whilst wee were sittinge & accordingly came with 10 noble venetians to attend him where he satt [do] wn for halfe an houre in the Gallery & wee very mute & as grave [as] the Senate att venice could be: pray give my Duty to mother Respects [t]o your Lady Love and service to Sisters. I am Honoured Sir

Your most affectionate Brother
& devoted servant

WM NORRIS.

Addressed: These

To Thomas Norris Esq^r
Att Speake neare
Leverpoole
Lancashire.

Frank

WM NORRIS.

Endorsed: "W Norris of his Receipt of 200^l & Sir F Childs Account." This in Thomas Norris's hand.

William Norris succeeded his eldest brother Thomas as Member of Parliament for Liverpool on November 1, 1695. He was a Whig, and in 1696 spoke in favour of the bill of

attainder brought against Sir John Fenwick, the Jacobite, for his share in the recent plot for assassinating William III. Bills of attainder being an odious method of getting rid of an adversary without due trial, the debates on this bill were long and exciting, although little doubt was felt as to Fenwick's guilt. Norris was fully conscious of the importance of the occasion : the life of a man, the preservation of the King and Government and the power of Parliaments, he pointed out, had all to be considered. He believed the accused to be guilty of treason, and of other crimes almost equal to treason, but having evaded trial in Westminster Hall the House of Commons must deal with him. To quote precedents was, he thought, "a little dry"—had he been an opponent of the bill he would no doubt have expressed himself differently—but referred to an attainder by Parliament in the time of Richard II.; and then passed on to his main argument : "that we are the Commons of England in Parliament assembled ; and if so, sir, we have a discretionary power to do whatsoever we see is for the good of the kingdom ; and if we are to be circumscribed by the rules of Westminster Hall, and we are to do nothing but what they would do, to what purpose do we sit here ; if we are entrusted with this power, and may exert it, I think here is a fit occasion for you to exert this authority." Possibly he thought this was rather strong doctrine for a Whig, for after remarking on what he thought the inconsistency of some who had advocated the Bill of Exclusion in the time of Charles II. but opposed the present bill, he passed on to discuss the guilt of Sir John. He believed Captain Porter to be a good witness, for Fenwick's party "would have given a great reward to have taken him off." Goodman, who had been persuaded to keep out of the way, was no doubt equally good ; consequently he regarded the accused as "a rotten member" of the body politic, almost past cure, who must be cut off for the preservation of the whole. If this were not done, others would trifle with a power that could not effectually exert itself, and would

learn to despise it. He would accordingly vote for the bill, as desiring to make it a warning and precedent for the future: "Because it may happen in future ages, that ministers of State and persons concerned in the government may be faulty, . . . and as the law stands now, he is but a bungling politician that can't ruin the government, and yet not come within the bill of treason to be hanged for it." This view prevailed; the bill passed the Commons by 189 to 156, and the Lords by 68 to 61, and Fenwick was beheaded on Tower Hill on January 28, 1696-7.*

Sir William mentions in the following letter how the English and Irish Papists tried to bribe Porter in the Fenwick trial and the sequel which followed the dramatic attempt. He also alludes to the King's arrival in Holland and Lord Capel's death.

LONDON,
May ye 9th, 1696.

THO^s NORRIS Esq^r
SPEAKE.

HON^d SIR,

I received yours, but have not yet heard any thing of Mr. Done. When he comes to Town, I shall observe your orders in every point. I have already discovered my Lord Macclesfield, who designs to present it to the Lords Justices, who are the same, to a man, they were last year. The King is long ere this got over into Holland, the Wind having been fair now, though for a Day or two he was retarded and blown back by contrary winds. We have not much News stirring, but shall expect great matters from Flanders this Summer, for the French, as well as we, design to make their utmost efforts this campaign. There is an express came from Ireland to Day, which brings word of the Lord Lieutenant's, my L^d Capel's, death. I suppose we shall have a new one constituted very speedily, and it is my private opinion, (but I have no further ground for it,) that my L^d Wharton, the Comptroller, will succeed to the place. There has been a wretched attempt made lately by some English and Irish Papists to Bribe off Porter from being an evidence with a Sum of Money, to

* See pp. 1083-5, vol. v., of the Cobbett's "Parliamentary History of England," printed by T. C. Hansard, London; also Henry Hallam's "Constitutional History of England," vol. iii., p. 177.

be given here, and a large annuity promis'd him if he would go over into France. He took 300 Guineas in earnest, and declared the whole matter to the Secretary of State. I have sent you enclosed Villers's receipt for six pounds I paid him for a Champaign Perriwig for you. We are in a little distress about payments of Money, which I hope will be easier ere long. Pray give my Duty to Mother, respects to your Lady, love and Service to Sisters.

I am, &c.,
W^M NORRIS.*

William Norris's mother and sister postpone their journey north owing to rain meanwhile they move to Hatton Garden to be nearer the coach, should the weather improve. The writer prepares his own house for their reception if they abandon their journey. He has to attend a christening at Littleton, where his wife acts as god-mother. A rumour of peace delights him owing to the financial straits of the country. The King's return to England was hourly expected.

LONDON,
8^{br} 6th, 1696.

HONRD SIR,

I remov'd from Chelsea last weeke att which time my Mother & Sister upon earnest sollicitation went to my Lady Strouds in Hatton Garden to be nearer the Coach which they had taken the beginnige of the weeke with intention to have sett forward towards Lancashire the 5th instant, & accordingly last Fryday sent their goods and cloathes all away by the carrier but their havinge faln great quantitys of rain for these 2 days made my Mother and Sister very apprehensive of the waters beinge out and soe rather chose to loose their earnest than run the hazard of drowninge or overturninge: I am almost of opinion if the weather continues bad a weeke longer they will not venter on a Northern journey this Winter I am makinge all the hast I can to have our new house in readynesse to be att my Mother and Sisters' service if they thinke of Stayinge it is large enough I thinke just to furnish them

* This letter is missing from the original collection of "Norris Papers." It must have existed one time, otherwise it could never have been printed in the Chetham Society Publication of the "Norris Papers." See vol. ix. of the Chetham Society's "Norris Papers," edited by Thomas Heywood.

with conveniencys & I shall be glad of their good company this Winter. I had a messenger come to day from Mr. Woods of Littleton to summon me to a gossipinge his eldest daughter is newly brought to bed & my wife is to make the child a Christian I shall not stay above 2 days from London & if you please to favour me with a letter before the parliament meetes it will find me if directed for me att my house upon the Terras att St. James's neare Westminster. The King is expected hourly & if the badnesse of the Weather & the wind veeringe a little southerly has not turnd him back I beleive he will land before I reach Littleton. Wee are as much in the darke as to peace as wee were A moneth agoe if it is honourable & secure it will be a great blessinge att this juncture for it will puzle a more politick Nodle than mine to find out ways and meanes to carry on the Warr for consideringe the Land Bank faild and other funds prove deficient there will be att least 3 millions to make good of the last yeare & how that will be found & enough to carry on the service of the next yeare is difficult to imagin in this great scarcity of money: And when all is said if wee have not a peace wee are ruind to all intents and purposes as far as the French Kinge and K. James can ruin us if wee doe not still prosecute the warr [*sic*] I should be very glad you would please to impart what notions you have about it how it is possible to be done, & yet done it must be or ten times worse than want of money will be the consequence: My most humble Service to the Lady & I wish her a happy minute I am Sir

Your most affectionate Brother &
humble Servant
WM NORRIS.

Addressed: These

To Thomas Norris Esq^r
High Sheriff of Lancashire,
att Speake neare
Leverpoole.

Frank

WM NORRIS.

CORRESPONDENCE

MUSLIM SUFFERERS IN ANATOLIA

To the EDITOR.

SIR,—According to statistics published by the International Red Cross there are in Anatolia at the present time over a million people, including women and children, who are homeless and destitute as a result of the war.

The relief societies who have made a joint appeal for Greek and Armenian refugees in the Near East have not found it possible to include these Muslim sufferers within the scope of their work. But anyone who wishes, for humanitarian reasons, to alleviate this widespread distress, may send a donation direct to the Bankers of the British Red Crescent, Messrs. Coutts and Co., 440, Strand, W.C. We also understand that the Imperial War Relief Fund and the Save the Children Fund can immediately utilize for this purpose any donations earmarked for relief in Anatolia.

Yours truly,

G. N. W. BOFFIN,

*Secretary (Near and Middle East Association).**June 18, 1923.*

The signatories are:

Major-General Lord Edward Gleichen, K.C.V.O., C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O.
(Chairman of Committee).

The Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali,
P.C., C.I.E., LL.D.

Captain E. N. Bennett, J.P.

Sir Graham Bower, K.C.M.G.

The Right Rev. the Bishop of
Bradford.

Mr. Leland Buxton.

Viscount Chelmsford, G.C.S.I.,
G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.B.E.

The Right Rev. the Bishop of
Chelmsford, D.D.

Miss Rosita Forbes.

Dr. E. H. Griffin, D.S.O., M.C.

Lieut-Colonel the Hon. Aubrey
Herbert, M.P.

The Very Rev. J. H. Hertz, PH.D.
(Chief Rabbi of the United
Hebrew Congregations of the
British Empire).

The Right Hon. Lord Meston,
K.C.S.I.

Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., PH.D.,
F.A.S.B.

Professor J. Arnold Toynbee.

The Right Rev. Bishop Welldon
(Dean of Durham).

Lady Kitty Vincent.

Mr. Israel Zangwill.

A member of the Executive Committee of the Near and Middle East Association received a letter from Anatolia recently through Mr. Leonard Whittall from which the following extracts are taken:

"As you doubtless are aware, Anatolia, with the exception, perhaps, of

a few small and insignificant districts, was, between 1914 and 1918, untouched by the scourge of war.

"With the advent of the Greek forces in May, 1919, Anatolia's troubles commenced. The regrettable excesses indulged in by the Greek troops were soon emulated by the worst elements of the local Greek civil population in and around the town of Smyrna, with the result that a considerable amount of Turkish property was destroyed, robbed, pillaged or looted, many Turks lost their lives, and the town of Aidin was completely destroyed by fire.

"During the Greek retreat from the Zangarius to Afien Karahissar, and thence to Smyrna, not only were hundreds of villages and towns completely destroyed and the inhabitants thus rendered homeless, but an incredible amount of damage was done to the surrounding vineyards, crops, and agricultural implements.

"In 1921 I had occasion to visit a few of the mosques and other public buildings in Smyrna, in which a number of these Muslim refugees were quartered, in order to distribute milk supplied, I think, by the British Red Crescent. Mr. G. Sterghiades, the then Greek High Commissioner, was doing his best for these unfortunate sufferers, but none the less their condition was truly pitiable. Since then their numbers have, of course, greatly increased, until now there are well over three-quarters of a million of these victims all over Asia Minor.

"The Turkish Government is impotent, for it cannot rebuild the devastated areas, and the whole country is terribly impoverished, consequently these poor people (chiefly old men, women, and children) 'just sit down and die,' as a near relative of mine, lately arrived from Smyrna, has told me. They are abandoned by God and man, and hardly a voice is raised in Europe on their behalf. Is it then to be wondered that, seeing the magnitude of the assistance being tendered to the Christian refugees, the Turks are accusing us of indifference to the sufferings of the Muslims *because they are Muslims*. After all, it must be remembered that these sufferers were not the aggressors, but the passive victims of aggression.

"The tendering of a little assistance, a slight demonstration of sympathy in the name of humanity, for these Muslims by a British Institution would, I feel confident, go a long way towards removing the bitterness and distrust felt in Turkey against Great Britain."

IQBALNAGAR, N.W.R.

(MONTGOMERY DISTRICT), PUNJAB,

May 15, 1923.

SIR,—I have read with great interest Professor Slater's paper on "Protection for India." There is one point, however, on which the professor laid great emphasis, and which calls for further elucidation. He places 2 per cent. of the gross produce from land as the land revenue. He says in Madras in a particular year the produce yielded three hundred crores and land revenue was only six crores. He leaves an impression as

if the available surplus for taxation from land was unlimited. I need not point out to Dr. Slater the canons, ancient and modern, which govern taxation and the need for determining the available surplus after providing for food and the cost of production. It would be interesting if the professor will now give the population of Madras which the production must first support and the surplus that remains after providing food for the people. If there is such an abundance two annas a day, as he remarks, "would not make all the difference between adequate nutrition and semi-starvation." In taking into consideration the agricultural conditions of India, the pressure of the population on the available area should not be forgotten, and it is most important to enquire whether half an acre to an acre is enough to support a family and at the same time produce further revenue.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

THE HON. SARDAR JOGENDRA SINGH, M.C.S.

REPLY.

SIR,—There is much land in India of extraordinary fertility, and also much cultivated land that barely pays for cultivation. The ryots cultivating this poor land also have much leisure time during periods of the year when there is no agricultural work to be done; and it is of such ryots that I was thinking when I expressed the opinion that even the small earnings obtainable by hand-spinning might make the difference between adequate nutrition and semi-starvation. But, taking India as a whole, agricultural land is still the great source of wealth, and the economic rent of agricultural land the main taxable surplus. I cannot here submit an estimate of the amount of that taxable surplus. But I would suggest (1) that since 1900 the purchasing power of the rupee has fallen greatly; (2) that the land revenue reckoned in rupees has only increased very slightly since that date; (3) that therefore reckoned in real values the land revenue has greatly decreased; and (4) if the land revenue throughout India were made equal in real values to its amount in 1900, the financial difficulties of all the Indian Governments would disappear, and substantial sums would be available for the development of various Governmental services, such as medical aid, communications, industrial education, and the like, that are now unduly restricted to the great injury of the people and the country. I would urge upon Indian opinion the advisability of abolishing the exemption of agricultural incomes from income tax. This would bring in a great increase of revenue without inflicting hardship.

Yours, etc.,

GILBERT SLATER.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

LEADING ARTICLE

INDIAN ORATORS

BY STANLEY RICE

LET us begin by attempting a definition. Oratory is the art of saying something worth saying in the most persuasive and arresting manner possible. A speech must have substance; many have the gift of eloquent phrases, charming to the ear, but so barren of real thought that on reflection they prove to be worthless. No orator can hope to convince unless he can capture and retain the attention of his audience. And to be persuasive the speech must be sufficiently lucid and well ordered in logical sequence to enable the mind to grasp the content easily. How far do Indians conform to this criterion?

We have long ceased to wonder at the remarkable facility with which the Indian acquires the English language. We smile good-humouredly at occasional blunders in idiom, but we do not always reflect that for one blunder that the Indian makes in English the Englishman makes a hundred in the vernacular which he prides himself upon talking fluently. This is, perhaps, a commonplace, but it is a commonplace of which we have constantly to remind ourselves. How many of us have talked to an Indian, and when he has turned aside to make a chance remark to a fellow countryman have realized with a start of surprise that after all English is not his mother tongue! And yet the language has only been acquired with difficulty, not without diffidence. Sir Rabindranath Tagore once said that he had never dared to write even a simple letter to an English acquaintance until comparatively late in life.

While, then, we must always bear this handicap in mind, the Indian orator challenges comparison with English speakers by the very fluency of his words and the exuberance of his phrases. He is blessed with two excellent assets—an extraordinary memory and an almost nervous inclination to gesture. In this latter respect he has the advantage of the normal Englishman, and he shares

it with the Latin races of Europe. Many years ago in Seville they presented a turn at a variety show which was intended to exhibit characteristic types of the nations. The Spaniard was there with her castanets. The Italian danced to the music of sunny Italy, the French girl showed all the vivacity of that graceful nation. But when the Scotch lassie appeared in kilt and cap she stood stock still and never moved a muscle. The house roared with good-humoured merriment, but the lesson was true. We are not a gesture-loving nation; on the contrary, we go to the opposite extreme, and in our comic papers make fun of our more vivacious French neighbours for their to us excessive use of it. But if you consider you will find that this national stolidity often stands in the way of success in addressing an Oriental audience. To an Indian half the language of rhetoric is lost in a speech without gesture, as half the value of dance music is lost without the movement of the dancer. The Indian orator simply cannot keep his hands still; if he does, you may be sure that he is with great restraint and effort trying to copy the European, or rather the English model. The subject may be uninspiring. The lawyer in the courts arguing the most dry-as-dust case—it may be of adoption or of some commercial dispute—will instinctively put some life into the dead bones by the use of his fingers, now spreading his hands in the air, now striking the palm of the left hand with two fingers of the right, but seldom or never using the more emphatic method of banging the table. Englishmen are apt to feel that gesture is a kind of pose, a theatrical method that savours of the artificial, and therefore of the insincere. That is, perhaps, at the root of our dislike of it. But when the Indian uses it you cannot but feel that he is obeying the laws of his own nature; it is the development of the chant to which he intones the Sanskrit classics, using the meantime some restrained movement of head and hand with which he punctuates the rhythm. That is the immemorial tradition in reading poetry aloud. And that is the national expression in the comparatively new form of the oratory of platform and court.

But what the Indian gains in gesture he loses in the management of the voice. Rhetoric, we may safely say, is a plant of European growth. The Greeks, as we all know, cultivated it as a branch of general education, and the Romans followed in the footsteps of the Greeks. With the passion for organization which distinguishes Europe to-day, and which has been largely influenced, if it has not been

promoted, by painstaking Germany, we now teach elocution as an art, and amongst our best speakers are those who have been specially trained for the theatrical stage. For the inflections of voice are to us as the marks of expression in music; it is thus that the spoken word has the advantage over the written. For the printed page is, after all, only the medium of communication between the author and his reader; it cannot convey just that shade of meaning which the author intends. Have we not all heard in church how an unemotional curate can read the impassioned poetry of Isaiah as though it were the financial column of *The Times*? Or, again, take the example of an eminent actor who spoke the two lines of Hamlet:

"The times are out of joint; O cursed spite
That I was ever born to set it right"

with the accent on "born" instead of "I," conveying the impression that Hamlet was cursing his birth rather than the fate which had chosen *him* as its instrument.

We must, then, remember that the Indian art of rhetoric is to some extent an imitation, and that the school in which the Indian orator learns is usually the Law Court. Now it is, of course, perfectly possible to become impassioned in a Law Court; the opportunities generally occur in criminal cases when a man is being tried for his life. All the gradations familiar to music can be brought into play. You begin on a mezzoforte, working up gradually on a crescendo to the fortissimo and suddenly sinking, perhaps with the contrast in sound so dear to Beethoven, to a pianissimo, to end, it may be, upon a level note of appeal. But everyone knows that impassioned oratory is lost upon the Judge; with him only close-reasoned argument is likely to prevail. The passion is reserved for the jury, who are not jurists, but merely human men. But in India murder cases are not tried by jury. The Judge is, or used to be, generally a European, temperamentally somewhat impatient of flowery phrases and by his calling bound to disregard persuasive words and to restrict himself (and, if possible, the advocate) to the hard logic of facts. Other cases there may be which are what we call sensational, but for dramatic opportunity none equals the case of murder with its momentous penalty.

Such, then, is the school in which so many Indians have learned to speak, and it is hardly surprising that too often the voice is kept at a dead level of monotony. But another school has now arisen in which it is the fashion to cultivate fine phrases and rounded periods. No greater contrast can be imagined to the impassive European Judge than

the emotional gatherings of the National Congress and the excitable audiences of young Asiatics, many of them hardly, perhaps, able to follow the eloquent periods, but all of them clamorous to hear what they expect to hear and what they would be disappointed not to get. Rhetoric becomes easy when you know beforehand that the audience is ready to applaud you to a man, that you have already the sympathy which the advocate of a less popular subject must strive to obtain. Hence we get the speeches—now only too familiar—regarding the imperfections of British rule and the highly coloured pictures of India in chains and groaning under the heel of the foreign invader. We are not here concerned with the psychology of the movement nor need we inquire whether the excitable young audience has or has not grounds for its enthusiasm. We are only concerned with the orator, his opportunity, and his handling of it. And there can be no two opinions that, given the environment, the Indian orator has quickly adapted himself to obtaining that which is after all the goal of oratory, success in rousing not the sympathy, for that was already his, but the whole-hearted enthusiasm of his hearers. Let us take a passage from one of Gandhi's speeches, quite at random. You can picture the man himself, a frail figure clad in the national costume, possibly of the white loin-cloth alone, the nervous fingers moving rhythmically with the speaker's emotion. His voice is low and level, so low that he can only be heard with difficulty. But the man is terribly in earnest. He has come to preach a gospel in which he fervently believes, and he knows that in the abstract, viewed from afar as an ideal, his hearers are ready to accept every word. But he knows, too, the idealistic temperament of his people. He is ready to carry out what he preaches. He will go to gaol, he will renounce the pleasures of life, he will adopt in deed and in truth that ascetic life which so many of his fellows in India have adopted mainly as a profession. But will *they*? Will the lawyers really decline their briefs? Will the schoolboys renounce the education which opens up to them the promise of a career? He knows, in short, that what he preaches is, to use the Western phrase, not practical politics. This is what he says :

“ You heard this morning of the bravery of the sword and the bravery of suffering. For me personally I have for ever rejected the bravery of the sword. But he who runs may see that before India possesses itself a sword which

will be more than a match for the forces of Europe, it will be generations. India may resort to the destruction of life and property here and there, but such destructive cases serve no purpose. You have therefore presented to you a weapon called the bravery of suffering, otherwise called non-co-operation. It is a bravery which is open to the weakest among the weak. It is open to women and children. The power of suffering is the prerogative of nobody, and if only 300 millions of Indians could show the power of suffering in order to redress a grievous wrong done to the nation or to its religion, I make bold to say that India will never require to draw the sword. And unless we are able to show an adequate measure of sacrifice we shall lose this battle. No one need tell me that India has not got this power of suffering. . . . If the title-holders of India consider that India is suffering from a grievous wrong, both as regards the Punjab and the Khilafat, is it any suffering on their part to renounce their titles to-day? What is the measure of the suffering awaiting the lawyers who are called upon to suspend practice when compared to the great benefit which is in store for the nation? And if the parents of India will summon up courage to sacrifice secular education, they will have given their children the real education of a lifetime. For they will have learnt the value of religion and national honour."

And so on. You will observe in this a note of uncertainty, as though the speaker felt that the idealism which he himself feels so strongly will not be put into action by his hearers. It is, in fact, typical of that Indian attitude which tends to pursue the ideal so enthusiastically without taking thought of the practical difficulties. At the same time, it is very generally conceded that Gandhi's personality is something exceptional and that he perhaps alone in India, perhaps even alone in the world, is prepared to carry his doctrines to their logical conclusion. That is what has given him the power, and, to some extent, at any rate, that is what gives his speeches that peculiar flavour, now of the dreamer of lofty dreams, now of the vulgar agitator to whom no epithets of abuse come amiss. We must not forget that in India as elsewhere temperaments differ as gifts differ. It would be as unfair to judge Indian oratory by the single example of Gandhi as it would be to judge English oratory by, let us say, Mr. Lloyd George or Mr. Jack Jones.

Of quite another type, then, is Lajpat Rai, a fellow worker in the same cause. There is a directness of speech

in his orations which appeals more forcibly to the matter-of-fact European mind than the visionary dreams of the other. He knows what he wants. He is deliberately aiming at the ideal of Swaraj in a concrete and definite form, and though he uses the same phrases about soul-force and purification and the rest, one cannot but feel that this is not the real man—that the orator is doing some violence to himself in order diplomatically to support the chief and his cause. Here is a chance passage which exhibits both qualities :

“ The League of Nations, which is at present a humbug, has become established as a fact. It is a fact, and we are a member of that League of Nations. We want to be a member of the League with a vengeance. We want to be a living member of the League of Nations and not a sleeping partner. Ladies and Gentlemen ” (the use of this form of address in the European order is to be remarked), “ if we become a living member of the League of Nations we have to work up the world-opinion in our favour and to show the world that the calumnies that are being circulated against us of our unfitness, of our divisions, of our weakness of character, and all these things, that those calumnies are baseless and untrue. And how can we repudiate those calumnies unless by work in foreign countries in co-operation, those joyous world-spirits which in every country are trying to raise the world into a humanity from the hell that it is at the present moment. We must co-operate, we must mix our voice with them, we must put our soul-force with them side by side to enable them to push the world, from the world of unrighteousness into the world of righteousness and equality for every human being, be he of any continent or any colour, or of any castes or of any creed.”

You will observe that the humiliation of India has burnt deep into his soul. “ Shall we or shall we not,” he cries, “ take our legitimate part as one-fifth of the human race, as the descendants of the mighty Aryans, as the followers of Mohammedan leaders, shall we or shall we not take our part in the making of the new world ? ” He does not care very much, one may conjecture, whether the world is made new ; what is vitally his concern is that if there is any new creation, India shall bear her dignified part in it ; she is to be the creator and not the created. Is it unfair if we think we detect a spirit of insincerity in some of these utterances ? Were the words merely words, was the speaker captivated

by fine phrases, or did they at the moment represent the true emotions of the man? One had the same suspicion of the orations at the National Congress; they convinced nobody and were not meant to convince anybody, because the resolutions were a foregone conclusion, and care was taken that they should be unanimous. The speeches might have been taken as read, save for the opportunity of giving the orator a chance of eloquence. It is a healthy sign that the Congress nowadays disagrees on policy, for it shows that men are thinking for themselves instead of recording silent votes as directed by the leaders. But India is inclined to be fascinated by the catchwords of Europe, and the same unreasoning admiration of the Labour Movement is the theme of many modern speeches. We have the same abuse of Capitalism, the own brother to Militarism, as this school will have it. We have the same glorification of the workers all the world over, the same appeal to the brotherhood of man, the same incitement to class hatred. Is all this mere rhetorical flourish? Since when has India, since when have these orators shown such deep concern in the sweating and the sweated coolie, sweated, if by the European, at least as much by those who now stand forth for political reasons as his self-appointed champions? The argument is often confused, as happens when the heart of a man is thinking one thing and his mouth is speaking another. For one can see that Europe is the enemy to these orators. In spite of grandiloquent phrases about the toiling masses and the dignity of the proletariat, it is quite evident that the speakers' aim is national and not international.

That is the danger of Indian oratory. There is always the fear that the orator will be captured by the desire for fine phrases, the matter being left to take care of itself. It has been observed earlier that the Indian has an excellent memory; so excellent that he can repeat almost word for word a paper that he has written, so excellent that, as is well known, he is able to reproduce whole pages of a textbook at an examination. One may guess therefore that much, though by no means all, of the fluent oratory to which one is accustomed is written down beforehand at length and committed to memory. Macaulay once said that Fox wrote debates, Sir William Mackintosh spoke essays. The Indian is inclined to draw no line between the two; he delivers literary speeches and he writes rhetorical essays. The exuberance of his fancy, his very nature as an Oriental, betrays him into language more

florid than Gibbon's ever was. Take, for example, this passage from Professor Vasani's "Desert Voices":

"At once in songs and stories of love and in noble deeds of patriotism and heroism are our records and traditions rich—richer than most may know. Where else in the wide range of literature will you have songs more moving than those which sing of the loves of Sasui and Mamol? Where else will you find a story more thrilling than that of King Tamachi and his love for the fisher maid? Where a nobler example of hospitality than that shown to the fallen Humayun by Rana Wair Sail, who greeted the royal exile, kissed his stirrup, and vacated for him the castle? Where . . . ?

* * * * *

"This then in brief is my vision of Sind; it is the vision I would fain have young men carry with them in the work before them. It is the vision I have worshipped in the silence of my heart and the beauty of my native land—in the myriad light of Sind's stars, in the colours of her rainbow and her rose, in the cups of her budding flowers, in her birds' mellow notes, in the ashes of the many hopes and fears of the Sindhi peasant. . . . They call us 'Sons of the Desert.' But we come from a long lineage, sons of the winds and roses, and the rocks and the trees, sons of the classic soil of Sind, will they re-arise and offer their service for the help and healing of the Nation."

It is a fine piece of word-painting, but is it anything more? There is a touch of Persian poetry in the allusions to the birds and the flowers, but if we may credit travellers' tales they hardly apply to Sind, and perhaps it is not impertinent to suspect that the rhetoric has run away with the author. Is there not also something of the rhetorical in the repetition of the questions, in the inversions in the sentences, and in the style of the whole?

The elected representatives do not talk in this fashion, and if we may believe accounts from India, the speeches in the new Assemblies are both dignified and restrained. They reach a high level of Parliamentary rhetoric, surprising to those who only know that rhetoric is a foreign plant and that Parliament is a foreign institution, but hardly surprising to those who know also the Indian and his astounding faculty for adapting himself to the unfamiliar. As yet there has been no speech which can be called great, but Mr. B. N. Sarma's appeal for patience on the question of the Indians in Kenya was a model of restraint, of

generous appreciation of an opponent, and showed that balanced temperament which is able to see both sides of a question, to put the arguments in their proper perspective. That is not always to be found. We read of Mr. A's "pitiless exposure" and Mr. B's "relentless logic." Perhaps the European in us will agree with such criticism, but very probably the Indian will not, for there is in the racial composition a subtle and indefinable quality which insists on viewing the same question through different spectacles, and which incidentally has led to much mutual misunderstanding in the past.

But the most marked characteristic of Indian oratory is the total absence of lightness and all the more of humour. If you suggested such a thing to an Indian he would probably reply, "But what would you have? Am I to make a jest of what is to me the most serious thing in life? Am I to be flippant when the occasion obviously demands that I should be grave? Am I to seek for laughter when I should be moving to tears?" When Mr. Bonar Law retired and Mr. Baldwin was about to undertake the most responsible post in the Empire, we do not think it incongruous that the Leader of the Opposition jestingly threatened to make that position as uncomfortable as possible. That would have been outside the scope of an Indian speech. In the voluminous utterances of platform speakers you will find it difficult to discover one single passage punctuated with laughter of the mirthful type, though here and there a sardonic outburst may have greeted a piece of specially pointed satire. Yet there is no form of oratory in which the Indian excels more than in valedictory addresses or in panegyrics on the great dead. It is, perhaps, another species of phrase-making, but the self-assurance of the Indian and his extraordinary fluency too often put to shame the self-conscious Englishman, who, standing before his audience in hesitating confusion, punctuating his speech with inarticulate sounds, and dreading the ordeal of being compelled to weave words about nothing in particular, might be thought to be striving for expression in a foreign tongue.

It is perhaps this lack of humour and lightness, coupled with a tendency to exuberance of language, which, on the whole, distinguishes Indian from English oratory. But if you apply the inductive method, you will at once be faced by individual exceptions. Not every Indian can be labelled alike with the labels which this article has too presumptuously manufactured for him. The wonder is not that there is so much, but that there is so little to

criticize. For on the whole the best Indian orators do satisfy the tests with which we began. To the colder analytical nature of the European there may be something wanting in the logical texture, but as has been seen the speakers do realize that they must adapt themselves to their audience, and the perfervid style has its attractions for an emotional Asiatic gathering. If the Indian has not yet produced an outstanding orator, he need not fear comparison with the best of a high class. He has learned the lesson well, and with the added touches of the Oriental nature he is making the art his own.

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

INDIA

A BENGAL GOVERNOR'S HOLIDAY.

The Governorship of an Indian province is no sinecure, and upon Lord Ronaldshay in Bengal there fell a very heavy load of responsibility. It is widely known how well he acquitted himself. His book, "*Lands of the Thunderbolt: Sikhim, Chumbi, and Bhutan*,"* is a record of well-earned holidays spent with three congenial companions in the mountainous hinterland of his province.

The round tour from Darjeeling via Phalut and Pemiongchi is within the reach of any visitor to Darjeeling who can spare the necessary ten days; the Chumbi Valley was the road followed by Younghusband's mission to Tibet; but few people have visited the corner of Bhutan which Lord Ronaldshay so graphically describes, and still fewer have penetrated to the mysterious Gochak La on Kanchenjunga.

Lord Ronaldshay in previous works has proved himself a keen and accurate observer, possessing power to describe scenery in a way that brings the picture with its vivid colouring before the reader. In the present work this power is used with great effect in describing the ancient Buddhist monasteries, with their quaint but impressive ceremonies, the wild gorges of the Himalayan torrents, and the majestic beauty of the eternal snows. But Lord Ronaldshay does not confine himself to descriptions of scenery or of the manners and customs of the peoples with whom he came in contact. He tries to get at the realities which lie behind the appearance of things. He tries to look at things from the point of view of the people themselves, and in this attempt he shows an absence of prejudice and a fairness of judgment accompanied by a touch of humour which must have proved great assets to a Governor in India.

The opening chapter gives a picture of "*The Coming of Summer in Bengal*"—a picture which will be appreciated by all who have spent in

* Constable, London.

Calcutta those days when the Gold Mohur is in all its gorgeous beauty, but when "one labours grimly at one's desk, curbing one's irritation as one's papers scatter beneath the stirring of the close air caused by the electric fan." A description of the journey from Calcutta to Darjeeling follows and, as an introduction to travel in the Eastern Himalayas, an account of the march to Sandakphu. There the narrative breaks off and the author gives, as a background to his description of the Buddhist peoples, a sympathetic account of the life of the Lord Buddha and of the doctrine of the Eightfold Path, the Thera Vada, the Way of the Elders. The author takes up the narrative again and tells his experiences of the Lamaistic form of Buddhism followed in these Lands of the Dorjé, describing in detail the seldom visited monastery of Tashiding. Then, to explain how Lamaism developed from the original doctrine, he describes a visit to the ruins of the ancient Rajagriha in the dusty plains of Bihar, and of the great University of Nalanda close by, the last stronghold of Buddhism in Bengal. The seeds of decay had already begun to bear fruit before Padma-Sambhava about A.D. 747 went as a missionary to Tibet. There the materialistic beliefs and practices of the people caused a further falling away from the true Eightfold Path. The author takes up the narrative again, and gives an account of a visit to the Chumbi Valley—the little wedge of Tibet which divides Sikkim from Bhutan—and of its monasteries with their oracles and religious dances. Then follow two chapters descriptive of the wonderful gorge down which rushes the western source of the Tista, and of a memorable climb, via Jongri and the Praigchu Valley, to the Gochak La in the heart of the mountain mass, which is crowned by the peaks of Kanchenjunga. The descriptions of these stupendous mountain scenes are amongst the finest in the book. In the remaining chapters there is a fascinating description of a journey through a corner of Bhutan, via the valley of the Pachu down which scrambles the track leading from Phari on the Tibetan plain, over the Tre-mo-la to the capital of the Paro Penlope. Bhutan has been visited by few Europeans, and the accounts given of the character of the people are contradictory. The early travellers, Bogle and Turner, found them most hospitable, but the experiences of Pemberton, and especially of Eden, lead to a totally different conclusion. Lord Ronaldshay's experiences tallied with those of the earlier travellers, for he found the Bhutanese a hospitable and friendly race. The description of the rock monastery of Tak Thsang is of special interest. Claude White in his book on Bhutan also gives an excellent photograph of this strange habitation. The Lama informed Lord Ronaldshay that it had been visited by Europeans on but two previous occasions, the other visitor being doubtless Sir Charles Bell. The book closes logically with an altogether delightful chapter entitled "The Outstanding Glory of Buddhism," an attempt to trace the influence which the teaching of Gautama the Buddha has exercised on the conduct of mankind: "Enmity never comes to an end through enmity here below, it comes to an end by non-enmity; this has been the rule from all eternity."

The photographs with which the book is illustrated show that the author is no mean artist. Of those who have visited these spots few, if any, have

had the same opportunities he had of using the camera. It is to be hoped that the Geographical Society will give the public an opportunity of seeing more of the results of the labours of their President.

The publication of the further studies foreshadowed in the preface will be eagerly awaited by a large circle of readers.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN AND THE INDIAN REFORM IMPROVEMENT.

By S. K. Ratcliffe. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 6s. net.

William Wedderburn was born to be a Haileybury civilian of the best type, but had no difficulty in pushing his way into the forefront of the new "Competition Wallahs," and soon showed that he was a fine example of the best sort of Indian civil servant. He was not only a loyal and devoted servant of the Government, but also an enthusiastic servant of the people of India and "protector of the poor," as all the best men are always proud to be. I never knew Sir William intimately until I went out in the same steamer with him in 1910. My only excuse for calling attention to Mr. Ratcliffe's excellent account of his life and work is the admiration for his character which I very soon felt on closer personal acquaintance. Sir William Wedderburn was not only a model civil servant, as is clear from the Government Order quoted on p. 52: "His enthusiasm in the cause of education and his anxiety to promote all measures which would, in his opinion, conduce to the moral and material progress of the natives of this country, have, as his Excellency in council believes, won for Sir W. Wedderburn the confidence and gratitude of those in whose cause he has laboured." He was a true gentleman, not only by birth, but also in his conduct through life, and consequently suffered a sort of martyrdom for years at the hands of men who could not understand his enthusiasm for justice towards the natives of the country. Curiously enough, I lately discovered some correspondence I had had with him in the spring of 1917, just before the celebrated resolution in the House of Commons which gave rise to this new and somewhat rickety constitution. In the course of that correspondence, which he marked "private," because, he said, "we must be cautious so as not to derange the negotiations (proceeding favourably) between our Parliamentary friends and Mr. Chamberlain, and also because for the national credit it is important that in this matter the initiative should come from the Government, and not appear as the result of outside pressure." This short quotation shows how careful Sir William always was to act on strictly constitutional lines. I did not see eye to eye with him in everything, but it would have been better for India if his friends on the Indian National Congress, and elsewhere, had followed his example more closely. He was always a moderating influence.

J. B. P.

THE COINS OF INDIA. By C. J. Brown, M.A. ("Heritage of India" Series.) 2s. net, pp. 120.

(Reviewed by MARY E. R. MARTIN.)

This little book is primarily intended for Indian readers, but other students of Indian history will find it valuable as a foundation for the

further study of Indian coinage. There are in it twelve plates, illustrating coins, dating from the end of the fourth century B.C. down to the post-Mughal dynasties, etc., in the nineteenth century. It is interesting to learn that the break-up of these dynasties caused a variety of mints to spring up in every part of the Dominions, no less than 994 gold and silver coins, old and new, passing as current in them. Under the East India Company, English factories were early engaged in reproducing the rupees of the Mughal Emperors, in 1713-19, and control of all the mints was gradually assumed by that Company as the various territories passed into their control.

It appears that the earliest coins in Europe and Western Asia bore certain inscriptions from which their origin could be traced, whereas the earliest coins found in India bear no such traces of their origin, which is therefore shrouded in mystery like so much of her early history. It is likewise interesting to learn that in India and Lydia, coins were probably struck by goldsmiths or communal guilds (*sest*) and that Indian coins were divided into two classes down to the fourteenth century. The coins of Northern India showed the influence of foreign invasions, whereas those of Southern India were developed on strictly Indian lines, and these coins do not appear to have attracted the attention of scholars as much as those of Northern India. The currency of Southern India, comprising the kingdoms of the Deccan and the remainder of the Peninsula where Tamil and cognate languages are spoken, shows a certain Roman influence, for Roman gold and silver coins were in circulation there about A.D. 200; but copper pieces, though bearing Roman devices and legends, were, the author thinks, of local production. This book contains a list of valuable works on Indian coinage, and also a list of the principal places in India where there are collections of Indian coins, such as Calcutta, Delhi, Lucknow, Madras, Dacca, and Peshawar. In London the British Museum supplies the needs of students; on the Continent, Paris and Berlin; and in the U.S.A. the American Numismatic Society has a collection in New York.

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA. By "Arthur Vincent."

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE.)

The problem of the defence of India is probably familiar to most readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, but it is well to have it presented in a convenient and handy form, and the fact that the Editor of the series of which this little book is one volume is Dr. Rushbrooke Williams, the Director of the Central Bureau of Intelligence in Simla, gives it at least a semi-official authority. It should be specially valuable to the Indian politician whose attention has hitherto been concentrated upon domestic affairs. The Army is a thing apart in India. Except in the large centres where troops are quartered, one seldom sees or hears of it unless a regiment happens to be on the march. The Navy, or rather the East India Squadron, is even less in evidence, and as military disturbances are usually confined to the North-West Frontier and military affairs have hitherto been

in the hands of the Central Government, there has been little to call the attention of Indian leaders to the all-important subject of national defence. By taking them into its confidence the Government of India will have done something to correct the often ill-informed and apparently unreasonable criticism of military expenditure and to convince the reluctant that you cannot make omelettes without breaking eggs.

There is little that is new in the volume. Perhaps the most controversial part is the apologia for a "forward" policy in the North-West, of which it is clear that the author is a staunch supporter. The opponents of it rest their case largely upon the ruinous expense of entangling troops in a difficult and unremunerative country. This book, we take it, does not pretend to say the last word on the subject, but the arguments against retiring to the line of the Indus would seem to be conclusive. It has frequently been demonstrated that a river is one of the worst of frontiers now that modern science has to a great extent overcome the obstacle. A river did not prevent the invasion of Serbia or of Roumania, and although the French ardently desire the line of the Rhine, that is because a river is at any rate better than an imaginary line.

Most people will turn with interest to the last chapter, in which the future is discussed. Both that and the one on the Frontier Army were clearly written to impress Indians with the task before them and with the necessity of a seemingly lavish expenditure on National Defence. The fact is that India must change her attitude to the Army, and must learn to regard the defence of the country as the first consideration before she can take her proper place in the world. She has looked to Japan as her model, and Japan has owed her rapid rise to her energy in so reorganizing her Army and Navy as to be a formidable opponent both in defence and offence. Much as we may deplore the need for armies and navies, the millennium is not yet. Russia and Afghanistan would make short work of "soul-force." The example of China, the pacific nation *par excellence*, should teach India the salutary lesson that a nation must be strong to be respected in this imperfect world. That, or something like it, is the lesson this book would inculcate.

OMAR KHAYYÂM. Translated by J. E. Saklatvala. (*Luzac and Co.*)

(Reviewed by RHYS RAWORTH.)

A recent translation is that of thirty-nine quatrains of the Rubáiyât of Omar Khayyâm by Mr. Jamshedji E. Saklatvala. In his preface the author somewhat disarms criticism when he asks for the indulgence of his readers owing to the fact that English is to him a foreign language. That this has been a real difficulty is obvious from the awkwardness in the construction of many of the sentences and the defects in metre and rhyme. But in spite of technical faults the work has a pleasing simplicity which, one feels, brings out the real meaning of the original more truly than many more ambitious works.

Any effort to express the genuine philosophy of the great Persian should

be welcomed, and there is a sincerity in Mr. Saklatvala's work that shows he has throughout kept this object before him, even in his choice of a metre which he feels is the most suitable for his purpose. The tendency in this translation is mystical, and there are some expressive and haunting lines.

It will be interesting to see what Mr. Saklatvala makes of the remaining quatrains which he intends to translate.

FRENCH BOOKS

LA MUSIQUE INDOUE: LES RAGAS. By Philippe Stern. (Paris: *Revue Musicale*.)

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE.)

M. Philippe Stern is an enthusiastic admirer of Hindu music. Indeed, it is a question whether he has not fallen into the usual trap set for those who undertake to defend an unpopular cause and does not go too far in his enthusiasm. That there is a highly developed science of Indian music which differs entirely from the European system is now generally recognized by all who have attempted to study it, and musicians would agree with his conclusion: "Ainsi cette conception indoue des râgas ne semble pas seulement digne de notre attention comme curiosité exotique; les musiciens, tout comme eux qui étudient le folk-lore, peuvent avoir, croyons nous, intérêt à la connaître."

Before coming to the principal subject of the article it is interesting to note that M. Stern tries to explain not, as others do, why we do not like Indian music, but why Indians do not like ours. He thinks that the reasons are to be found (1) in the individuality of Indian music; (2) in the absence of harmony; and (3) in their attempts to analyze European music. The music of India, he says, is a music of the soul and of individual emotion. "The movements of a crowd" in music are foreign to Indian taste. M. Stern seems to overlook the immense variety of the music of Europe. Is not Schumann's "Widmung" an appeal to the soul? Does not Schubert's "Unfinished" touch the individual emotions? One perhaps sees what is meant, though it is difficult to express it in words. He is happier in his second reason. The harmonic method is altogether too intricate for the ear, which is attuned only to melody; the tendency is always to be looking out for the melody, and when this becomes obscured by harmonic combinations, the listener loses all the thread of the story in the multitude of sound. It is hard to be sympathetic; one's ear is so accustomed to harmony that one cannot easily put oneself in the position of the seeker after melody alone.

M. Stern has bravely attempted to wrestle with that elusive thing called the raga, and he has wisely eschewed a definition. The raga has been called a mode, the basis of a melody, a theme, an air, but M. Stern rejects all these as inadequate. Mr. Fox-Strangways, if we remember right, attempts a definition in such cautious and complicated terms that he himself admits it to be unintelligible at that stage of his

book where it occurs. M. Stern calls the *râga* "l'approfondissement de l'idée de mode," but he seems to feel that this conveys very little without explanation. He therefore pulls the whole system to pieces, and proceeds to reconstruct in order to arrive by stages at the *râga*. One cannot say at the end of this analytical investigation that one gets any clear idea of what the *râga* really represents, though the scientific method is admirable. Perhaps the most illuminating remark in the essay is the comparison to a mediæval sculptor who is chained to certain conventional ideas, but develops them on his own lines, adds his own ornaments, and so evolves out of the same rules by the exercise of his own individuality a mediocre work or a masterpiece.

Scientific discussion may produce a Galatea, but it is a Galatea without life. M. Stern may fitly retort that you cannot describe music in words. If you want to know why certain *râgas* are suited to certain parts of the day and to certain seasons and no others, you must listen to the *râga*, and that with the hearing ear. So much does this mean to the Indian that it is a positive violence to his artistic sense to use a given *râga* at the wrong time of day.

The pamphlet is scientific and difficult to follow for those not acquainted with French technical terms. It is, however, a serious attempt to discuss the most controversial subject in Oriental music, and, though it is mainly confined to this single point, it ought not to be ignored by serious students of the art.

HENRI CORDIER: MÉLANGES D'HISTOIRE ET DE GÉOGRAPHIE ORIENTALES.
TOME IV. (Paris: *Maisonneuve*.)

(Reviewed by LIONEL GILES.)

The seven papers published in this volume are mainly historical and biographical. M. Cordier has always had a passion for rummaging in the odd corners of Far Eastern history, which has enabled him to bring to light many curious and forgotten episodes in the relations between China and the West. The present volume opens with five letters from Père Gerbillon, a Jesuit missionary of some distinction, who left Europe in 1685 and arrived in Peking three years later, after breaking the journey in Siam. Following the usual custom, he adopted a native name, which is incorrectly printed here. The worthy Father speaks of the difficulty of the Chinese language with justifiable awe, but he exaggerates in saying that it comprises seventy or eighty thousand "lettres," *i.e.*, characters. About half that number would be nearer the mark, and even a tenth is more than sufficient equipment for any scholar. It is flattering to our vanity to learn that, even at this early date, the most active traders in Far Eastern waters were the English, whose ships sailed "in almost every month of the year," while the Dutch sailed twice a year, and the French and Portuguese only once. A significant touch is the writer's satisfaction on hearing of "the destruction of heresy in France," which doubtless refers to the horrors committed in the name of religion after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

The longest article in the book concerns the French Mission sent to

China during the Opium War in 1841, in order to report on the general state of affairs and possible openings for French trade. Hong Kong, it seems, was then already in a fair way to become a great shipping centre. A French naval captain gives this striking testimony: "The difference between the English colonial system, which is all freedom, and that of the Portuguese, which is full of restrictions, has already attracted a large Chinese population to the new colony." The head of the Mission, M. de Jancigny, exceeded his instructions so far as to enter into negotiations with the Chinese authorities at Canton, and prepared the draft of a Franco-Chinese treaty. After an unedifying quarrel with the newly arrived French consul, Jancigny received a sharp rap over the knuckles from the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, and his Mission came to a somewhat inglorious end.

Other papers of considerable interest are those devoted to Klaproth and Chavannes, two great scholars separated by nearly a century, and each perhaps the leading sinologue of his day. While full justice is done to the unremitting and unselfish labours of Chavannes, whose output in twenty-five years would have sufficed for the life's work of several ordinary men, Klaproth's character is severely handled by M. Cordier. There is an amusing story of his "discovery" of the Elliot Islands (lying between Port Arthur and the mouth of the Yalu), which, merely because he had happened to see them marked on a Chinese map, he claimed the right of naming after his early patron Count Potocki! "If a Chinese, living in some corner of the Celestial Empire, were to discover the Channel Islands and to bestow upon them the name of one of his friends, he would not make himself more ridiculous than did Klaproth." More serious is the charge brought against Klaproth of purloining two volumes of Prémare's *Notitia Linguae Sinicae*, which had been sent home in manuscript as far back as 1728. M. Cordier thinks he has traced these volumes to the British Museum, which bought them from Klaproth's library after his death. The truth could easily be ascertained by a careful comparison with the three remaining volumes, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, from which the first printed edition was made. But meanwhile, the fact that the volumes in the British Museum contain nothing more (with the exception of one short article) than has already appeared in the published work, would seem to show that they did not form part of the original MS., and should certainly be allowed to count in Klaproth's favour.

ORIENTALIA

GOTAMA BUDDHA. By K. J. Saunders. "The Heritage of India" Series. Pp. 111. Illustrated. (Murray.) Price 2s. 6d.

(Reviewed by N. FORSYTHE.)

This amiable account of the life of the great Indian teacher is one of the latest additions to the "Heritage of India" series. It follows the lines of many recent lives of the Buddha, except in the details of Siddhar-

tha's boyhood, where the author departs from all accepted records and traditions by giving us a purely fanciful account of the Gotama's youth as having been spent in wandering from place to place, encountering varying scenes of warfare, torture, and unhappiness. Then he adds that this may have implanted in the youth a phobia which later led to a one-sided insistence upon the sorrow and pain of life. But here he makes the very customary mistake of forgetting that there were four noble truths, not one only, always insisted upon by Gotama. He taught the truth of suffering, that there can be no lasting happiness in individualized existence; the second truth, that suffering arises from craving; the third truth, that suffering ceases through the annihilation of craving; and the fourth truth of the Eightfold Path which leads to the destruction of craving and to freedom from the bonds of self.

In one of his notes to the Dhamma-Kakka-Ppavattana-Sutta, Rhys Davids says, "Pain results from existence as an individual. It is the struggle to maintain one's individuality which produces pain."

Mr. Saunders appears to have given only a perfunctory study to the large mass of available literature on the life and teaching of the Buddha. When he writes of the renunciation of the household life, he states that India has for more than 2,500 years acclaimed this as an heroic sacrifice. On the contrary, such an action would be considered most natural, not only in those far-off days, but right through the long history of India and even to-day, when men are giving up everything for a much lower motive—the service of their national ideals. To seek for truth has, in that land, always been considered the highest good, and that a really great teacher should find it while living the household life seems at least highly improbable.

The Brotherhood instituted by Gotama was by no means a society of ascetics, taking perpetual vows of retirement from the world, but merely a screen or shelter which might be entered temporarily, and which served as a refuge from distraction until the truth was found.

Gotama himself, having found the light, returned to the villagers and spent the remainder of his life among his own people, staying in the houses of courtesans and finding nothing common or unclean.

The statement that he was never anxious to organize an anti-brahmin campaign is quite in accordance with all the available evidence. Gotama was a reformer, who sought to return to the pure fountain-head of the ancient Vedic teaching which had been smothered under that barnacle-like accretion of superstition that all high, austere wisdom inevitably attracts. When the author states that the greatest service which Gotama did for his native land was to show that nobility is not a matter of birth but of conduct, "a lesson which she has not yet assimilated," he is very wide of the mark and suffers from the habitual inability of the European to realize what a tremendously democratic thing is caste.

The barriers of intellectual caste are to-day intensely necessary for the preservation of the higher race of mankind. If you reduce everything to a common denominator the result is quite likely to be nothing. Lothrop Stoddart, in "The Revolt against Civilization," tells us with terrifying

force what is going to happen to the world if the under-man, who has no place in any ordered intelligent scheme, gains the upper hand.

That those who came to the Buddha for consolation in bereavement received cold comfort is a statement which could only come from one of those missionaries who always seem to fear death so much more than the poor heathen whom they propose to convert.

As to Mr. Saunders's description of Gotama as "pompous and devoid of humour," his definitions of Nirvana and Anatta, and his statements that :

"No man ever lived so Godless and yet so Godlike—despairing of future bliss," and

"He who does not know God cannot really know or love man,"

we would remind him that the great Spinoza said that he could not describe God, not knowing his attributes; the Kena Upanishad that—

"He is unknown to those who say they know Him."

"He is known by those who say they know Him not,"

and the Buddha himself spoke thus to all who have ears to hear :

"The worldling will not understand the doctrine, for to him there is happiness in self only; and the bliss that lies in a complete surrender to truth is unintelligible to him."

"He will call resignation what to the enlightened one is purest joy."

"He will see annihilation where the perfected one finds immortality."

"He will regard as death what the conqueror of self *knows* to be life everlasting."

(From "The Gospel of Buddha," translated by Paul Carus.)

INDIAN ART

KHSITTINDRA NATH MAZUMDAR. By O. C. Gangoly. (London : Probsthain and Co.) 21s. net.

(Reviewed by J. C. FRENCH.)

With the dawn of the present century there arose in Calcutta a school of art with which the names of Messrs. Havell and Abanindra Nath Tagore and Gogarendra Nath Tagore will be always associated. To the first-named is due the foundation of the splendid collection of Indian paintings which now enriches the Museum in Calcutta, and also invaluable critical and historical works. The two last-named are the pioneers in actual painting, followed by Messrs. Nunda Lall Ghosh, Asit Kumar Haldar, and Khsittindra Nath Mazumdar, the subject of the present volume, and the author Mr. O. C. Gangoly, and others.

What is this school of art, and what particular claim can it make on our attention? This question can be answered briefly. This new movement is an attempt to obtain from the various aspects of Indian art an inspiration and a technique with which to express ideas of modern art. Comparisons with the pre-Raphaelite movement in England have been made, but the resemblance is only superficial. In the first place, the Indian artist confines himself to his own country. To him there is nothing

foreign or exotic in the models which he seeks. Rather they are as familiar to him as the ground he treads on and the air he breathes. Secondly, there is nothing archaistic or antiquarian in his quest. He is under no necessity to confine himself to the modes and styles of a remote century. This statement will appear surprising at first sight to the students of Indian art who can see on all sides the enormous influence of the wonderful paintings of Ajanta, the oldest paintings in Asia. But it will seem less so when the influence of the Rajput schools is noted, particularly of the beautiful Kangra Valley, which came to an end only with the great earthquake of 1905. A modern artist who studied Whistler or Renoir would hardly be accused of antiquarian tendencies. But the case of the Indian artist is even stronger than this, for the indigenous art of painting in India is not yet dead in Rajputana and in remote parts of the Himalayas. In Jaipur City the writer has seen pictures being prepared (the word "prepared" is used as it must be admitted that the process was forcing and not drawing), and in Jammu, the winter capital of Kashmir, the writer came across an undoubted case of an artist still working, and endeavoured, though without success, to see him.

The particular artist whom we now meet, Khaiftindra Nath Mazumdar, is no unworthy representative of the school, the outlines of which we have sketched out. Art is essentially concrete, and it is impossible to speak long of an individual artist without referring to his works. Let us glance through the reproductions which Mr. Gangoly has so skilfully prepared for us.

The coloured frontispiece (Chaitanya and the Peacock) in its delicate subdued colouring and flowing sinuous line is a direct descendant of the age-long tradition of Indian painting, apparent in the caves of Ajanta and in sculpture of an earlier date, and descending through the centuries, now in stone, now in illuminated manuscript, till in the Rajput schools of painting of the sixteenth century and onwards it emerges in a form clear and unmistakable, which not even its bitterest enemy can deny. Plate II., Arjuna and Urvashi, is in a similar style. The design is simple and well conceived. Plate IV., Manasa Devi, is based upon the Nepal school, and is reminiscent of a metal image from Katmandhu. In Plate VI., Sakuntala, we are reminded of the Kangra artists, whose line is as clear and pure as their own native Himalayan snows. Plate VII., the Thunder Cloud, is in the same style, and is a veritable masterpiece. The flow of line and balanced design is admirable, and is sufficient to enforce conviction that here is no unworthy descendant of the older masters. The simplicity of treatment and execution, and the rigorous refraining from the mass of unnecessary and unmeaning detail which only serves to confuse and obscure, though characteristic in general of the school and the artist, are well exemplified in this work.

Plate XVI., Radha and Krishna, is a charming reminiscence of the Kangra school, while Plate XVII., the Rasa Lila, is deservedly one of the most famous and best known of this artist's works. The rich and subdued colouring, the unity of design, and the skilfully suggested sense of dancing movement combine to build up a nocturne of rare sweetness and beauty.

In *Shakuntala* (Plate XXII.) we return to the ancient tradition of Ajanta, while Krishna and the Gopis (Plate XXIII.) again follows the artist's favourite Kangra models.

In thus referring each picture to its older prototypes, it must not be inferred that any charge of lack of originality or imitation is being levelled or insinuated against the artist. Every artist must have an æsthetic, just as he has a physical, ancestry. The writer recently saw a splendid album of reproductions of Cézanne in the Independent Gallery. The series started, not with a painting of Cézanne, but with a work of the Italian Renaissance, and thence through El Greco and the French masters of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to Cézanne himself. Further, it must not be forgotten that to compare an Indian painting to an Ajanta work, or to some masterpiece of some Mogul or Rajput artist, is as natural as to refer a Chinese painting to a Tang or Sung source, or a European painting to the mediæval or Renaissance work to which it is attributable in inspiration or technique.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that it is to Indian models and sources that Indian artists must turn if Indian painting is to possess any real life or vitality. And if the vast field of Indian art, with its Asokan and mediæval sculptures, its Ajanta paintings, and high serene Mogul line and Rajput drawing, delicate, reticent, and tender, prove insufficient, it is to Persia and Tibet, to China and Japan, that the Indian artist should turn in search of fresh inspiration. For "East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet." What is good in the West is bad in the East, and the converse is equally true. Exotics are feeble and sickly. Even if differences of opinion may exist as to the actual merits of the artists of this new school, and the writer's appreciation be considered to err on the side of excess, surely there can be but one opinion as to the value of this attempt to derive a school of Indian art from Indian sources. Even if the present artists finally fail in their individual efforts, must it not be conceded that they are carrying on the age-long tradition of Indian art, and may be laying the foundation of some greater school in the future.

Gratitude is due to Mr. Gangoly for making known this artist in the work under review. The writer would venture to suggest, however, that the next volume should be on a rather more ambitious scale. While the text could well remain of the same length, the size of the pages, and so of the illustrations, could with advantage be largely increased. M. Werth's recent work on Bonnard is suggested as a model. The price would certainly have to be increased, but the public which demands works such as these is always ready to pay for them, provided the illustrations are sufficiently fine.

FAR EAST

SUBJECTS PORTRAYED IN JAPANESE COLOUR PRINTS. By Basil Stewart.
(Kegan Paul and Co.)

The author explains in his preface that the above volume is not merely a reprint of his "Japanese Colour Prints and the Subjects they Illustrate,"

but has been thoroughly revised with the addition of a great deal to the existing matter and the inclusion of much entirely fresh information. He claims that for the time when the history of the Japanese people was a closed book there can be no better guide than an intelligent study of their colour prints. He has therefore been wise in writing a book which is eminently readable even for the novice.

It seems a great pity that whereas Japanese literature throws much light on the artists, it is silent on the subject of the engravers and also of the printers.

The book is in every way complete with valuable notes, and a comparative table of Japanese chronology.

THE WARES OF THE MING DYNASTY. By R. L. Hobson. (*Benn.*) 84s.

This volume, with 128 illustrations, eleven of which are in colour, is well in keeping with the other publications of Messrs. Benn Brothers, both as regards excellence of printing and illustrations apart from its attraction for the lover of beautiful volumes, and its necessity for the expert. "The Wares of the Ming Dynasty" has also a wider appeal, extending to all who are interested in porcelain. "Ming" had become too much of a general label for the ware which could not be exactly placed. But, in the words of the author, "Ming is not a home for stray pots, in which every mongrel piece, which has no fixed attribution, can find a refuge." Mr. Hobson's work is therefore an indispensable book of general reference.

GENERAL

SCIENTISTS AND SENSITIVES

BY F. R. SCATCHERD*

MADAME BISSON has rendered a signal service to science by the publication of the report by four Professors of the Sorbonne as to the results of their experiments with Eva C., together with documents of capital importance. Madame Bisson, sure of the fact, was anxious to obtain official confirmation as to the reality of "la Substance," the "ectoplasm" of Professor Richet, Baron von Schrenk-Notzing, Dr. Geley, and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle.

Madame Bisson does not criticize, she only attempts to elucidate a report regarded in certain quarters as a proof of the non-existence of the basic fact of all objective metaphysical phenomena.

These phenomena do not belong to the order of "scientific experimentation," since they cannot be produced at will. They belong to the domain of simple experimentation, rendered most difficult and delicate through the necessity for the presence of a sensitive. Should anything occur to upset the sensitive the phenomena do not take place.

"Respect for these especial conditions of experimentation," writes Madame Bisson, was evidently "a great demand to make upon professors accustomed to the study of the exact sciences," and they certainly failed lamentably to come up to any standard worthy of the traditions of the Sorbonne, for out of the four men signing the report, only M. Piéron was present at all thirteen sittings. M. Dumas was sometimes absent, M. Laugier did not appear until after the fifth séance, therefore was not present at the third, which was positive, while *M. Lapique came for a quarter of an hour only during the first séance!* Moreover, little attention was given to conditions absolutely essential for success—conditions which might have led to better results.

* "Le Médiumnisme et la Sorbonne," by Juliette Alexandre-Bisson, price 6d. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan.

The second part consists of a lucid commentary on the report, with its text in full. The third deals with the nature of materializations, and is followed by a résumé and documents indispensable for forming a true judgment of this now famous document.

"Make no mistake, we can never say with certitude that a fact is unlikely or impossible because it appears to us contrary to the laws of nature. Such an argument is altogether illogical . . . the progress of science is finally nothing, but the constant modification of the laws of nature as formulated by an antecedent epoch with reference to the following epoch.

As regards the psychical sciences, we have been able to assure ourselves that the greater number of those who have only recorded insuccess or accidents owe this fact to their defect of method, their inexperience, and their incompetence."

These remarks of the eminent jurist Dr. J. Maxwell (1906) are quoted by Madame Bisson as justly applicable to the recent experiments of the Sorbonne. The eminent academician M. Marcel Prevost regards these Sorbonne experiences as insignificant compared with the increasing number of fine minds (*bons esprit*) who are devoting themselves to the study of metaphysical science.

This little volume is an indispensable contribution to the vexed question of materializations, for Dr. Louis Beauprez gives the *coup de grâce* to the sole refuge of its opponent's "regurgitation" as an explanation of the phenomena produced by Eva C. M. Fernand Divoire tells us that never has there been so much talk about the Sorbonne as since it has given its official benediction to the study of materializations, and since Socrates said "impure souls" hate and avoid the invisible, he, wishing to rank with pure souls, neither hates nor fears "ectoplasm," and this would be the case with him even were it only to rule out the assertion that any phenomenon is "impossible." The word impossible has no place in human language.

NEAR EASTERN NOTES

BY F. R. SCATCHERD

I.—THE NEAR EAST AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

"Why had not the League of Nations intervened in the Greco-Turkish War and the Ruhr?"

Such were the questions that everywhere greeted Lord Robert Cecil in his recent visit to the States, where he spoke to large and sympathetic audiences in New York, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Chicago, and five other cities, including Boston, no mean record for a four weeks' tour. Everywhere the keenest interest was manifested, for Lord Robert explained that he was there by the wish of his American friends, not for purposes of propaganda, but to ascertain America's objections to the League, and to unfold its true significance, so far as it was in his power to do so.

As an instance of the large-minded toleration evoked by Lord Robert's evident sincerity, it would be difficult to surpass that of Mr. Frank Munsey, of New York, the proprietor of several publications hostile to the League. Mr. Munsey organized a gathering, where the leading newspaper-owners and editors of the American Press were assembled to learn what the League of Nations meant to one of its most able and devoted adherents.

The questions which head this note, give colour and confirmation to Lord Robert's conviction expressed at the luncheon, given in his honour, on his return to London, at the Hotel Cecil, May 15, by the Hospitality Committee of the League of Nations Union.

After referring to the "splendid hospitality" he had experienced in Canada and the United States, Lord Robert recorded his belief that it was doubt as to the reality of Europe's desire for peace that was the main obstacle to the entry of America into the League.

"Americans realized, probably more than we on this side, that a successful League of Nations must depend ultimately upon the power of an organized public opinion, and a standpoint in international thought, quite different from the old idea.

"If we would hasten America's entry into the League, we must make the League 'the great fundamental item of our foreign policy.'"

Future historians may look back to Lord Robert's American tour as the most vital world event of the spring of 1923.

The *Round Table* (March, 1923) puts the case for the League in words that should be known to every citizen of the British Commonwealth, words that the friends of the warring peoples of the Near East, who must obtain

* *Headway*, June, 1923. The League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.

peace or perish, would do well to ponder, for despite our sins of commission and worse sins of omission, it is to the Anglo-Saxon race on both sides of the Atlantic that the world still looks for help and deliverance. The *Round Table* writes:

"To the British Empire, which has everything to lose by the outbreak of a new war, the promotion of an institution framed to smooth away the more serious international difficulties before they endanger peace is a political interest of the first order. Our Empire has nothing to fear from the publicity of the League. It can submit the administration of its mandated territories to the inspection of the Mandates Commission without misgiving and in full confidence that the principles upon which it proceeds will commend themselves to the civilized conscience of the world.

"The insurance premium is low. Spread over the fifty-one States it amounts to about one-seventh of the cost of a first-class battleship. For this dirisory sum the world has now an instrument which, if loyally and intelligently employed—and the strain on the loyalty of its members will increase as the business referred to the League becomes more important—will produce in the shape, either of quarrels averted or composed, or armaments reduced, or of diseases arrested, or of derelict States restored to financial equilibrium, or of Labour aspirations guided along wise and practical channels, a rich and enduring harvest of well-being."

At the time of writing, representatives of the League of Nations are in Athens, gathering facts to place before the Finance Committee of the League with regard to the question of a loan of £10,000,000 to Greece to enable her to cope with the settlement of the million or so refugees now in urgent need of the vital necessities of life.

Albania has been one of the first countries to profit by the decision of the Council of the League to deal with appeals made by States for technical assistance. Mr. Hunger, a Dutch colonial administrator, has now been appointed Financial Advisor to Albania, and with his help Albania proposes to develop the resources of the country by floating a loan, founding a bank, building roads, and carrying out other measures necessary to ensure the prosperity of its people.

From Lausanne comes the statement that Turkey is anxious to be admitted to membership of the League of Nations, the most encouraging news as yet received from that quarter.

II. INTERNAL AFFAIRS IN GREECE

Recent visitors from Athens tell us that Constitutional Government has been abolished in Greece by the military dictatorship. The Ministerial Council is only a Committee of that military dictatorship, having little initiative and no will of its own. The dictatorship is well-intentioned, but lacks guidance, and is supposed to be inspired by Mr. Venizelos, who has few friends in Athens. However much he may be admired by the Greeks living outside of Greece, he is held to be virtually responsible for all the ills that have befallen Greece in recent years! No expression of opinion is allowed, and the nation is eagerly looking forward to a General Election in order to voice its opinion, not only of Mr. Venizelos, but of his oppo-

nents also. For the one sure thing is that the people of Greece are sick to death of the politicians whom they consider to have been gambling for so many years at their expense.

The great mass of the nation is suffering acutely from the economic consequences of the depreciation of the currency and the uncontrolled profiteering. Those who compose the so-called Government do not seem to take the slightest notice of the awful conditions in which the people are living. There are a few favourable exceptions, but the majority are persons who can do nothing, while hundreds of thousands are starving because their salaries, or pensions, or wages are cruelly insufficient to enable them to live. Speculation, owing to the fluctuations of the Exchange and the artificial raising or lowering of the value of the English sovereign, causes small fortunes to vanish in a few hours to the gain of experienced speculators.

All parties are alike deemed responsible for the present precarious position, but it must be said that the Great Powers are held to have interfered too much, particularly with regard to the war, and have interfered not always wisely. It was a great mistake to favour one of the parties and ostentatiously to condemn the other, and Mr. Venizelos is bitterly reproached for failing to see the tremendousness of the task of "a mandate" in Asia Minor. As to his support of the Entente, despite his goodwill, it is contended that his rivals have hardly benefited Germany more than he has done, as matters stand now.

Low as the Constantinists have fallen in the estimation of the nation, since they have shown their inability to promote the well-being of the people, the Venizelists, and their chief more particularly, have touched even greater depths of disfavour and discredit. This is borne out by the fact that the military dictatorship, which goes by the name of "the Revolution of 1922," is not at all popular because it is suspected of being inspired by the Venizelists. At first, when it proclaimed its programme as being "Above Parties," it was greeted with some approval. Its leaders are only naïve soldiers, priding themselves upon having done a daring thing in sending away King Constantine and putting to death the ex-Ministers. They have never really had the sanction of the nation, and might be excused had they been inspired by ideals. But they are credited with no ideal except that of creating a strong army in Thrace. This they have achieved, and it is a weapon which Turkey seems to fear. But are we now to be threatened with a repetition of the world-war in consequence of a Greco-Turkish conflict? The people of Greece hate the idea of war, and hold that any outbreak would be the work of the politicians and European capitalists. Surely the League of Nations should be able to find a formula by which the problem of Greco-Turkish reparations could be solved.*

So despondent are the people of Greece on account of their own privations and absence of political freedom, and so disgusted are they with the self-interested influences dominating them, that some of the more im-

* This was received before the conclusion of the arrangement conceding Karagatch to the Turks, by which a collision was averted.

patient, up to a certain point, are actually looking towards Russia as a possible liberator.

One thing alone is certain. It is a matter of European concern for the elections to take place as soon as possible, and this is a case in which the Allies would be wise in urging the military dictatorship to hold the elections as soon as possible and to guarantee absolute freedom in carrying them out.

To all this well-intentioned advice it may be replied that the Revolutionary Government is only *waiting for the signing of peace* to transform itself into a Constitutional Government, as stated many times over by those most vitally concerned.* Meanwhile the maintenance of an efficient army under arms and the providing of support for hundreds of thousands of helpless and destitute refugees are burdens well nigh overwhelming, and bigger and better equipped nations than Greece might be pardoned for the temporary neglect of all but these two staggering eventualities.

III. DR. PLATON DRAKOULES ON THE BALKANS.

Dr. Platon Drakoules, the founder of the Greek Labour Movement, passed through Paris on his way back to England last week, and was pressed by the representatives of French papers to express his views. In refusing their request he stated that the only salvation for the Balkans as a whole was to return to the plan of the Balkan League on the principle of non-intervention of the Great Powers. If this idea, which had been started in the early part of this century, and found its first application in the Balkan War, had been persisted in, all the Balkan countries, including Turkey, would have been spared much misery and suffering. Owing, however, to the present violence of national jealousies, it was too much to hope for its early revival. But he reiterated that along those lines lay the only hope of Balkan salvation.

* See *Asiatic Review* for April, 1923.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION

THE ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME ORIENT

BY M. BAUDAINS

THE École Française d'Extrême Orient was founded in 1898 by decree of M. Paul Doumer, Governor of Indo-China.

Early in the history of the French occupation several archæological missions had been sent out, and as their labours brought to light many interesting documents, the French Government recognized the necessity of creating a centre from which systematic and continuous research could be carried on. The École then bore the name of "Mission Archéologique d'Indochine," changed later, as the importance of its work developed, into that of "École Française d'Extrême Orient" (1900).

At the time of its creation, the capital of Indo-China being Saigon, the library and museum were naturally founded there, when, in 1901, the seat of government was moved to Hanoi, the École followed, leaving behind only the collections of sculptures, owing to difficulties of transport.

The École Française d'Extrême Orient is not a teaching centre, but an Institute for research, historical, archæological, and of philology, comprising the art and culture of the Indo-Chinese peninsula and other Far-Eastern lands: India, China, Japan, and Insulinde. It consists of a "Directeur" nominated by decree, and members, temporary and permanent, appointed by the Gouverneur-Général of Indo-China on the recommendation of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. The tem-

porary members are generally graduates of the *École des Langues Orientales*, of the *École des Hautes-Études*, or of the *École des Beaux-Arts* (Architecture) who have chosen a scientific career, as orientalists or archæologists. But the admission to the school is unconditional, and nationality even is no drawback; the only point taken into account being the qualifications of the applicant and his potential services to the *École* and science. Their number is limited to three, and they are appointed for the period of one year, but their residence may be prolonged indefinitely on the proposal of the *Directeurs* acting on the advice of the *Académie*.

The "membres permanents" (originally called "professors"), are nominated in the same way as the "membres temporaires," but the duration of their residence is unlimited. The laws which govern the civil servants of the colony are applied to them in the matter of vacations, travelling allowance, retirement, etc. They are generally membres temporaires whose scientific qualifications have been proved during several years' sojourn at the *École*.

The studies are divided into the following different branches, each having at its head a permanent member: China and Annamite countries; India and countries where Indian culture predominates; Japan; Indo-Chinese archæology. This last branch is known as "*Service Archéologique*," and has an organization of its own; its head is an important permanent member, who has under his orders several members, one of whom is *Conservateur du Troupe d'Angkor*, and others inspectors of historical monuments.

The *École* has also "membres correspondants" chosen by the *Gouverneur-Général de l'Indochine* from those whose collaboration has been helpful through research or gifts. The duration of this appointment is three years, but it may be renewed.

The Asiatic staff is composed of secretaries, scholars, and draughtsmen, most of whom are Indo-Chinese.

The library comprises 15,000 volumes written in Euro-

pean languages, 12,000 volumes in Chinese. This section is perhaps the finest collection in the world, being the books acquired in China by members (Paul Pelliot, Edouard Huber, Henri Maspéro, Leonard Aurousseau, etc.). The Annamite library contains 2,780 volumes and many texts copied from the originals in the Imperial Library at Hùe. Some very rare works were also copied, several of which were considered as lost.

The Japanese section (6,400 volumes) is mostly composed of books acquired in Japan by Cl. E. Maître and Noël Péri.

In the library are also found many maps of the country and plans of ancient citadels, 1,259 manuscripts, and numerous reproductions (11,000).

The archives of the Viceroy of Tonkin (an appointment that ceased in 1897) were entrusted to the École.

A duplicate collection of Laotian manuscripts was presented by the École Française to the "Société Asiatique."

A museum of Khmer art was organized at P'hnom-Peuh and another of charm antiquities at Tourane. Accordingly these arts are only represented at Hanoi by a few choice specimens, mostly bronzes and other precious works, but the museum has rich collections from Annam-Tonkin, Siam, Burma, India, Tibet, China, Japan, and Korea. The museum also contains a fine numismatic collection, and in the prehistoric section many interesting specimens of the Neolithic and Bronze Ages are to be found.

The "Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient" publishes the works of members as well as the accounts of their discoveries. The value of this publication can be judged from its contributors: Father Cadière, P. Pelliot, Henri Maspéro, R. Deloustal, G. Coédès, L. Finot, Ed. Huber, Alfred Foucher, Sylvain Lévi, Ed. Chavannes, Bouillard, Vaudescal, C. E. Maître, and Noël Péri.

The works which, on account of their importance, are not suitable for a periodical, are published by the École under the title "Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient."

In 1920, under the auspices of the École Française, appeared the review *Ars Asiatica*, edited by Victor Goloubeff. This review quickly became the leading French publication dealing with Oriental art.

One of the most important duties of the École is the study and preservation of the historical monuments of Indo-China. There, as in most countries, vandalism having become rampant, many beautiful monuments were destroyed. In 1900 a decree gave the École full powers to deal with the depredations. Thus 312 "monuments classés" were placed in the care and under the protection of the École. A new list of these is being drawn up and will include several Tonkin buildings, as well as others situated in the provinces retroceded by Siam in 1907.

Many temples have been repaired and classified in Tonkin and Annam, but the greatest effort of the École has been the restoration of the group of temples at Angkor returned to France by the Franco-Siamese Treaty of 1907. This work was undertaken by the Government of Indo-China, but placed under the direction of the École d'Extrême Orient.

The plans of exploration were drawn up by the Service Archéologique and carried out by Jean Courmaillé. During nine years, his artistic taste, his zeal, and his experience, were employed to bring to light magnificent edifices buried under rubbish and covered by tropical vegetation; first Angkor Vat, then Bayou and Baphnor. After his dramatic death (he was murdered in 1916), the work was continued by Henri Marechal and, later, by Charles Batteur, who unearthed the temples of Ta Prohm, Takéo and Banteai Kedei, and also reconstructed the Chaussée des Géants, leading to the Porte de la Victoire. The most interesting discoveries were made in Champa and Cambodgia. Although Khmer art was already known by several works and by the collections of the Musée Guimet, Paris, the Champa was so little studied that scholars carried this ancient kingdom from the coast

of Annam to the south of Cambodgia. Its art, but little known to-day, was ignored until the studies of the École Française brought it to the notice of orientalists. We owe this knowledge to Parmentier, who unearthed Laksmindra and Lokecvava at Dong-durong, the temples of Mi-sou and the ruins of Chan-Lo. We may consider his "*Inventoire descriptif des Monuments Charm de l'Annam*" as the best monograph of this curious branch of Indian art which grafted itself on that of Indo-China.

Although much has been done there is still much to do, and excavation must for many years take a foremost place in the plans of the École Française de Extrême Orient.

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

THE East India Association held a very successful *conversazione* on June 25 at the Caxton Hall. The following among others were present Lord Lamington (President), Lord and Lady Pentland, Sir M. M. Bhow-naggee, Sir Herbert and Lady Holmwood, Sir William and Lady Ovens Clark, Sir Montague Webb, Sir John Cumming, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Mr. B. S. Kamat, Sir Patrick Fagan, Lady Bisset, Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Sen, Miss Scatcherd, Sir Francis Oldfield, Sir Frank Beaman, Mr. and Mrs. Shrimpton Giles, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. Coldstream, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. C. Jinarajadasa, Lady Kensington, Sir Duncan Macpherson, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. P. L. Weston Edwards, and Mr. Stanley Rice (Hon. Secretary).

Lady Katharine Frances Stuart, only daughter of the late Earl of Castlestewart, died on Friday, May 4, suddenly, from a paralytic stroke.

Lady Katharine was born in Coimbatore in the Madras Presidency on November 13, 1878. From early girlhood she devoted herself to caring for the poor and suffering, and she trained for work amongst them with the Nursing Sisters of St. John the Divine at Lewisham, but the work there and at Poplar proved too much for her strength, and after two attacks of blood poisoning it had to be given up. Her attention was then given to helping, by her pen and public speaking, the various good causes she had at heart, as a means of promoting peace and goodwill among the nations; for hers was "a heart that took the whole world in." During the war she shared her father's secretarial work for some of the war charities, but her many labours for others, the loss of her two brothers in action, and the blindness of her father, were blows that told severely on a frame never robust, and two and a half years ago she became an invalid, and a paralytic seizure terminated her life on earth on May 4.

The funeral, which was strictly private, took place on Wednesday, the place of interment being the family vault in Ballyclog Churchyard. The chief mourners were the Earl of Castlestewart and Major Close, D.L., Drum Manor. Rev. C. S. Stewart, M.A., officiated.

The "Georgian Society" and the "Georgia Committee" of London held a Memorial Service in memory of fifteen officers of the National Army of Georgia who distinguished themselves on all Russian Fronts during the Great War: Brigadier-General Prince C. Abkhasi, Grand Marshal of the Georgian Nobility; Generals A. Andronikashvili, V. Tsulukidze, R. Muskhelishvili; Colonels G. Khimchiashvili, D. Chrdileli, E. Guilsashvili, A. Macharvaniani, and others, who were shot, without trial, in the cellars of a Tcheka prison in Tiflis by order of the Bolshevik invaders of

Georgia on May 23, 1923. The service was held at the Greek Church of St. Sophia, Moscow Road, Bayswater, W. 2, on Friday, June 15.

"THROUGH ROMANTIC INDIA"

Mr. Lowell Thomas disarms criticism at the outset by telling his audience that his pictures do not pretend to be exhaustive, and that there are probably some in the audience who know more about his subject than he does. He has, however, managed to present a fairly comprehensive picture of India, starting from Cape Comorin and taking us to Madura, Pondicherry, and Madras, with an excursion to the West Coast. We visit Bombay, Agra, Delhi, and some of the State capitals, and are whirled off to Baluchistan and across the Khyber into Afghanistan. The interval leaves us in Kashmir, resting in the garden of Shalimar. We then come down to Puri to the great festival of Jagannath, and are finally given a glimpse of Calcutta in the shape of the Howrah Bridge.

Mr. Thomas accompanies the pictures with running comments amounting to a lecture, and he is to be congratulated upon the amount of knowledge which he has managed to acquire. He makes mistakes of detail when he describes the Moplahs as a Hill-folk. He ought not to leave the impression that the "untouchables," about whom good folk make so much fuss, are kept at given distances all over India, and it would be more courteous and sympathetic if his references to the Hindu religion were cast on the lines which he himself would like to use about Christianity. To touch lightly—not to say flippantly—upon so intimate a subject as their religion is to wound a very sensitive people in their tenderest part.

The film, too, loses in educative value by confining itself to the lower strata of Indian society. We are indeed shown the Princes, chiefly as accompaniments to the Prince of Wales, a fact which serves to emphasize the dependence rather than the independence of the Native States. We are shown Gandhi and Tagore in fleeting pictures which leave little impression of the intellectual life of India. It is doubtless galling to a people who are striving for political recognition that they should be represented by anachronisms on spikes, by gangs of professional robbers, and by heterogeneous crowds at festivals. Still, it is only fair to remember that Mr. Thomas is showing us not *all* India, but romantic, or picturesque India; there is nothing to suggest that he contemplated anything educative. The pictures themselves are beyond praise, and those of the Taj, the gardens of Kashmir, the Himalayas from Darjiling, and the wild country of the Khyber are very beautiful. Mr. Thomas shows a great and appreciative admiration for the country, and he is loud in his praises of the British administration. It is the business of a critic to criticize; if we could wish certain details altered, that ought not to outweigh our admiration for a very wonderful exhibition.

S. P. R.

THE CONSTITUTION OF CEYLON

BY D. B. JAYATILAKA, M.A.

[The writer of this article is a member of the Executive Committee of the Ceylon National Congress, and is now one of its delegates in London.]

THE Constitution of Ceylon is again in the melting-pot. In February last the Secretary of State for the Colonies issued a Parliamentary Paper* containing certain proposals for its revision. This step marks a welcome departure from the practice hitherto followed by the Colonial Office in regard to Constitutional reform in Ceylon. For the first time it has invited the people most concerned to express their views on the proposed reforms before their final adoption. The opportunity thus granted has been fully utilized. In Ceylon the Government proposals have been discussed and criticized in the Legislative Council, in the Press, and in various political associations, including the National Congress, while here in London the Ceylon Reform Deputation have issued a memorandum dealing very fully with the proposed scheme. This volume of criticism, as well as the Governor's report on the debate in the Legislative Council, is now before the Secretary of State, who, it is expected, will shortly—perhaps after the discussion of the whole question in the House of Commons on the Colonial Office vote—finally settle the form of the new Constitution. I welcome, therefore, the opportunity afforded me at this juncture of reviewing in these pages the present offer of the Government.

In order to appreciate the criticism to which the proposed scheme has been subjected, some knowledge of our history is indispensable. It is, however, unnecessary for our present purpose to go beyond the British period, although

* "Correspondence relating to the Further Revision of the Constitution of Ceylon." Cmd. 1809.

the earlier history of the island is by no means devoid of facts of constitutional value. It was in 1796 that the British first appeared on the scene. In that year they ousted the Dutch from their possessions in the Coast districts which they had wrested from the Portuguese in 1656. The rest of the country, however, still remained under the rule of the King of Kandy. The last occupant of the Sinhalese throne was, like his three predecessors, of Tamil origin, the Sinhalese royal line, which had held sway over the island for over twenty centuries, having become extinct about the middle of the eighteenth century. He was deposed in 1815, and by a solemn treaty, the Convention of Kandy, the whole kingdom was transferred to the King of Great Britain. In the first period of the British occupation the government of the country was purely bureaucratic, although, so early as 1809, the Chief Justice of the day, Sir Alexander Johnston, after a careful enquiry into the prevailing conditions in Ceylon, recommended the establishment of a Council with elected representatives. No change in the form of Government was, however, effected until 1833, when, upon the recommendation of a Royal Commission, which considered Ceylon best fitted in the East for the introduction of Western institutions, a Legislative Council and an Executive Council were constituted. These bodies were composed of officials with the exception of a few non-official members of the Legislative Council who were nominated by the Governor. Notwithstanding the progress which the country made in all other directions, this Constitution remained intact for more than fifty years; in fact, until 1892, when a few more unofficial seats in the Legislative Council were created. But this small increase of unofficial members scarcely affected the character of the Government; the Council continued to be purely advisory with an official majority, and, as regards its unofficial element, nomination remained as before the sole method of selection. This "reform" did, indeed, in one respect positive harm; it strengthened and extended racial

representation, which has proved to be the greatest obstacle to the political progress of the country. Two decades passed before the Constitution was again amended. The Morley-Minto reforms had already been introduced in India, and the insistent demand of Ceylon for a forward movement could not be altogether ignored. In fact, on this occasion the Colonial Office seemed inclined to take a liberal and sympathetic view of the question. But the efforts of the local Government prevented the development of that tendency, and the reform that was granted (in 1912) made no substantial change in the Constitution. In one direction, however, a small advance was then made; an elective element was added to the existing system of communal representation. Moreover, in the creation of electorates, except the Europeans and the Burghers, who had separate registers of their own, the remaining sections of the population—the Sinhalese, the Tamils, the Moors, the Malays, etc.—were formed into one constituency. In view of recent developments it is an important fact to bear in mind that a decade ago these different sections were considered homogeneous enough to be placed on a common electoral roll for the purpose of choosing one member to represent them all in the Legislative Council.

Apart from this concession the reforms of 1912 were wholly disappointing. So the agitation for a truly liberal measure of reform was continued with greater vigour than ever, until it culminated in 1918 in the birth of the Ceylon National Congress, which became, as it is to-day, the most powerful political body in the island. In its first session the Congress formulated its demands for Constitutional reform in a series of resolutions. These resolutions, reaffirmed in subsequent years (with certain modifications), form the platform of the Reform party in Ceylon. That part of them which bears on the Constitution may therefore be well quoted here :

1. "That the Legislative Council should consist of about fifty members, of whom a substantial majority

should be selected according to territorial divisions upon a wide male franchise and a restricted female franchise, and the Council should elect its own Speaker.

2. "That the Legislative Council should continue to have full control over the Budget, and there should be no division of reserved and transferred subjects.

3. "That the Executive Council should consist of the Governor as President assisted by official and unofficial members of whom not less than half should be unofficials chosen from the members of the Legislative Council elected according to territorial divisions, such members to be responsible for the administration of departments placed in their charge."

These demands were submitted to the Colonial Office both by memorials and by two deputations that waited on the Secretary of State (Viscount Milner) in 1919 and 1920 respectively. In September, 1920, the Government by an Order in Council promulgated its scheme of reform. Some of its provisions, both main and incidental, were so unsatisfactory that the National Congress at a special session unanimously adopted a resolution rejecting the reforms, and called upon the country not to return members to the new Council. The matter was reaching an *impasse* when the Government, realizing that public opinion was behind the Congress, came to terms with it and a compromise was effected. At a subsequent session the Congress passed the following resolution :

"In view of the assurance of the Government contained in the memorandum of December 6, 1920, signed by the Hon. Mr. H. C. Gollan, Attorney-General, and submitted this day to the Congress by the President, this Congress recommends participation in the elections under Order in Council, unsatisfactory as it is, in order to utilize the opportunity now assured to the Congress of shaping the new Constitution and of working for the early realization of the full Congress demands on reforms."

At the same session another resolution was passed

recommending the country to return as members of the new Legislative Council only those candidates who pledged themselves to support the Congress policy in regard to reforms, and to exert themselves to secure the amendment of the Constitution in specified particulars. All the territorial members (save one, who, too, was not opposed to the Congress programme) took this pledge substantially in the terms of this resolution. The reformed Council came into being in June, 1921. Its career for the past two years bears testimony to the ability, moderation, and independent spirit with which the elected representatives of the people have discharged their duties. It has also proved that in actual practice the unofficial majority which the Government spokesmen* claimed to be a distinctive feature of the reform introduced in 1920 is more illusory than real.

To return now to the compromise arrived at in December, 1920. In pursuance of that agreement Mr. James Peiris, the member for the City of Colombo, and ex-President of the Congress, proposed in the Legislative Council in December, 1921, a series of resolutions for the amendment of the Constitution. In the course of the debate that followed it became quite clear that the Government had in the meanwhile hardened its heart against any substantial change in the Constitution created in 1920. The present proposals are the outcome of that changed attitude, so strangely at variance with the spirit, if not the letter, of the understanding with the Congress. However that may be, there can really be no meaning in undertaking to re-amend the Constitution so soon after its last revision, unless it be for the purpose of eliminating or modifying those features of it to which public opinion was at the time of its introduction strongly opposed. Now no part of the reform scheme of 1920 provoked so much criticism in Ceylon as well as in the House of Commons† as its provisions for extending racial representation. It is, therefore,

* See the statement of the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (Lieutenant-Colonel Amery) on July 29, 1920.

† See the Proceedings in the House of Commons on August 11, 1920.

not a little surprising to find that representation on a racial basis has become the corner-stone of the proposed edifice of reform. In fact, the main object of the present scheme seems to be the establishment of communalism on a firmer basis than before and "for an indefinite period of time." This proposal certainly reverses the policy initiated in 1912, when the elective principle was first introduced into the Constitution. Under that reform, as has already been pointed out, the Sinhalese, the Tamils, the Moors, the Malays, etc.—in fact, all sections of the population except the Europeans and the Burghers—were formed into one electorate. That system lasted for nine years, till 1921, and two elections were held under it. There is not a tittle of evidence to show that this grouping together of these diverse racial elements in one electorate was detrimental to the interests of any one of them. That being so, the present proposal to hark back to communalism as the basis of representation is wantonly reactionary.

Now let us for a moment examine the reasons that have been put forward in order to justify this reversion to communalism pure and simple. The Governor, Sir William Manning, merely quotes some census figures* which show that the Sinhalese form the majority in their own country, and that the main sections of the population—the Sinhalese, the Tamils, and in one case the Moors—respectively occupy certain areas in larger numbers than others. These are by no means startling facts, disclosing a situation peculiar to Ceylon, and calling for exceptional treatment. These official despatches seek to make the most out of the obvious fact that the population of Ceylon is composed of several racial elements, but they are silent on the most important aspect of this problem of a mixed population—namely, the relations existing between these different communities. The vital question is this: Are the people of Ceylon still in the stage of tribalism, divided into hostile groups, holding no commerce with one another, and bound by no ties of common

* See the Parliamentary Paper referred to (Cmd. 1809), p. 5.

interests? Not even the most enthusiastic supporter of the proposed scheme would venture to answer this question in the affirmative. On the contrary, he would be forced to admit that, although in Ceylon, as in many another land, racial and religious differences do exist, they have not raised impassable barriers between the different communities, and that, as a matter of fact, a real community of interests, ever growing stronger, binds all sections of the people. Many instances may be given of this growing spirit of common citizenship which has enabled the people of Ceylon to rise superior to racial and religious differences in public matters. So far back as 1912, when for the first time the people were given the right to elect a representative, a Tamil candidate (Sir P. Ramanathan) was returned with a large majority over his Sinhalese rival (Sir H. M. Fernando), although the Sinhalese naturally commanded a larger number of votes than all the other sections. In 1917 the same member was re-elected after a contest, his opponent on this occasion also being a Sinhalese. Again in 1921, although the majority of the voters were Buddhists, yet of the nine members returned for the predominantly Sinhalese districts one only was a Buddhist; and—this is a still more remarkable fact—one electorate, almost entirely Buddhist, elected a Christian minister by a very large majority in preference to a Buddhist candidate. Similarly the elections for the Municipal Councils and the recently formed Urban Councils prove that racial and religious prejudices do not affect the choice of representatives for these popular institutions. In towns where Sinhalese and Tamils form the majority Burghers and Muhammadans have been elected as members, while Burghers have been chosen as chairmen of Urban Councils composed mainly of Sinhalese and Tamil members. It is hardly necessary to add that in matters affecting the social and moral welfare of the country there is the heartiest co-operation of all, irrespective of race or religion. All these indisputable facts point to a growing solidarity among the people and a

strong movement towards national unity. The official despatches ignore these features of our public life, and in this respect they do less than justice to Ceylon. Further, the Government proposals, instead of promoting that growth of national unity so essential to political progress, are calculated to have an exactly opposite tendency. If adopted in their present form, they will result in "the creation of political camps organized against each other," and "teach men to think as partisans and not as citizens."

Having so far discussed the principle, we proceed now to consider Sir William Manning's scheme of representation on its own merits. In one part of his despatch he assures us that he is anxious to avoid over-representation and under-representation. Let us see how he puts this excellent idea into practice. His scheme thus distributes the seats on a communal basis :

					Population.	No. of Seats.
Europeans	...	...	...	...	8,300	3
Burghers	...	...	...	...	29,100	2
Muhammadans	...	...	...	...	265,300	3
Indians	{	Indian Tamils	...	...	606,700*	2
		Muhammadans	...	...	33,100	
Ceylon Tamils	...	...	...	...	514,300	8
Sinhalese	...	...	...	...	3,016,400	14

These figures need no comment. A mere glance at the list is sufficient to show that this allotment of seats has proceeded on no principle. One inevitable result of this apportionment, however, calls for special notice. It will be seen that the minority sections (excluding the immigrant labour population) total about a million. No less than 18 seats are allotted to this one million minority, while the three million (Sinhalese) majority† are assigned just 14 seats. In other words, these proposals, if adopted in their present

* Mainly a floating population of immigrant labourers, a small percentage of whom will be entitled to the franchise.

† Mr. H. J. Temple, in a letter to *The Times* (June 7), urges that the Kandyan Sinhalese should not be included in the majority population. As I pointed out in my reply (in *The Times* of June 18), the scheme itself treats the Kandyan and Low Country Sinhalese as forming the majority population.

form, will establish minority rule in Ceylon. The lack of principle to which I have adverted above becomes still more glaring when the representation of territorial divisions is considered. Twenty-one seats (made up of the 14 Sinhalese and 7 Tamil seats given above) are thus distributed territorially:

	Population.	No. of Seats.
Colombo Town	244,000	1
Western Province (exclusive of Colombo)	1,002,800	3
Central Province	717,900	2
Northern Province	374,831	5
Southern Province	671,300	2
Eastern Province	211,830	2
North-Western Province	491,800	2
Northern Central Province	96,500	1
Province of Uva	233,800	1
Province of Sabaragomuva	471,800	2

Again comment is superfluous; the scheme carries its own condemnation. No amount of argument can possibly justify the allotment of 4 seats to the Western Province, including Colombo, the Metropolis, having a population of over one and a quarter million, while 5 seats are bestowed on the Northern Province, far inferior to it in point of population and general advancement.

The interests of minorities are, of course, urged in defence of this scheme of representation, so arbitrary and unfair, whether you consider it from the communal or from the territorial point of view. It is a novel doctrine that in any country the minorities are entitled to any right other than that of adequate representation. From the first table given above it is clear that in Ceylon the minorities have been given adequate, and in some instances more than adequate, representation. Moreover, entirely on the initiative of the advocates of reform, the minorities are now to be included in the general electorate, so that the members of the minority sections, if otherwise qualified, will be entitled to a double vote—one in their communal electorate and the other in a territorial constituency. Further, the Constitution provides ample safeguards against class legislation injurious to the interests of any section of the community. In view of these

facts the plea cannot be genuine that the interests of the minorities necessitate unjust discrimination against the majority population.

Space forbids reference to other features of the proposed scheme which are open to criticism. In fairness, however, I must not omit to say that it contains several good points—such as the abolition of the residential qualification and the provision for the election of a Vice-President. But these are of minor importance, and cannot in themselves produce good results, so long as the whole scheme is based upon the reactionary principle of communal representation. I have said enough, I deem, to convince any impartial person that the present proposals require considerable modification before they can be considered just and satisfactory. If the proposed revision of the Constitution is really intended to be a further step in the direction of self-government, then advance must needs be along the line of territorial representation extended so as to include the whole population and give fair and adequate representation to each territorial division, while the special representation of the minority sections is retained as a temporary expedient.

CHINESE TROUBLES

BY DIGBY C. H. D'AVIGDOR

"THE average foreigner outside Peking—and, indeed, the average-thinking Chinese—sees China as in a hopeless mess, both politically and financially."

In these words the President of the Chinese Republic summed up the state of affairs in his unhappy country only a short time ago to a representative in Peking of Reuter's Agency. It is true that at the same time he expressed his conviction that the wealth of productive effort which China possesses in her industrious and teeming population would surely prove her economic salvation in the long run. The point is, however, how long, not only China herself, but also those Powers who have invested large sums there in commercial undertakings, the success of which depends upon stabilized conditions, will be content to wait for the desired alleviation of the present conditions.

For several years past the conviction has been steadily growing on the part of those well acquainted with Chinese affairs, that the time is rapidly approaching when some definite steps will become absolutely necessary on the part of the Powers, if China is to be saved from herself. It has become more and more obvious that the central government at Peking is impotent to control the intrigue and independent action of the Tuchuns (or military governors), under whose maladministration the provinces are undoubtedly suffering severely. Not only do these militarist despots defy the Peking Government, but they use the power they hold in virtue of their hordes of soldiery to

impose super-taxes upon the unfortunate provincials which are sequestered for the purpose of financing their own internecine struggles, for which purposes the ordinary taxes, supposed to be collected for the central government, are also appropriated. The treasury at Peking at one time became depleted to an extent which was not only a serious embarrassment at home, but has been stated to have reacted abroad, inasmuch as the emoluments of the Chinese representatives in Europe were no longer forthcoming. Politically, crisis has followed crisis, so that the general public has eventually wearied of the dismal tale and interest in the fate of China has been replaced by apathetic indifference. Chinese affairs are still perforce a matter of concern to the chanceries of Europe, and more than one plan, such as the Consortium, has been evolved in these quarters during recent years in order to bring help to the distracted country. It is more than likely, however, that the general indifference, except on the part of diplomatists and those financially interested in China's well-being, might have become a settled habit, had not the whole world suffered a rude awakening by the startling announcement in the first week in May of a daring raid upon the Pukow express and the seizure by a large force of bandits of European passengers.

Now the point at which this outrage occurred is, in itself, not without significance. Near the station of Lin-cheng, on the branch portion of the Peking-Shanghai railway known as the Tientsin-Pukow line, the boundaries of no less than five provinces are adjacent. The capture of desperadoes would therefore obviously be a matter of considerable difficulty, unless there were complete co-ordination on the part of the various provincial authorities, and this is entirely lacking. A further obstacle to the prompt apprehension of bandits in China is the question of identification. The soldier who is to-day in the Tuchun's service, dissatisfied on account of being obliged to exist for many months without pay, becomes a bandit the next day,

and a peaceful villager the day after. The fact that such peaceful villagers have arms in their possession has no significance as proof of unlawful avocation, because weapons are part of the normal villager's equipment for defence, either against the bands of marauders infesting most provinces of China, or against the attacks of other villagers engaging in periodical forays for booty. Granted, then, the desire or the competence of the Tuchun to effect the arrest of a gang of bandits, it is obvious that he can place little reliance upon the services of troops whose ranks have only recently included the bandits themselves. Failure, if not fraternization, is a foregone conclusion. To attempt to identify the quondam bandit with the peaceful villager is almost equally ineffectual, and evokes a passive resistance on the part of the countryside, which objects to the abuse of its immemorial right to vary the monotony of existence.

The fact is that brigandage, as practised in China, is an institution which it will be extremely difficult to abolish. The adventurous spirit of generations of Chinese has been kept alive partly by a natural distaste for a prolonged struggle with a poverty from which few in the provinces are exempt, and partly by a study, widespread and attentive, of a gem of classical fiction. Some five hundred years ago was produced a work known to students of the East as the "*Sui-Hsü-tien*," the authorship of which, though ascribed to various individuals, has never been definitely established. This work contains a vivid description of the exploits of 108 brigand chiefs, the most famous of whom was the redoubtable *Song*. Written in a style so pure that its charm captivates as surely to-day as it did when first penned, the "*Sui-Hsü-tien*" has undoubtedly inspired many to emulate the exploits of these wholly imaginary heroes. Opportunity for the practical application of brigandage is not lacking even to this day, as the latest exploit at Lincheng had demonstrated only too clearly.

For several reasons the Lincheng raid has a claim to our earnest consideration. Perhaps one of its most serious aspects is that it marks the disappearance of that immunity from outrage enjoyed, except on isolated occasions, by Europeans since the days of the Boxer Rebellion. The large scale of the operation itself, as at least three thousand bandits appear to have taken part in the raid, is also noteworthy; and a particularly disquieting element is the fact that a large body of Chinese troops who were stationed near the scene of the outrage were powerless to prevent its accomplishment, and failed to intervene immediately afterwards. Without taking advantage of the strategic possibilities of scattering over the conveniently situated frontiers into different provinces, the bandits withdrew in good order in a body, dragging their unfortunate captives over miles of rough ground for many hours. Eventually the marauders appear to have split up their forces into smaller units, as it was reported that they were apprehensive of pursuit. The fact is clear, however, that they soon realized the complete impotence of the Chinese authorities to do anything effective, and in a few days the brigands, and not the authorities, were stating terms on which the captives would be given up.

In fairness to the Peking Government it must be admitted that they took steps which might have been effective if they had been practicable. The military and civil governors of the Shantung provinces were telegraphically instructed to take energetic measures for the release of the prisoners by dispatching troops to surround the brigands. The latter did not fail to make it known that such measures might lead to the death of their captives, and intimated that a substantial sum of money as ransom might be a preferable expedient. Meanwhile the Diplomatic Corps at Peking was urging the Chinese Government to refrain from any action likely to imperil the lives of their respective nationals in the brigands' hands, and in the same breath demanding pains and penalties for the aggressors. For weeks the

negotiations between the brigands and the Government dragged on, and it was not until June 12 that a message was received that all the foreigners taken prisoner had been released. The terms on which this result had been obtained are an object-lesson on the conditions in China, which we should do well to note carefully. The whole of this lawless and disreputable crowd of reprobates were enrolled to the number of three thousand in the regular Chinese army, so that official sanction has in effect been given to the genial metamorphoses which, as explained in the preceding pages of this article, have become the chief contributory factor in the growth of brigandage in China.

In the general relief at the release of the foreign prisoners, little attention has been paid to the fate of the several hundred Chinese passengers on the train who were captured at the same time. There is no doubt that a large number of these unfortunate people lost their lives and that the rest suffered untold privations, that much being clear from a few messages received. The lack of comment on this aspect of the affair proves rather tragically that public indifference to China's fate is in danger of recrudescence. This would be a matter for regret, as never was it more necessary that public opinion should be ready to back up any steps which the Powers may feel it necessary to take in order to put an end to a situation which is going from bad to worse. It will be impossible for foreign assistance to be brought to China's relief, and China herself has emphasized often enough her desire for assistance, unless there is a suspension of the anti-foreign movement which has been in evidence of late. Within the last two months the list is a serious one: A Canadian was assaulted on a train at Tsinan-fu; the European officers and passengers on a steamer proceeding from Hong-kong to Shanghai were made prisoners by Chinese pirates disguised as passengers, who then looted the ship; at Chang-sha an unarmed body of Japanese bluejackets was stoned by the mob; and, more recently still, bandits have surrounded and

menaced missionary establishments. Generally speaking, the lives of foreigners in China, and this within a comparatively short distance of the coast, are in constant peril.

In the interview already alluded to, the President of the Chinese Republic declared that he perceived in his country signs of a growing detestation of militarism. It would be a great relief if these signs were as obvious to others, but meanwhile we can only hope that the President's optimism may be justified in the near future.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1923

THE JAPANESE RELIEF FUND

MESSAGE FROM THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR TO THE
"ASIATIC REVIEW"

I cannot find the words
to express adequately the feelings
of gratitude which animate
all Japanese at the magnificent
response to the Lord Mayor's appeal.
The material aid of the
generous donors will help us
to alleviate the deep distress
in Japan and the sympathy
which prompted them will spur
on the Japanese nation to make
untiring efforts in the gigantic
task of reconstruction.

London, September, 1923.

林 權 助

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

THE JAPANESE KIDNAP FUND

THE JAPANESE KIDNAP FUND

The Japanese Kidnap Fund is a fund established for the purpose of raising money to pay the ransom of Japanese kidnapped in China. The fund was established in 1900, and has since that time been successful in raising a large sum of money. The fund is managed by the Japanese Government, and the money is used to pay the ransom of Japanese kidnapped in China. The fund has been successful in raising a large sum of money, and has been successful in paying the ransom of Japanese kidnapped in China. The fund has been successful in raising a large sum of money, and has been successful in paying the ransom of Japanese kidnapped in China.

HOW JAPAN IS FACING THE CALAMITY

BY DIGBY C. H. D'AVIGDOR

THAT the Japanese nation would exhibit a stoical courage in face of the appalling disaster which has overtaken its capital and one of its chief ports was only to be expected. Centuries of exposure to earthquake shocks, varying in intensity but as regularly experienced as thunderstorms in the Western world, have contributed not a little to the moulding of the Japanese character. The Japanese are unquestionably a remarkably hardy race, partly due to the process of natural evolution under strenuous conditions, and partly to the training to which they have accustomed themselves from time immemorial. The great majority of the people have always been tillers of the soil and fishers of the deep seas surrounding their island home, and both vocations have entailed a stern and never-ending struggle with the forces of Nature. Owing to its volcanic and mountainous character, large tracts of Japan are ill-suited to cultivation, and it has only been due to the patient labour and unremitting vigilance of Japan's workers that they have been able to raise the rice crop upon which they mainly depend. Latterly the situation with regard to this staple food became somewhat less acute, owing to the spread of methods of intensive cultivation and to an increase in the imports of foodstuffs, although both expedients were only palliative in view of the steady growth of the population. The lot of the men who gain their living in the fisheries has been, and still is, no less severe than that of the agriculturists. Apart from the difficulties inseparable from the pursuit of their calling on a rocky coast, amid the swift currents and eddies between the innumerable islets and promontories in which it abounds, the fishermen have to reckon with the sudden visitation of fierce storms and,

not infrequently, of the dreaded typhoon. It is no wonder, therefore, that Japan's toilers both on land and sea have developed a hardihood which inures them to the savage blows of Nature and enables them to meet a disaster, such as the recent earthquake, in a spirit of calm resolution.

Another factor which has undoubtedly contributed much to the formation of stability in the national character must not be lost sight of, although it has had less direct influence on the masses than on the classes representing the intellectual strength of the country. Most people have heard of the cult of Bushido, or knightly chivalry, and have not incorrectly compared it with the training which our own knights and esquires underwent in bygone days. Bushido, however, existed in Japan many centuries earlier than its counterpart in other countries, and although its votaries cultivated assiduously their physical powers, they by no means neglected the development of the character and the intellect. Bravery in battle or personal combat, and the fortitude to bear pain unmoved, were part of the teachings; but honesty of purpose, frugality, the search after truth and the pursuit of knowledge, were equally regarded as essential to the true son of Bushido. It was not only the bounden duty of all who bore knightly arms to follow these precepts, but the mothers of each generation of Japanese instructed their offspring in the tenets of Bushido, and themselves practised what they preached. Force of example had the natural result of spreading the doctrine far and wide through every grade of a social system which closely resembled feudalism in its structure, and Bushido has left its mark to this day on the modern Japanese, although the feudal system has given place to constitutionalism. The Japanese of to-day has also inherited a streak of fatalism from those ancestors who, cherishing the ideals of Bushido, regarded pain and suffering as the test of their training. To rebel against the superior powers of Nature, as evinced by flood, tempest, and earthquake, has always been considered a sign of weakness, and to give way to useless

panic under the stress of these vicissitudes was unheard-of cowardice. It is not surprising, therefore, that the habit of endurance and the calm acceptance of suffering have become salient characteristics of the whole race, but we cannot withhold our admiration for the extraordinary fortitude with which the whole population sustained the unparalleled disaster of September 1. Fortified by the experience of previous visitations, and doubtless inspired by their inherited tenacity of purpose, the Japanese appear to have been able to master the very natural fears which earthquake tremors undoubtedly awaken in the bravest of the Western world, to whom the shaking of the solid ground beneath one's feet is symbolic of the extremity of peril. It is recorded that even the Japanese children remained calm during the repeated shocks, and that panic only broke out when the earthquake was followed by fire. The effects of a conflagration in cities like Tokio and Yokohama, where hundreds of thousands live in houses composed of the flimsiest materials, are almost impossible for us to realize, and it is fire which has been the cause of the greatest loss, measured both in human life and in material damage, in Japan's most recent disaster. Paradoxical though it may appear, the earthquake and fire damage to a city is in inverse ratio to its modernity. A city of wooden buildings, lightly constructed and of no great height, devoid of gas mains and electric cables, has been proved by experience not only to withstand more easily the actual shock of earthquake, but to run less risk of being subsequently devastated by fire. Light structures sway in a terrifying manner but do not readily collapse, and a general precaution in Japan at the first tremble of the ground is to remove lamps and the simple heating braziers from the interior of the houses into the open in order to prevent fire if walls or roof fall in. On the other hand, modern buildings and appliances are potential sources of danger, even if complete ruin does not overtake them immediately. Cracks open up in brick or ferro-concrete buildings, endangering the stability of the

whole mass, while the displacement of tiles from lofty roofs is the cause of heavy casualties in the streets. The escape of the numerous inmates of a big modern building is also less easy when the usual rush to the open follows the first shock.

Earthquakes of a severe nature have an appalling effect on the underground and overhead lighting and communication systems of a modern city. Gas-mains are wrenched from their sockets, and the escaping gas invariably ignites from its first contact either with an ordinary spark or with the discharge from a fractured electric circuit. The result is that many broken mains become vast torches of flaming gas, evolving enormous heat, and continue to burn fiercely until the gasometers which supply them have been exhausted. Alternatively, if severed from their connection to the gasworks, the gas in the dead mains mixes with the air absorbed through the fractured pipes and forms an explosive combination which a spark will detonate with deadly results. Hardly less damage is wrought by the breaking of high tension electric cables for the transmission of light or power for tramways or other purposes. Above ground the collapse of the standards entails the fall of the cables, which electrocute all who may be caught in their toils. A ghastly example of this occurred at Tokio during the earthquake, when all the passengers in a tramcar were subsequently found dead, each of them having been struck down by the electric fluid and petrified in the very posture of the moment of the disaster.

Neither Tokio nor Yokohama are entirely modern cities, though each has, or rather had, their modern quarter, as well as a large proportion of the lightly-built dwellings characteristic of Japan. The destruction caused by the prolonged series of earthquake shocks to the official and business quarters of Tokio—that is to say, to the modern portion—was so severe as at first almost to paralyze the nerve centre of government, especially on account of the wholesale disturbance of all means of communication. The

rapidity with which the authorities rallied their forces and grappled with the task of re-establishing the government and other vital services was remarkable. Within a few days' time, by efforts at the magnitude of which we can only hazard a guess, the Japanese once more asserted their ability to triumph over earthquake chaos, and the telegraph, telephone, electric, and water systems were patched up and partially restored. Those few days, when only unofficial and often contradictory reports of the extent of the damage and the number of casualties were reaching the outside world, were days of poignant anxiety for all who had relations or friends in the stricken area. For none more so than the Japanese absent from the homeland, and the stoicism of every one of them was put to a severe test. It should be said at once that never were the national characteristics more finely exhibited: not one permitted his anxiety to make him deviate one hair's-breadth from his invariable smiling and polite attitude towards the world.

As regards the dwelling-houses of Tokio and Yokohama, the official estimate is that in the former about 80 per cent. of the population have been rendered homeless, while in the latter the figure is even higher. These facts speak for themselves, and indicate clearly the magnitude of the relief measures required for providing hundreds of thousands of homeless people with the bare necessities of life. In the national emergency the Government made full use of its trained forces, and the whole strength of the Navy was immediately employed to rush supplies from all parts of Japan to coastal points adjacent to the devastated area, while the Army was set to work to build temporary accommodation and assist in the general work of salvage and cleaning up. One of the most urgent matters was to search the mountains of ruins for the bodies of the dead, these having to be cremated on the spot to prevent the outbreak of epidemic. The Japanese Red Cross also mobilized its members throughout the homeland and the

colonies, to take over the work of caring for the sick and the wounded among the survivors.

The whole civilized world may be said to have rallied to the relief of Japan in her hour of need, and the scale on which money and gifts in kind are being collected and forwarded from all quarters is a measure of the sympathy which has been awakened. This sympathy, which has been conveyed in countless messages to the rulers of Japan and to her representatives abroad, has evoked a thrill of response in every Japanese, for the Japanese, though proud, are a deeply sensitive people. They are old in civilization, but comparatively young in the comity of nations, and they are acutely conscious that they have not always succeeded in making themselves understood. The Japanese Ambassador in London recently summed up the feelings of his countrymen when, in expressing his belief that Japan would eventually build up again all that had been destroyed, he added :

“ Japan, in spite of her losses, may even look back upon this disaster as having been productive of good, as showing that the fellowship of nations is not an unattainable ideal but a living reality.”

The philosophic courage of Japan, therefore, is certainly not exhausted, and though she has suffered a rude shock, she is bending all her energies to the work of reconstruction. The first accounts of the calamity which were published rather suggested that the blow was overwhelming and that Japan's powers would be crippled for many years to come, but this opinion, which was natural enough at the moment in view of the magnitude of the disaster, now requires some modification. Tokio is the political and financial centre of Japan, but not a great producing city, while although Yokohama is a great port of call, Osaka, Kobé, and Nagoya (now appointed the chief northern port) all remain unscathed. Japan's commerce and economic life will begin to flow again through these channels when once the first obstacles to

her recovery have been overcome. Her fields for the production of raw silk and the mining districts of Kyushu are also unaffected, and, although her national resources are not great, she still preserves the nucleus for future development.

The appointment has been announced of a Reconstruction Commission to include in its ranks Cabinet Ministers, privy councillors, members of the House of Peers and the House of Representatives, business men, scholars, and political leaders of all shades of opinion. The composition of this Commission is a sign that all classes in Japan are uniting in the work of reconstruction, and the spirit of the people was expressed by the Premier, Admiral Yamamoto, in the words of his announcement that Tokio was to be rebuilt :

"The reconstruction of a modern capital will be a real test of Japanese resourcefulness, and will demand the effort of the whole country to create something better and greater than the former city."

THE COMING ELECTIONS IN INDIA AND THE FUTURE

BY SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU, K.C.S.I., LL.D.

(Representative of British India at the Imperial Conference)

WITHIN the next few weeks the second General Election will take place in India. For more reasons than one it will be an event of exceptional interest. When the elections were held last, in 1920, one important section of Indian politicians, under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi, decided to boycott the Councils, and absolutely held aloof from the elections. This year, for reasons into which it is unnecessary to go at any length, a considerable section of the Non-Co-operators under the leadership of Mr. C. R. Das, has decided to contest seats at the General Elections. This has given rise to differences among the Non-Co-operators, for while the Das party has been urging that the Non-Co-operators should enter the Councils, another section of the Non-Co-operators has been dissenting from that view. The special session of the Congress at Delhi has, however, given its verdict in favour of Mr. Das. The result, therefore, will be that the elections will be ever so much more brisk than they were on the last occasion, and it may confidently be predicted that a considerably larger number of the electors will go to the polls than they did in 1920.

Who will contest the elections with the Das party is a very natural question to ask. The Moderates—or, as they are now called, the Liberals—will be the contesting party. Yet, again, there will be another class of persons who will seek election. It is difficult to describe them as a party, for the party organization among them is still nebulous. They are the landlords, or Zemindars, of India.

As to what the chances of the two parties mentioned above and the Zemindars will be, it is difficult to foretell with any degree of precision. Undoubtedly, the Non-

Co-operators are very much more numerous than the Moderates or the Liberals, and have by their ceaseless activity and by their organization acquired a greater hold on popular imagination than the Liberals. At the same time, it appears to me that the Liberals too have gained some ground in the country, and are now receiving a better hearing than they did, say, twelve months ago. The misfortune of the Liberals in India has been that many of their leaders were, by sheer force of circumstances existing in 1920, called upon to assume office. Their assumption of office, and their association with the Government during the last three years, have been used as strong weapons of offence against them by the Non-Co-operators. Their party organization has been weak, they have been slow to recognize the necessity and power of a party fund, and altogether it must be confessed that defective leadership and a want of cohesion have in no small measure led to the deterioration of their position. Their position has also been considerably affected by certain events in India and in England, not the least of which is the decision in regard to Kenya, which has provoked widespread dissatisfaction and resentment in India, and given rise to an extremely complicated situation there. During the last few months, however, the Liberals have been trying to set their house in order, and have achieved appreciable success, mainly due to the indefatigable energy and efforts of Mr. Chintamain, who was until May last a Minister in the United Provinces Government. It seems to me also that in rural areas in many provinces the Zemindars, who have got considerable local influence with the rural electors, are likely to be powerful opponents of both the Non-Co-operators and the Liberals. I do not wish to be dogmatic, but I shall not be surprised if the result shows that the Non-Co-operators are in a majority in the Assembly and the Provincial Councils. Given, therefore, an Assembly and Councils where we may assume that the Non-Co-operators will be in a majority, and that the Liberals and the Zemindars, or agricultural classes, will also have a fair share of representation, it may be asked

how these new political bodies will work in future. Mr. Das and his party have repeatedly been saying that they are going into the Councils to destroy them ; that they will ask for complete responsible government, and if they fail to get any satisfactory response from Government they will use all the means available to them to destroy these Councils. A good deal of this hyperbolic language must be discounted, and as one who has seen the working of the Constitution from inside the Government, I fail to see how they can, assuming they are quite serious, succeed in destroying the Councils. The field of operations left to them for the use of their destructive weapons is by no means large. They cannot touch many subjects, which are protected from the vote of the Assembly. They may, I admit, create considerable difficulties in the way of the Government in regard to those portions of the Budget which are subject to the vote of the Assembly, but these difficulties will not be in the nature of a surprise. They were foreseen by the framers of the Constitution, and they will have to be faced, whether they are raised by the Non-Co-operators or by the Liberals, or any other class of politicians inside the Councils. The Non-Co-operators say that they will compel the Government to carry on their administration and pass their measures by the Viceroy's power of certification. It will be a most interesting situation to see how they are able to give effect to this threat. For my part, I do not think that things will reach that pass or be allowed by a resourceful Government to reach that pass. But should a situation arise in which it is clear that there are serious deadlocks which are embarrassing to the Government or which paralyze the administrative machinery the whole position is bound to be carefully re-examined. The central fact of the situation is that, so far as the achievement of dominion status is concerned, both the Liberals and the Non-Co-operators will exercise the utmost possible pressure on the Government, the material difference being in the character of that pressure. As for the Zemindars, I think that on the whole they will be more inclined to support the Liberals in the methods they may

pursue. It is therefore obvious to my mind that the question of further advance will be a burning topic in the new Assembly and the Councils, and matters may come to a head within the next two years.

I am aware that the English view is that nothing should be done to revise the Constitution until the expiry of ten years, for which provision has been made in the Government of India Act. A careful study of the section of the Government of India Act bearing on this question will show that it does not prevent the making of any enquiry before that period, but that it does impose an obligation on the Secretary of State to ask Parliament to appoint a Commission of Enquiry on the expiry of that period. Indeed, when the Reforms Bill was before Parliament, Mr. Montagu said that the law he was asking to be enacted was not like the law of the Persians and Medes, and if circumstances justified an earlier enquiry or revision, proper weight would be given to them. (I am writing this from recollection.) It is a question for statesmanship as to whether the revision of the Government of India Act is to be postponed till the very expiry of the last day of the prescribed ten years, or whether it will be taken in hand betimes. I am also aware of the arguments against an earlier revision. It is usual to refer to the want of education of the electorates, to the Hindu-Muhammadan dissensions, to the position of what are known as the depressed classes, and to the inertia and contentment of the masses with things as they are. I do not wish to deny that there is considerable room for the education of the electorates, and there will be need for their education, not only now, but probably for a very long time to come. But I refuse to believe that they will be so much better educated in 1929 than within the next two or three years, that that alone can justify any postponement of an enquiry or a revision of the Government of India Act.

It is true that the ultimate political justification for responsible government of the Dominion type must be found in the existence of an electorate not only sufficiently large in numbers, but capable of exercising control over

those who seek its suffrage and calling them to account for anything which goes wrong or which it is not prepared to endorse. It seems to me, however, that to wait for the creation of such an electorate as a condition precedent for the establishment of responsible government in India would be a counsel of perfection not free from some real dangers affecting the entire situation. The intelligensia is already there, and it will serve no useful purpose to deny that it is intensely national in its outlook. Nor can we dispose of that intelligensia by suggesting or insinuating that it is selfish or it is only anxious to secure "jobs" and "openings" for members of its class, and that it is devoid of all sense of disinterested patriotism. I am aware that it is held in certain quarters that all political development in the constitution of India must mean for a long time to come the substitution of an Indian oligarchy for the European oligarchy. This, I maintain, is taking a narrow view of the situation, and implies a certain confusion of thought. The transfer of power to this "oligarchy" cannot altogether be divorced from a simultaneous effort to expand the electorate which has already been created, and an obligation to educate that ever-growing electorate. In point of fact, the masses are not so unintelligent as they are assumed to be. For their lack of literary education they make up by the possession of a natural shrewdness and a capacity to understand their interest. They may not be able to understand questions of high policy, but, I think, they appreciate to a very large extent their local problems.

In several parts of the United Provinces and the Punjab the tenant is an upstanding, shrewd man of business, and, given a proper chance of exercising the power of vote, he will then, no doubt, make himself felt as a factor to be reckoned with by those who will seek his suffrage. Enfranchisement itself creates a new consciousness, and when this is accompanied by a conscious effort to educate the voter, the result to be hoped for cannot but be satisfactory. It is customary to make the sweeping statement that the Liberals who have been in the Councils have made no

effort to educate the electorates. Speaking with the knowledge of my own province, I can say that this accusation is much too sweeping. I know of several members of Council who have nearly always gone to their electorates and addressed them. I understand that this has been done by several members in Madras and Bombay, and in some other parts of the country as well. I admit that there was room for more work of that kind, but let us not deny the extent of the work already done. Besides, I would like to point out that it is nothing short of a delusion to suppose that the villager lives in a state of peace and contentment, which is never broken by any intruder from outside. That is no longer the case. It must be recognized that the politician—or call him the “agitator” if you like—is abroad, and one of the main problems of Indian administration during the last few years has been how to deal with this new situation. Those who imagine that our village population lives in perfectly secure Gardens of Eden have yet to realize the reality of the situation.

You may condemn the educated classes for their political activities; you may hold that their loyalty is questionable, and that they are the sources from which emanate all trouble and unrest. I do not quarrel with this sort of criticism, but I do maintain that those who hold that the educated classes have no influence with the masses live in a fool's paradise. The outstanding feature of the Indian situation is the enormous influence, for good or evil, which the educated classes have acquired with the masses during the last few years, and you have to reckon with that fact. They cannot be treated any longer on the footing of a microscopic minority. It is impossible that a microscopic minority would have given all the trouble that the Government of India has had to face during the last few years unless it had the backing of what are called the uneducated masses. The Punjab is an ample illustration of it. In Oudh, too, we had two years ago another illustration of their power. I could multiply many more instances, but I refrain.

As regards Hindu-Muhammadan dissensions, while I am

not prepared to deny their existence, I maintain that their extent is grossly exaggerated. In any case it seems to me that unless a serious attempt is made by the Hindus and the Muhammadans—and, let me add, by the Government also—to remove these differences by going to their root causes, those differences cannot be removed merely by the postponement of the question of advance. Whatever may have been the political position of the Muhammadans at one time, there is no doubt that there is a remarkable growth of political consciousness and feeling among them. It is not that they are opposed to self-government, but that they want their interests to be properly safeguarded, and it is for responsible statesmen to provide for the protection of those interests in any revision of the situation, just as much as it will be the duty of the framers of the future constitution to safeguard the interests of other minorities.

The situation, therefore, which will be created when the new Councils come into existence will be one which will call for the exercise of the highest statesmanship of a constructive character. The Indian problem cannot be solved by either condemning the educated classes or by the exploitation from day to day of Hindu-Muhammadan differences. The situation may deteriorate further if, as a result of an immobile policy, even that section of Indian politicians who have stood by the Government, and who, no doubt, in spite of the keen disappointment which the Kenya decision has produced, still honestly and genuinely believe in the British connection and responsible government within the Empire, find their faith shaken. I believe that the Government of India thoroughly appreciate the situation, and no one has a clearer insight into it than Lord Reading, and yet Lord Reading's name is a *bête noir* to some people in England; and the Government of India's task is growing increasingly difficult when England is prepared to receive its news from writers in the press who went to India thirty or forty years ago in a different atmosphere, and who cannot adjust themselves to the new situation and understand its meaning and significance.

PEACE WITH TURKEY IN ITS RELATION TO ANGLO-MUSLIM GOODWILL AND THE KHILAFAT

BY SIR ABBAS ALI BAIG, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., LL.D.

THE Treaty of Lausanne is a diplomatic triumph of far-reaching importance to Asia and Europe. It marks the sepulture of the stillborn Treaty of Sèvres, which embodied in its provisions a monstrous travesty of the principles to maintain which the Great War was fought and won; and also it signalizes the final collapse of the aggressive philhellenic schemes inspired by M. Venizelos and championed by Mr. Lloyd George, which have been to Greece herself a "direful spring of woes," and in the Near East a source of incalculable misery.

The Treaty has extricated Great Britain from a position of danger which might have precipitated another war at a time when the cumulative effect of the exhaustion of the resources of the country, the shrinkage of trade, and the growth of unemployment on the temper and capacity of the British tax-payer constituted an almost insuperable obstacle to any military adventure in distant lands.

For bringing to a successful conclusion the difficult and prolonged negotiations extending over eight months, the gratitude of a weary world is due to Ismet Pasha and Sir Horace Rumbold, though the provisions of the Treaty are by no means ideal. The latter had to straighten out the superior but maladroit and irritating diplomacy which preceded his advent upon the scene. The conciliatory attitude of General Harington, the Allied Commander-in-Chief, in averting untoward incidents during the military occupation of Constantinople and Chanak for four years, helped in smoothing the path of the diplomatists and promoting good feeling between the Turk and the Englishman.

When Ismet Pasha—small in stature, deficient in his

sense of hearing, slow and hesitant in speech, being more accustomed to use his sword than his tongue, unfamiliar with the conventions and refinements of the classic diplomacy of the West—appeared for the first time on the stage of world politics, it seemed doubtful whether Angora had acted wisely in entrusting him with the momentous issues on which depended the destiny of new Turkey. It soon became evident that he could hold his ground unshaken in confronting the combined forces of Western diplomacy, backed by the united talent of the statesmen of Europe. The Allied Delegations realized that beneath a velvet cloak of courteous and chivalrous demeanour was an iron will and firm purpose, which brooked no tampering with the essentials of Ottoman sovereignty. The whole of Europe has joined in paying a warm tribute to Ismet Pasha's ability, uprightness, candour, and dignity in his diplomatic intercourse with the Delegations of the Allies, including even the implacable M. Venizelos.

The position of the Turkish Delegation was strengthened by the fact that the Ottoman claims as embodied in the Turkish National Pact were in all essentials the same both before and after the sweeping victory of the Turks in Asia Minor; and it was recognized that the swift rush of military events, which in a couple of weeks restored their complete mastery in Anatolia, had not resulted in raising the Osmanli demands to a higher point.

The unseen but unceasing work of the Aga Khan, the acknowledged leader of Muslim thought, has been of undoubted value alike to the Muslim world and to the British Empire in helping to produce an atmosphere of mutual goodwill so essential to the adjustment of differences. His insight into the psychology of the Turk as well as of the Englishman enabled him to exercise a silent and unobtrusive influence from behind the scenes on the principal responsible actors on the stage.

It is not possible within the limits of a short article to make a detailed comparison of the various provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne, the defunct Treaty of Sèvres, and

the Ottoman National Pact ; nor is it necessary to do so, as all these documents have been widely discussed. But the main features of the Treaty as to the principal losses and gains arising out of Turkey's defeat as an Ally of Germany and her victory over the mandatory of the Allied Powers in the final phase of the struggle may be outlined in a few words :

The Peace Treaty confirms the loss of the Asiatic Provinces of the Ottoman Empire, chiefly inhabited by Arab races, and also of some parts of the Turkish territory in Europe, which have passed into the possession of the Greeks. This is a great loss, not to Islam, as new Arab kingdoms have been set up, but to the Ottomans. On the other hand, the gains comprise :

Complete Ottoman sovereignty over a compact and homogeneous territory in Asia covering over 300,000 square miles.

Restoration of the greater part of Thrace, including its ancient capital, the sacred city of Adrianople, up to the Maritza River.

Unfettered sovereignty of the Turks over Constantinople, the bone of contention among the great nations of the world for centuries.

Safety of the Turkish frontiers in Europe by the constitution of demilitarized zones.

Abolition of the Capitulations, which, by according a privileged position to the nationals of foreign Powers, have had the effect of greatly weakening Ottoman prestige and injuring Turkish interests in various ways, besides being a constant source of friction.

Deprivation of the Œcumenical Patriarchate and the Armenian Patriarchate, which have always been the centres of unceasing and venomous intrigues of all political functions.

The treatment of minorities in accordance with the principles applicable to the new independent States.

Exchange of populations, Christian and Muslim—a problem bristling with serious practical difficulties—with a view to remove a prolific source of trouble.

A considerable reduction of the Ottoman debt, which is to be paid, not in a gold or other currency selected at the option of foreign bondholders, but in the present substitute for Turkish coin.

The Convention concerning the Straits, without menacing Ottoman sovereignty or the safety of Constantinople, provides safeguards for free navigation for commercial and other legitimate purposes for the benefit of all nations.

It will thus be seen that Turkey has emerged strong from the convulsions of the war, which have prostrated Germany and Austria, with greater real independence than she had since her later wars with Russia. In Asia Minor she has largely secured ethnic unity through the flight or migration of the Greeks and Armenians. She has won absolute freedom to reconstitute her national life and shape her destiny as she likes without any foreign interference. The Treaty gives full scope to the nascent aspirations of the Osmanlis.

Lord Curzon, whose desire to conclude a just peace with Turkey has been recognized in India, seemed to imply in one of his utterances that the Turks never before enjoyed such independence as the Treaty assured to them. A few statements to the same effect have appeared in the British Press. It seems this view of Ottoman independence does not extend beyond a century. A passing reference to one or two historical facts may, perhaps, be of interest in this connection, especially as regards the recent struggle in Asia Minor. When the Seljuk Sultan Alp Arslan defeated and captured the Byzantine Emperor, Romanus Diogenes, in 1071, he exacted as the price of the release of the Emperor, in addition to a heavy ransom, the cession of Anatolia or Asia Minor, which the Seljuks preferred to call Rum. It will thus be seen that the absolute sovereignty of the Turks over Anatolia, which the Treaty now re-establishes, dates back to the time of the Norman conquest of England.

Russian history recalls the time when the Dukes of

Moscow, who subsequently were known as the Tsars of Russia, used to come down from their thrones and kneel during the reading of the *firman*s of their Turkish suzerains. The Mediterranean was once a Turkish lake swept from end to end by Ottoman ships under Khair-ud-din Barbarossa. The Turkish guns used for the capture of Constantinople were the biggest the world had then seen. Such are the strange vicissitudes in the fortunes of nations that the claim of the Turks at Lausanne to complete independence and equality with other nations has excited surprise in Europe.

Reverting from this digression to the Treaty of Lausanne, it may be mentioned that the settlement of the boundaries of Musul and Syria is reserved for future negotiations between the nations concerned. If an agreement is not reached within nine months in regard to Musul, the question may be referred to the League of Nations. This complicated problem involves conflicting interests—Turkish, Kurdish, Arab, and British—arising out of racial, political, economic, and strategic considerations. It is regrettable that the intervention of the League, in which were centred the highest expectations and hopes of all nations, is likely to be viewed with profound distrust by the Muslim world. By rejecting the pathetic appeal of the Arabs and confirming some of the unjust clauses of the Palestine Mandate in flagrant violation of the letter and spirit of the Covenant on which its authority is based, and by similar other acts and omissions, the League has not justified the confidence of small nations in its power or even desire to right their wrongs. It is regarded as a pliant annexe of a few powerful chancellories of Europe, guided more by the policies and commitments of the countries which have an effective voice in its deliberations than by considerations of abstract justice and equity. Until its constitution rests on a broader basis, with an adequate representation of Eastern interests, it cannot be expected to command the confidence of mankind in its independence and impartiality.

The Peace Treaty closely corresponds, in all essentials,

with the demands embodied in the Ottoman National Pact except in two important particulars. These are (1) the determination of the status of Western Thrace by its own inhabitants by means of a plebiscite, and (2) the independence of the Ottoman territories in Asia lost during the war. The Turks did not deem it expedient at Lausanne to press these demands, which involve such vast and complicated questions affecting a wide range of Asiatic and European interests, political and racial, that, had an immediate settlement on the lines of the Turkish National Pact been insisted upon, the Treaty of Lausanne might not have seen the light of day.

The Peace Treaty, for obvious reasons, has left untouched the Khilafat question, in which the whole Muslim world is profoundly interested. It is not a question which the Turks can settle for all Muslim races.

In India the Khilafat problem has aroused intense and widespread interest in which the Hindu and other communities have participated. It has led to the birth of the Khilafat Committees, a network of which covers the whole of India. The movement has received the support of some of the finest intellects in the country. Its aims included (1) the safeguarding of the position of the Khalifa, especially in regard to his wardenship of the Holy Places of Islam, and (2) the bringing about of a just and equitable peace between the Allied Powers and Turkey. The second object has largely been attained and the ground of grave dissatisfaction in India, due to the activities of the Anglo-Hellenists, has been to a great extent removed. The first object is closely intertwined with the political fortunes of what is briefly described as the Jazirat-ul-Arab, in which are situated the Holy Places of Islam in Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Palestine.

Great Britain, either as the mandatory of the League of Nations or as the protector of the new Arab Kings, has taken upon her shoulders the grave responsibility of dealing with this thorny and complex problem, which affects the religious beliefs and racial susceptibilities of all Muslim

racess. Palestine, overwhelmingly Arab in its population and closely associated with the traditions of Islam since the triumphal entry into Jerusalem of Omar in 637 to redress the grievances of the Christians and the Jews, is considered second only to Mecca in sanctity. The Balfour Declaration which seeks to settle the fate of Palestine violates, even according to the view of many fair-minded British statesmen, the cardinal principle of "Government with the consent of the governed," to establish which the aid of the Arabs and Indians was so eagerly sought and readily given. It was made at a time when the stern pressure of circumstances militated against calm reflection and far-sighted action. It has committed the honour and prestige of the King's Government to a policy involving two conflicting pledges—the first to the Arabs of a date prior to the Declaration, and the second to the Jews, who show no disposition to relax their demand to the pound of flesh mentioned in that bond.

The Muslim contention is that the Jazirat-ul-Arab, which, as its name signifies, is the homeland of the Arabs, and is dotted over with their shrines and places of worship, should be freed from non-Muslim control, direct or indirect, and that the spiritual jurisdiction of the Khalifa over their Holy Places, which has remained undisturbed for centuries, should be restored. The problem is so complex and involves such momentous issues that it has been a source of perplexity and anxiety both to the world of Islam and to the British authorities in the mandated territories as well as to the Government of India.

At one time the Turcophobes, inspired by a feeling of hostility to the Ottoman Khilafat, sought a solution of the question in an attempt to revive the dynastic principle sedulously propagated by the Koreish tribe of the Arabs, in ancient times, for their own self-aggrandisement. The present head of the Hashimite family was considered a suitable candidate for the acceptance of the Muslim world. This attempt aroused a feeling of bitter resentment in India, and gave an impetus to the pro-Ottoman activities

of Indian Muslims. In this connection it may be of interest to trace in a few words the origin of the Turkish connection with the Khilafat and the hold it has acquired on Muslim sentiment. That connection dates back to 1050, when Togrul Beg, grandson of Seljuk, after his conquest of Persia, marched upon Bagdad to release the Abbasid Khalifa from the thralldom of the Shia family of the Bowides. The Khalifa nominated him "Commander of the Faithful," a title borne by every Khalifa since 634. Togrul's nephew, Alp Arslan, wrested Syria and Palestine from the rival Fatimite Khalifa of Egypt. Some centuries later the Turkish Sultan, Selim I., gained possession of the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina, captured Muta-wakkil III., a nominal and powerless Abbasid, from whom Selim won the headship of Islam, the title of Imam, the standard of the Prophet, and other sacred relics. Since then the Ottoman Khilafat has remained undisturbed. These facts will show the futility of the recent attempts to breathe new life into the dry bones of a dead past.

In regard to the Khilafat and the attitude of Muslim India towards the issues involved in the powers and functions of the Khalifa, the action of the Turkish Nationalists in separating the temporal and spiritual powers of the Sultan-Khalifa has eased the difficulties of the Turkish Government, but it has produced a feeling of perplexity in the Muslim world, including large sections of the Ottoman population in Turkey. In Europe, misleading analogies are drawn between the spiritual powers of the Pope and the Khalifa. No such parallelism exists or has ever existed. The Khalifa's non-temporal or religious powers are subject to strict limitations. Unlike the Pope, he has no power of granting absolution or dispensation. He cannot go beyond the ordinances of the religious law. The interpretation of Islamic doctrines and the elucidation of obscure points as regards religion and morality fall within the functions of the Shaik-ul-Islam, whose position also has been shaken by the Grand National Assembly. The powers of the Commander of the Faithful have hitherto

comprised such religious functions as the chief Imam (leader or religious head) of the Muslim world is expected to discharge, combined with the wardenship of the Holy Places and the defence of Islam from non-Muslim menace. A simple Imamat, with which alone Angora has invested the Khalifa, is hardly compatible with the cherished traditions associated with the title of Commander of the Faithful which Omar, who first assumed it, so amply justified by his world-wide achievements.

The traditions of the Khilafat cluster round the glorious deeds of the more renowned among the thirteen Omayyads, thirty-seven Abbasids, some Fatimites, and the Spanish branch of the Ommayad dynasty, who contributed materially to the civilization of Europe, according to the general testimony of European historians. In the diffusion and consolidation of Islam from the Altai Mountains to the Atlantic its spiritual forces were backed by the temporal might of the great Khalifas.

The action of Angora, despite a serious cleavage of opinion in the National Assembly itself, in reducing the inheritor of these great traditions to the position of a *fainéant* Khalifa—without power or influence, functions or duties, a feeble echo of a great name—has caused serious heart-searchings throughout the Muslim world, though the strength and trend of modern democratic forces is fully recognized. It may be recalled that whenever the Khilafat has declined to a mere shadow, exercising undefined spiritual functions with empty forms and ceremonies, it has passed into stronger hands, as in 1050 and 1517. The disruption of the Khilafat, in which temporal and spiritual powers and functions based on the inspiring memories of centuries co-existed in picturesque combination, is widely regretted both in Turkey and in other Muslim countries. But the change brought about by the Turkish Nationalists has not aroused open manifestations of dissatisfaction owing to the great prestige of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the maker of new Turkey, who is held in the highest esteem in every part of the Muslim world and is called "Saif-ullah" (Sword

of God), a title by which Khalid bin Walid, who defeated the army of Heraclius in the decisive battle of Yarmuk, is known.

In spite of the great confidence which the achievements of this soldier-statesman have won, it is realized in all Muslim countries that an Imam shorn of the adjuncts and trappings of a Sultanate, and powerless to take any action as the Defender of the Faith, can hardly serve as a strong link symbolizing the unity of Islam. This idea has given rise to a widespread feeling as to the reconstitution of the Khalifat on the basis of a strictly limited Sultanate, as in the case of the monarchical status of His Britannic Majesty, without in any way impairing the secular and political authority of the National Assembly or running counter to the ideals of Turkish Nationalists. Such reconstitution, comprising a small synod or committee of Ulemas representative of all important Muslim races for regulating the Khalifa's religious functions, and co-operating with a Cabinet of Ministers chosen by and responsible to the Grand National Assembly for the Government of the Turkish State, may bring about a solution of the Khilafat problem without coming into collision with the changed and changing conditions resulting from the upheaval of modern democratic forces.

Peace with Turkey has greatly improved Anglo-Muslim relations throughout the world of Islam. It has evoked widespread rejoicings all over India;* it has poured balm over the wounded and exasperated feeling of Muslim India; it has raised expectations that the far-sighted policy of Beaconsfield may again be followed to the mutual advantage of Great Britain and Islam. Friendly feeling between Muslims and Englishmen is being re-established. British prestige has improved in all parts of the Muslim world.

* It is regrettable that the rekindled and reviving confidence in the value of British pledges and the aims of British policy has been damped by the Kenya decision, which, by definite implication, denies to India that equality of status which is vital to the solidarity of the Empire. The disturbing consequences of a challenge so provocative to Indian loyalty and self-respect are, however, outside the scope of this article.

A CALL FOR FRANCO-BRITISH CO-OPERATION IN THE FAR EAST

BY ROGER DE BELLEVAL

(Editor of *La Revue Pacifique*)

IT may be stated without fear of contradiction that the question of Anglo-French relations dominates the world at the present moment, both from the economic and political point of view. The least tension in the Entente is the subject of long commentaries, not only in Berlin, but also in New York, Rome, Constantinople, and Japan. Why? The reason is not far to seek: it is because this Entente between the greatest military and the greatest maritime Power in the world is the best guarantee for the peace, if not of the world, at any rate of Europe. Moreover, the lesser Powers instinctively feel that therein lies their ultimate safety, and wish for its long continuance. But many wonder that this understanding between England and France is not really an alliance at all, but simply an *entente cordiale*, and that this cordiality has proved itself through the war more solid and universal than any alliance in the world's history. It has been tested and not found wanting amid the great holocaust wrought by the German guns during the Great War.

But what does the future hold in store? Is this cordiality really menaced? I cannot believe that possible, not even were the French and British standpoints regarding the Ruhr ten times further removed than they are at present. Nevertheless, it would be dangerous to allow this misunderstanding to grow indefinitely. The public duty in both countries now is to find as many points of agreement as possible. We do not agree on the Ruhr perhaps, but we must not allow ourselves to be dominated

or hypnotized by this idea. Rather let us be encouraged by the fact that the Ruhr is the only question on which there is or need be disagreement. If there is to be this disagreement, all the more reason for co-operating loyally on all other questions. In the intellectual field there is no cause for complaint. I need only cite the magnificent reception accorded to Mr. Rudyard Kipling and Mr. Foster Fraser in France, and point to the fact that the names of Kipling, Stevenson, and Wells are household words. I may add that Mr. Hutchinson's "If Winter Comes" has had a great success in France, and is being printed as a *feuilleton* in the *Temps*.

But the purpose of this article is to study the points of contact in the political world. An article published in the April issue of the ASIATIC REVIEW showed the great opening there is for British trade in the French colonies, which would, if actively pursued, bring with it a great alleviation in the pressing problem of British unemployment. A further opportunity for such beneficial collaboration exists in the Far East.

It has been said that this desirable co-operation was conspicuous by its absence in the deliberations of the Washington Conference. That is true. It seems to me that France had a wrong idea of what her proper rôle was, and that England supposed that French interests in the Pacific were too negligible to be worthy of serious consideration.

To-day, however, these wrong ideas no longer prevail. France has realized the futility of playing the rôle of arbiter between England and the United States in the Far East; whilst, thanks to the voyage of Lord Northcliffe to Indo-China, the British public is no longer ignorant of that country's importance and vast resources. The Washington Conference may therefore be said to have rendered this great service in Anglo-French relations, that it has made both parties realize the other's true value, and thus brought them face to face with realities.

Now there are certain questions concerning the Far East which can no longer be postponed. The one I wish to mention here is that of China. The Lin-Cheng affair has caused a great sensation, and has brought into the foreground the whole problem of Allied intervention in that quarter. Intervention was nowhere more unpopular than in the United States, nowhere is it now more insistently demanded. It is true that England and France cannot go on indefinitely allowing their nationals to be maltreated; nevertheless, it is the duty of both Powers to counsel moderation at Washington. There is now practically total anarchy prevailing in China, and the pillars of order, religion, and tradition look like crashing to the ground. The dynastic power, with all its abuses, at least combined the heterogeneous provinces of the land in one state. It has been swept away and replaced by—nothing. The only rallying ground seems to be hatred of the foreigner. This phenomenon is not to be found in China alone, it holds sway also in Germany, the Balkans, and Turkey. But in China it has always been present; and in the past European and American trade ploughed their way into the interior only by force, and with the aid of cannon.

Moreover, intervention must naturally take a very prudent form. The Chinese people are very jealous of their independence. Nor does the situation require any particular formula or line of policy for adoption by the Powers. There are too many complications, so that decisions should only be taken in accordance with the manner in which events shape themselves. Prudence is the most important factor of all. There has been talk in some quarters of "invisible intervention," and an "invisible occupation" by the Powers. It is vital that their action should always remain within the bounds of true neutrality, which is, in fact, their only real safeguard. No matter at what cost, they must never take sides, or they will mobilize the whole Chinese nation against them.

It may be stated definitely that there are large areas in

China where there exists a true desire for order among the people, and leaders desirous and able to enforce respect for the law. There is considerable temptation to lend these elements our support. To give an example, I may cite the case of Marshal Tang-Ki-Yao in the Yunnan, who has succeeded in establishing order in his province, and seems to be free from political ambitions. Although the tranquillity of the Yunnan is of the greatest importance for the peaceful development of Indo-China, and in spite of the fact that during the rule of the Marshal's predecessor, Kou-Pin-Cheng, trains of the French Yunnan Railway Company had been held up and passengers killed, the Government-General of Indo-China has never departed from its self-imposed rule of observing the strictest neutrality.

There is also another fact to be considered. The psychological factor has always to be taken into consideration. Men's characters change. Those who ignore this are often the prey of great disappointments. It may appear useful to lend support to a chief for a time, but afterwards it is regretted, and the policy embarked upon has in the end done more harm than good. And if individuals are unstable, how much more so is public opinion. A chief may be popular for a time, and his influence may appear great, but how soon does this popularity disappear, often without any apparent reason! Moreover foreign support often causes a man to lose what influence he has in his own country. We may admire a chief for his capacity in keeping order, but if we give him assistance, that very fact ruins his authority with his own people, and chaos ensues. The confidence and popularity enjoyed by Lo-Wen-Kan and Alfred Sze abroad did not protect them among the Chinese, the very contrary was the case, as events have proved.

In this respect our politicians would do well to follow the examples of the missionaries. These have been long in China, and know the people well. They have only been

able to maintain themselves where they have kept entirely aloof from China's political affairs. On the rare occasions when they have intervened in a quarrel it has always been at the invitation of both sides. Such a policy conforms entirely with the Washington formula of "the open door," in theory, but in practice we must be careful that it does not lead to economic designs of an Imperialist nature.

Let there be no mistake about it: I am not opposed entirely to all interference by the Powers. I only say that every move must be thought out carefully, and in all its aspects, in advance. If the Powers decide to move forward, they must remember that in case of its proving ineffective they may have to redouble their efforts. Prestige and national honour will be involved in the issue. Weakness at that stage will be a direct incentive to massacres from the irresponsible elements of the population.

The policy that is needed must therefore combine energy and prudence, perhaps the most difficult procedure of all. Who will control this policy? Clearly it cannot be one Power only. The Chinese people would never brook such interference. Accordingly intervention must be undertaken by a combination of Powers acting together, to the exclusion of all individual action. It is clearly indicated that this combination should consist of England and France. They have both an excellent title to it. They are not new-comers in China, like the United States, they are not deeply involved, as is the case with Japan. Both Powers have great interests in China, not only commercial, but also moral and intellectual. France, in particular, can point to her missionary work, which entitles her to a hearing. Moreover, since the collapse of Austria, England and France are the only two old nations that remain which are able to carry on a foreign policy consistently without constant interruptions from criticism at home. They have been able to prove to the world that political crises can be handled coolly, and also shown the wisdom of suspending judgment until the opportune moment arrives. There are,

therefore, many reasons why these two Powers should combine to make their influence felt in China, but the most important is the one which has, in fact, inspired this article, the need for Anglo-French co-operation in every possible field. In the writer's opinion China offers a magnificent opportunity. It would serve to relegate the Ruhr problem to its proper position, as an exceptional episode in the relations of the two countries, rather than what it is regarded as now, a disquieting symptom of disagreement and estrangement. During the war the Entente between the two nations was perfect, because it was directed to the same ends. In the future let us seek for work we can do in common, for through working together we shall also come to agree together.

INDIA'S TARIFF POLICY

BY SIR CAMPBELL RHODES, C.B.E.

A REQUEST from the Editor of the ASIATIC REVIEW for an article on India's tariff policy is both a compliment and an embarrassment to a member of the late Indian Fiscal Commission. After ideas have been crystallized in a signed report, it is difficult for the signer to continue to view the situation with an unprejudiced mind. The acceptance of the Commission's report, both by the executive government and the legislature, opens up a new era of immense possibilities and hidden pitfalls. Nothing is now to be gained by arguing at length the desirability of adopting a policy that has become *un fait accompli*, but something may usefully be said about the dangers and discouragements that lie ahead. It is against the teaching of history that the right path must necessarily be the easy one.

The recent review of India's tariff policy was one of the inevitable results of the reform scheme. No country can claim to have gone far in the development of self-governing institutions if it is without some real measure of fiscal autonomy, for self-government consists largely in the power to decide what goes into and what comes out of the national purse. The first claim of every nation, as of every individual, is the right to make mistakes, and in the realm of fiscal matters the opportunities for making mistakes are both numerous and varied.

The Indian Fiscal Commission took upon itself a great responsibility in coming to certain conclusions, a responsibility that has now been transferred to the shoulders of the Indian legislature. On February 16 last, the Legislative Assembly adopted, without a division, a resolution which accepted the principle of protection with due regard to the financial needs of the country and the present dependence

of the government on import, export, and excise duties for a large part of its revenue. The resolution accepts the dicta of the Fiscal Commission, that protection must be exercised with discrimination, that the consumer must be adequately safeguarded, and that the creation of a Tariff Board is necessary in order to investigate and balance conflicting interests. India is therefore definitely embarked on a new policy, the fortunes of which have been committed into the hands of the three members of a newly-appointed Tariff Board, which is now entering on its arduous duties.

In making up her mind on this important question, India had not that free choice which, in England, has been exercised in the direction of free trade. The resolution of the Legislative Assembly refers explicitly to the dependence of the government on duties for a large part of its revenues, and this dependence is, in fact, a dominating feature of the situation.

During the past ten years the yield from duties has been increased by over 250 per cent., and now provides nearly one-third of the imperial revenue. The old economic doctrine, that duties cannot be both protective and revenue producing, though perhaps more completely sound in theory than in practice, has naturally made the Indian executive nervous as to how so large a proportion of its income is to be replaced, if protective measures prove successful in substituting local for imported manufactures. But high revenue duties on a broad basis are altogether incompatible with the accepted principles of free trade, a fact which has been recognized by one of the leading free-trade organs in India. In its leading article of March 8, the *Calcutta Statesman* remarks:

"The obvious alternative, and the alternative which is implicit in the entire Free Trade theory, is the restriction of Imperial expenditure within limits which will obviate resort to a form of taxation that is always uneconomical in its yield and invariably produces effects that are disastrous alike to the industrial, social, and political interests of the country concerned."

The argument is unfortunately built upon a wrong hypothesis. It is not possible, leaving aside the question of desirability, so to reduce expenditure as to permit of the abolition of all duties and of a complete reversion to free trade. Lord Inchcape's committee failed, even in regard to present expenditure, to make such large savings, and it is generally recognized that much of the money saved by retrenchment requires to be spent in many other directions for the material and intellectual advancement of the people.

The only other adequate source of revenue lies theoretically in an increase in the land taxes, which would in fact necessitate a readjustment of provincial and imperial revenues. The poverty of the masses in India is mainly due to the strain put upon the land by the large numbers prepared to eke out an inadequate existence with a minimum amount of labour, an evil not checked, as in England, by the law and custom of primogeniture. To all interested in this aspect of the question may be recommended a glance at that brilliant little monograph, written by the late Mr. Jack, entitled "*The Economic Life of a Bengal District.*" A large proportion of these millions, though directly dependent on the yield of the land, take no part in its cultivation. Higher land revenue would starve out the parasites, but no Indian leader has yet come forward with sufficient courage and, let us add, inhumanity, to advocate so drastic a course towards the greater material prosperity of the individual. Any sudden increase in land revenue may therefore be regarded as outside the sphere of practical politics, and the present intolerable growth of population on the land can only be relieved by the spread of education, leading to later marriages and a higher standard of culture and comfort.

Duties must therefore remain an integral part of India's financial structure, and this consideration inevitably raises the problem as to how such duties are to be regulated in order to produce as much good and cause as little harm as possible to the people of India and their industries. And herein lie, it must be admitted, all the evil possibilities

emphasized by the *Statesman*. A high level of import, export, and excise duties is an undoubted evil in itself, an evil that the Fiscal Commission did not ignore, but rather, in the opinion of some of its critics, overemphasized. Were it possible to abolish the duties, the field would be open for a full-dress controversy between the free trade and protectionist schools of thought, but so long as the duties exist, their regulation in the interests of the country is the inevitable corollary.

India's decision to adopt a system of protection is, however, founded rather on national sentiment than on economic fact. India self-contained, self-supporting, and self-governing, is an attractive picture to put before the country. Even the Industrial Commission, sitting under the shadow of the great war, was impressed by the picture. It is a conception that finds special favour in abnormal times, like those in which we live, and which we have almost come to regard as normal. Self-contained France fails to grasp the point of view of a country like Great Britain, which depends not only for its prosperity, but for its very existence, on its international trade, and the exchange problems surrounding the payment of her foreign debt have not yet troubled her. The United States, too, with its relatively small export trade, can demand payment of her debts without unduly upsetting her exchanges and international trade, but even there the form of payment will present an interesting problem for the future. Accepting Sir George Paish's estimate of the amount of money spent in pre-war days by the American tourist in Europe as substantially correct, a large part of the debt we owe to America will be paid by that invisible export which depends upon Stratford-on-Avon remaining a place of pilgrimage, until such time as any general acceptance of the Baconian theory comes in to upset the world's exchanges.

India in a ring fence is, therefore, an attractive picture so long only as the picture is of the impressionistic and not of the Dutch school. When the details are filled in, the beauty of the conception becomes somewhat marred. India,

drinking all her own tea and clothed in all her own sack-cloth, makes a somewhat bilious and depressing picture. Nor is it correct to assume that the market gardener is necessarily less prosperous than the carpenter or blacksmith, and that a country is necessarily impoverished if she sells her raw produce and buys her manufactured requirements. The theory, for instance, that the linseed grown in India should be crushed in India and the oil exported, takes no account of the conditions of steamer transport. Nor would the Argentine admit that she should be regarded as a backward country because she depends so largely on the export of her raw materials.

Nor, again, does the creation of a large manufacturing population within that ring fence mitigate the evils of famine, a theory so often advanced and which might be arguable only if India could feed her agricultural and industrial population in times of scarcity on the hardware or fabrics she manufactures.

Such were some of the numerous fallacies pressed on the consideration of the Fiscal Commission by many of the witnesses. But though the national ideal in favour of industrial development may be based largely on loose thinking, it remains an ideal, and in it, if rightly exploited, may lie the seeds of material and intellectual progress. The real cause of the present unrest in India, stimulated, it is true, by the present unhealthy political atmosphere throughout the world, is the birth of a middle-class, due to the spread of Western education—a middle-class without occupation, for to dig it is ashamed. India has yet to learn, as England has been so slow in learning, the dignity of industrial callings and the restricted opportunities of a clerical life.

Another incentive towards industrialization lies in the fact that one of the chief difficulties of establishing self-governing institutions in India is the need for a greater number of level-headed business men to form the backbone of the body politic, less prone than at present to subordinate their business acumen to their political creed. The Fiscal

Commission worked hard, and successfully, to keep racial discriminations out of its report, but many of the witnesses, who appeared before it, seemed unfortunately more anxious to down England than to raise India, an attitude necessarily calculated to cloud the intellect. If India is tempted to use her new fiscal powers as a weapon of offence, rather than as a means of progress, she herself will be the first and greater sufferer. India's wealth of population and raw material encourage a belief in industrial development, but the measure of her success will not be the creation of a few millionaires, but the degree in which India's philosophic mind will find expression in something more tangible and beneficial to the country than perfervid eloquence expending itself on abstract speculations. India has indeed much to gain, and something to lose, by steady advance along the industrial roadway, and she believes that progress is impossible without some regulation of the present high revenue duties in the interest of her manufactures. She has seen other countries prosper under protection, though she has not seen so clearly the cost at which that progress has been bought, or the difference in the conditions that so largely vitiate the comparison.

How far tariff regulations can assist the development of India's industries is a difficult and debatable question and one on which it is unnecessary to enter here, for the views of the Commission are set out fully in their report, but it is obvious that industries cannot be allowed to grow up under a protective wall of revenue duties which may be removed without warning by an easing of the financial situation. Fortunately, India has had recent experience of the danger of too rapid or reckless progress. Her greatest industrial setback of recent years was due to the artificial and absolute protection afforded her by the conditions of the war. She sets out, therefore, with her eyes open along a path beset with difficulties, and it remains to be seen whether she will be able so to guide her actions as to reap the greatest good with the least harm to her national and industrial prosperity. She is at present undoubtedly handicapped by entering into

the industrial lists so late. The classic economists put forward the infant industries argument at a time when industries in the older countries had not reached the high standard of organization they enjoy to-day. If that argument, with all its attendant dangers, was sound then, it is difficult to combat it in these more strenuous days. In the establishment of any industry new to India, the capitalist is at once up against highly organized industries in other countries, crushing out the new-comer in their relentless fight with one another. He also finds himself handicapped at home; a lack of industrial labour, inured to regular hours and so trained in kindred industries as to acquire readily the skill necessary to operate new processes. He misses that vital link in all European industrial organization, the efficient foreman. He is not surrounded, as in England, by manufacturers, who can turn out cheaply the elementary parts needed for his finished article, and he must lay out and lock up capital in obtaining from abroad many of the stores and tools required in his work.

When he has established his industry, he will find the market for his production circumscribed within his protective wall and demand for his wares centred chiefly in the ports, where naturally foreign competition is greatest. He is confronted with an inadequate railway system, which is likely to be reduced to chaos, if the proposed nationalization of railways becomes an accomplished fact. Until his industry is able to stand alone, a cardinal point in the Commission's report specifically accepted by the Assembly, he will find an export trade impossible, whilst the low standard of living outside the large seaport towns, to which reference has been made, together with the lack of proper railway facilities, militate against the internal demand for manufactured articles.

The task of the Tariff Board is therefore no light one. It is rendered the more difficult by the public criticism to which its personnel has been subjected before even its operations have begun. At this juncture such criticism can do no good, and is productive of infinite harm. It is

inconsistent with the persistent cry of the people for more participation in the administration of the country. Indians, who come forward to demonstrate by their conduct in high office the capacity of the people, should be given a fair chance to prove their claim. There will be ample opportunity to criticize the work of the Tariff Board. Much of that work must at the outset be warily experimental: mistakes are inevitable, and, right or wrong, the Board may count on receiving the full blast of public criticism. It may also expect blame in that the facts will not allow it to justify the opinion, so commonly held, that tariff regulation is the only thing lacking for a rapid advance in industrialization. The Fiscal Commission could only touch lightly on matters outside its terms of reference, but enough has been written above to indicate that the industrial issue does not rest entirely, or even mainly, with the decisions of the Tariff Board. Those who argue against any experiment in fiscal reform base their contention largely on this fact. It is generally safe to assume, however, that the extremists on both wings are in the wrong, and have attempted to prove too much. It is certainly true that if any attempt is made to establish exotic industries at reckless speed, the masses of the people, whilst ignorant as to how they have been hit, will be fully conscious of the blow, and the present discontent will only be transferred from the intellectuals to the uninformed with all the disastrous implications involved.

The Fiscal Commission has recommended a new departure as the only policy consistent with India's present financial system and economic aspirations. It has clearly indicated the need for caution, the advantages to be gained, the dangers to be avoided. The representatives of the people have accepted the report. A Tariff Board has been appointed. It now only remains for every wellwisher of India to give that Board a fair chance.

THE NEW EAST

[The purpose of this new section is to give to our readers a series of pictures of the changed conditions prevailing in Asia since, and largely as a result of, the war. The articles will be written by experts personally acquainted with the countries they describe.]

TURKESTAN SINCE THE REVOLUTION

THE first important act of the Revolution in Turkestan was the deposition in the month of March, 1917, of General Kuropatkin, who until then had held the post of Governor-General. The control of affairs throughout the entire country was thereupon vested by the Provisional Government in the so-called "Turkestan Committee," an administrative body which was directly subordinate to the Provisional Government itself. This Turkestan Committee had as its President one Nikolai Schepkin, an adherent of the "Cadet" or Constitutional Democrat party. Other members of the Committee were Yelpatievsky, Lipovsky, Paul Preobrazhensky, Shkapsky, a Kirghiz engineer named Tinishpaieff, Major-General Darlichin (a Bashkir), and Maksutoff, a Tartar and ex-member of the Third Duma. Schepkin resigned soon after the formation of the Committee, and his example was followed by Darlichin and Maksutoff. The new President was one Nalifkin, a well-known specialist on Turkestan, who remained in power as President until the abolition of the Committee in September, 1917.

The main reason impelling the Provisional Government to do away with the Committee was the unpopularity of the latter among the native population. The Turkestanis were at that time very enthusiastic over their newly-won freedom, and their feelings were hurt by a proposal of the Committee to institute two distinct local administrative bodies—one for Russians, the other for natives. Feeling against the Russian authorities was also intensified as a result of the

bad behaviour of the troops returning in a state of utter demoralization from the front. In September, 1917, the Turkestan Committee was deprived of its powers as an independent administrative institution, and was reduced to the status of a mere local advisory body attached to the newly appointed Commissar-General for Turkestan. The latter post was given to General Korovichenko, a personal friend of Kerensky, who prior to the Revolution had been Commander of the Kazan Military District, and subsequently had been deputed to carry out the examination of the private papers of the late Tsar. The Commissar-General was given two assistants for military and civil matters respectively, while Muslim interests were looked after by a so-called "Muslim Regional Committee" (Kraevoi Soviet), whose president was empowered to bring up all Muslim questions before the advisory committee attached to the Commissar-General.

Such was the form of government which remained in force until the overthrow of the Provisional Government of Russia and the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks in October, 1917.

Soviet troops were despatched to Tashkent soon after the Bolshevik *coup d'état* had taken place, and after a struggle succeeded in overcoming local opposition, and established Soviet rule in the Turkestan capital. An Executive Committee was formed under the presidentship of Comrade Fedor Kolesov, a minor railway employee. This committee contained no Muhammadans, but was only formed as a temporary measure. At the end of November a People's Commissariat (Sovnarkom) was established under the leadership of Kolesov, and the Bolsheviks settled themselves down to rule Turkestan.

The Bolshevik Government celebrated the establishment of Soviet control over Turkestan with a proclamation asserting the right of the people to determine their own future, promising them national independence, and undertaking to withdraw Russian troops from the country. The

people of Turkestan had at that time no great desire to sever themselves from Russia, and contented themselves with declaring their country to be a national autonomous state forming an integral part of the Russian Republic.

So much for the proclamations of the Russian Government. It was with the Soviet of Comrade Kolesov, however, that the people of Turkestan now had to deal. From the beginning, the new rulers in Turkestan showed clearly that, despite the fair-sounding promises of the Central Government, it was they, the Tashkent "Sovnarkom," who were going to rule the country. There would be no question of the native Muslim population having any real voice in the control of affairs, and in order to impress this fact upon the local Muslims with as little delay as possible, the Bolsheviks shot down in cold blood some thousands of the native inhabitants who were profiting by a religious festival to celebrate the newly won autonomy of Turkestan.

Although the Muhammadans in Turkestan represented some 95 per cent. of the total population, only two of the nine seats in the Executive Committee were given to natives, while the Sovnarkom itself remained entirely Russian. A cry of protest was raised, and was answered by the explanation that "We Bolsheviks know best what is good for you, and are we not after all the true friends of Islam, who intend freeing Turkey and Constantinople?" The wretched Turkestanis could merely make rejoinder with the old Kirghiz proverb: "Of what use is the vastness of the world to a man whose shoes pinch him."

The native population now had their first glimpse of the evils of Bolshevik government, but they had yet to experience the full ruthlessness thereof. Tashkent was the centre of Soviet power, but the Bolsheviks had not yet made their force felt in the more outlying districts. The Muslim Regional Committee, with the co-operation of the leading Mullahs and Ulema, determined to defy the Soviet Government. They convened a Conference at Kokand on November 26, 1917, the object of which was to protest

against the usurpation of power by the Bolsheviks, demand the recognition by the latter of the autonomy of Turkestan, and insist on the establishment of a Turkestan Constituent Assembly. The actual resolution passed at this conference was worded as follows :

"The Fourth Extraordinary Regional Muhammadan Conference, while expressing the desire of the peoples of Turkestan for self-determination, hereby declares Turkestan to be an autonomous state united to the Federative and Democratic Russian Republic. The drawing up of an autonomous constitution will be left to the Turkestan Constituent Assembly, which latter must be convoked without delay."

The Conference further drew up a scheme of parliamentary election, whereby two-thirds of the seats would be allocated to Muslims. The elections were eventually carried out in Kokand, and the nucleus for a Provisional Government was got together. The following month, December, 1917, a Congress of Provincial Muhammadan Landholders (Dehkans) was convened, which forthwith demanded the recognition by Moscow of the Provisional Government of Turkestan based on a National Council elected in the country.

These demands on the part of the Muslim organizations were used by the Bolsheviks as pretexts for further repression. Moscow became concerned at the new "national movement" among Turkestan Muhammadans, and the Tashkent authorities were given a free hand to deal with the situation.

The measures adopted by the Tashkent Soviet were as prompt as they were ruthless. Reinforcements of Siberian and Magyar troops were drafted into the country, and in February, 1918, the newly-elected National Council and Provisional Government were forcibly dispersed, while the town of Kokand was laid waste with attendant brutalities hitherto unparalleled even in the Russian civil war. Some 15,000 of the population were massacred. The mosques and shrines of this ancient Islamic centre were profaned,

and the famous library was burnt. Chief Commissar Kolesov and his Communist comrades decided that the Muhammadan population had got out of hand, and needed a lesson. Ruthless persecution of the leading Muslims followed, and was succeeded by the infamous "Starvation Blockade," when the Soviet authorities deliberately prevented grain from Aktiubinsk and other fertile areas reaching the famine-stricken population of Ferghana. Over 1,000,000 Kirghiz alone are said to have perished from this famine, which lasted until the following harvest.

Such was the attitude of the Bolsheviks towards the native population of Turkestan during the first few months of their rule. The famine was a disaster from which it will take the country many years to recover. Not only was there a dying off of the native population, both settlers and nomads, but the cattle and camels also perished in thousands. The cotton cultivation ceased altogether, and, economically, Turkestan became a dead country.

As one brief example of the terribly impoverished state to which the country had been reduced, the Soviet Tashkent paper, *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* (October and November, 1920), published a statement showing the pre-Revolution total of yoke oxen in Turkestan to have been 4,311,100 head, whereas the present existing total in 1920 was only 561,531. Sheep and goats which had originally totalled 15,399,200 now only numbered 2,116,836 head.*

Realizing that no representations or appeals to Commissar Kolesov would have any effect, efforts were made by the Muslim leaders to appeal to Moscow. Appeal after appeal was made to the Central Government, but without avail, and it was only when a number of insurrections broke out in different parts of Turkestan that Moscow began to pay any attention. Instructions were thereupon sent to Tashkent demanding a moderation of policy with greater sufferance for the native population. No notice was taken of these instructions until, in the early spring of 1920, the

* These figures are quoted for Kirghiz alone.

Moscow Government really awoke to the fact that, in persisting in a policy of extreme persecution, the Bolsheviks were not only creating a dangerous situation for themselves in Turkestan, but were ruining their own Eastern policy, and were furthermore playing into the hands of the British. A special commission with wide powers was sent to Tashkent under the control of G. I. Broido, with orders to "cleanse the Augean Stables of Turkestan." This commission appears to have acted with great thoroughness. In its report it stated that the principles of nationalization and socialization in Turkestan were being utilized for no other purpose than as a convenient cover for the systematic plundering of the Muhammadan population. The land belonging to the poorer class of Kirghiz (notably in the Semirechia province) had been almost entirely seized and handed over to the more well-to-do Russian colonist.

Among the actual reports of the Commission it was stated that famine relief had been limited to the Russian population. Only such of the Muslim community received this privilege as permitted themselves under the threat of starvation, and against their conscience and convictions, to be registered as members of the Communist party. As a result of this system, the total number of Kirghiz alone who are known to have perished from hunger or at the hands of the Bolsheviks during the year 1918 exceeds the fantastic figure of one million persons.

If these facts and this figure had been quoted by circles known to be hostile to Bolshevism, or if they had been merely published in the pages of the non-Bolshevist Press, it would be easy to throw doubt upon the impartiality of the source. This is impossible, however, as the facts and the figure "one million" are quoted from the Moscow newspaper, *Pravda*, which is the organ of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist party.*

As a result of the Broido Commission, Kolesov was removed for ignoring the orders of the Central Govern-

* *Vide Pravda*, Moscow, No. 133 of 1920.

ment, while the remainder of the Commissars were also dismissed. Thus ended the first phase of Bolshevik rule in Turkestan.

With the end of the Kolesov régime, hopes ran high in Turkestan that the country was on the eve of better times. The policy now laid down by Moscow, and carried out by Broido, was certainly less severe than that of Kolesov, but, although much was promised, very little was actually done, and this second phase of Bolshevik rule can best be described as one of superficial compromise. The Moscow Government was anxious to avoid open trouble in Turkestan, and therefore resolved that Muslim feeling must not be trampled on, and, where already seriously ruffled, must be pacified. This was to be done by a show of pretended sympathy for Muslim national feeling, to which colour would be given by the admission of a greater number of native Muslims to the revolutionary committees and Soviet institutions. This policy was doomed from the first to be a farce, for, while there had been numbers of officials under the Tsarist régime who had sincerely worked for a closer *rapprochement* between Russians and native Muslims, there were now none of these old officials left, and while the new kind of Soviet official was certainly an improvement on the Kolesov type, he was, nevertheless, totally unfitted to administer a country of mixed races and complex problems such as Turkestan.

Meanwhile, it soon became apparent that the changes hoped for under the Broido régime were entirely superficial. Such natives as had been given appointments were one and all undesirable individuals who ought in no circumstances to have been admitted to official posts. A storm of protest again arose. To the political discontent was now added a general feeling of consternation at the economic chaos reigning throughout the country. Turkestan had always been a country of big enterprise, and as such had boasted a large number of prominent experts and public workers. The last two years had cleared the country of all its best elements, and without them a return to normal conditions

was impossible. Bolshevik methods had depleted the livestock of the country, while the absence of grain had necessitated the conversion of cotton lands to the culture of cereals. Thus was the staple product of Turkestan totally lost. General discontent voiced itself in renewed protests to the Moscow Government, and eventually assumed concrete form in fresh insurrections in the remoter parts of Ferghana. Thus ended the second phase of the Soviet régime in Turkestan.

The outbreak of armed insurrections was too serious to be entirely overlooked, wherefore the Central Government again reconsidered its attitude towards Turkestan. It was all the more impelled to do this by a number of other considerations. The summer of 1919 was fraught with grave danger for the Bolshevik cause, and the whole fabric of Soviet Government was shaken by the Korniloff, Denikin and Kolchak campaigns, followed by the defence of the Crimea by Wrangel, and the subsequent outbreak of guerilla or "green" movements throughout the greater part of Southern Russia. With all these dangers demanding constant attention, the Moscow Government dared not risk further complications with the Muhammadan population of Turkestan. A policy of reconciliation had therefore to be adopted, and stress was laid on the necessity of demonstrating somehow or other the compatibility of the principles of Communism and Islam. On the advice of the Eastern Secretariat more attention was to be paid to utilizing the Mullahs, Ulema, and other spiritual as well as political leaders.

It has been frequently argued that Communism and Islam are irreconcilable, and that no conscientious Muslim will ever become a genuine adherent of the Communist party. Although this may be strictly true as far as genuine convictions go, there are nevertheless numbers of Muslims who have not only joined the Communist party, but have actually become active and enthusiastic members of it for ulterior reasons of their own. The following extract from

a letter* written by a prominent Kirghiz Communist in Tashkent to a friend affords an excellent example of this. As will be gathered from the tone of the letter, though a genuine member of the Communist party, the writer is a Turkestani first, and a Communist afterwards. The letter runs :

"In the old Tsarist days any administrative official had the right under Statute 64 of the Turkestan Legal Code to place us in confinement. During the Kerensky régime in Turkestan, the officials kept aloof from us, and allowed us to take no part in public matters. Now, however, under the Bolsheviks, after suffering the most horrible treatment meted out by them, we are slowly but surely moving towards our goal, viz., to be masters in our own country. All that the Bolsheviks require of us is, firstly, to refrain from causing risings against the Soviet, and secondly, to do everything possible to crush the Imperialists.

"As far as we are concerned, we join the Communist ranks with the one idea of working out our national salvation, and we and the Bolsheviks are pleased with one another."

The Soviet Government now made its first really serious effort to ingratiate itself with the Muslims by means of propaganda, and with this new experiment commences the third phase of Bolshevik rule, which incidentally marks the real beginning of propaganda on a wide scale in Turkestan.

The first object aimed at by the Bolsheviks was to discredit the supporters of the Kerensky régime, together with the idea of the Constituent Assembly. This latter was still a bogey, inasmuch as the desire for a Constituent Assembly was strongly held by all the adherents of the Democratic or Young Sart and Young Kirghiz parties, who, though scattered, were nevertheless numerous.

Encouraged by a certain amount of success in their incipient stage of agitation, the Bolsheviks went further, and instituted a much wider system of propaganda, which

* This letter was written to a friend of the present writer in the spring of 1920. It is interesting to note that the author of the letter is now in prison in Moscow for having been too outspoken in the interests of Turkestan independence.

was not only quasi-Islamic in character, but was also anti-British. Henceforward the Soviet "Eastern Policy" came to be regarded as a factor of primary importance in the general scheme of world revolution.

It is obvious that whatever may have been the original arguments impelling the Bolsheviks to take up an active policy in the East, that policy was bound, sooner or later, to come into direct conflict with British influence and interests. The Bolsheviks were well aware of this. The "Comintern" in Moscow had long since convinced themselves that the quickest and possibly the only way of causing a revolution in Great Britain was by destroying British influence in the East, and notably in India. By causing a general conflagration in the East, the British could be burnt out of Asia, and the world revolution would be materially assisted. Nevertheless, the Bolsheviks themselves are very much alive to the dangers of an Asiatic conflagration, and realize that only by continuously directing its force against the British can they prevent its turning and burning themselves. Hence it is that the Soviet Government *dare not* cease its anti-British propaganda in Asia. Dire necessity based on fear compels the Bolsheviks to continue their activities against the British in Asia, and this in itself explains why no Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement, however binding its terms may be, will ever induce the Bolsheviks to abandon those activities, unless, indeed, Russia should become a real friend of Britain, a state of affairs which would be extremely desirable, but which is out of the question so long as there is a Communist Government in Moscow.

In September, 1920, the Soviet Government inaugurated its anti-British campaign in Asia, by convening the notorious Congress of Eastern Nations at Baku, and thereby endeavoured to advertise itself as the champion of all oppressed Eastern peoples. The Congress proved a farce, and the experiment is not likely to be repeated. A few months later, however, the Soviet Government was afforded

an opportunity of proving itself to be the ally of Islam in an extremely practical manner. The Angora Government, sorely pressed by the Greeks, turned to Russia for assistance, and by the Treaty of Friendship, signed in Moscow on the 16th March, 1921, the Bolsheviks showed themselves to be diplomatically and militarily the friends of Islam and the enemies of Britain.

SYSTEM OF PROPAGANDA.

Before leaving the subject of propaganda, it may not be superfluous to quote a few examples showing the different lines of agitation involved. The cleverness and adaptability of the propaganda will then become apparent.

The earliest form of all tended to show up Bolshevism, or rather Communism, as applicable to Islamic principles. It is curious that one of the first arguments adopted by the Bolsheviks in propagating the cause of revolution among the Muslims of Turkestan was a direct equivalent of the slogan of the Peasants' Revolt in England in the fourteenth century :

"When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then ye gentleman?"

In other words, the peasantry were reminded that the world and all that therein is belong to Allah. All men are born equal in the sight of Allah. Whence come, therefore, the Pashas and Beys, Rajahs and Maharajahs, Maliks and Khans? Here in this or that village there is Allah Verdi who possesses twelve horses and does no work, while in the same village there is Abdulla, who possesses no horses and works twelve hours a day. This is not right. Communism does not permit this injustice, hence Abdulla must become a Communist. This kind of argument was used with great effect in propagating the revolution in Bokhara.

Later on the argument was persistently driven home that the interests of Islam require more than a mere expression of sympathy between the various Muslim states,

and the Turkestan Muslims in particular were urged to remember that their interests and political future were closely bound up with those of the outer Muslim world. "Brother Muslims—the Muhammadans of the whole world must either perish together, or, by uniting all their forces, win for themselves a prosperous political future. Join the Russian proletariat. The Russian proletariat will free you from every yoke," etc., etc.

As a typical example of the superior class of Bolshevik Islamic rhetorical propaganda which was let loose against the idea of the Constituent Assembly, the following extract can be quoted from the speech of a "communized" Muhammadan agitator specially deputed to Turkestan from Moscow in November, 1919. This individual enjoyed great success as an orator, and thousands of people used to collect to listen to his speeches.

"The Russian Constituent Assembly is neither able nor desirous of giving Muslims equal rights with Christians, and not only will it never give you independence, but on the other hand will populate your territory with Russian colonists. Bolshevism, on the contrary, has made its object the freeing of the downtrodden Muslim world from the yoke of the European peoples, in particular from the British, the most bloodthirsty enemy of Islam. Our salvation lies with the Soviet Government, which is actually creating our independence, and which promises to give our country into our own hands. Islam must support the Soviets."

Later, much capital was made out of the support of the Turkish Nationalists by the Soviet Government, and here again opportunities of showing up Great Britain as the oppressor of Islam were never wasted.

The above are sufficient examples to give a clear idea of the form of propaganda let loose by the Bolsheviks among the unsophisticated Muslims of Turkestan, and it will be readily understood that once having embarked on a deliberate campaign of such propaganda, it is impossible for the Soviet authorities to desist from it.

II. THE ATTITUDE OF THE MUSLIM POPULATION.

Having traced briefly the attitude and policy of the Bolshevik rulers in Turkestan towards the Muslim population, we will now turn to the attitude and activities of the Muslim population themselves.

The outbreak of the Russian Revolution took the native population of Turkestan at a disadvantage, and found them totally unprepared to face the new situation which it created. Under the Tsarist régime natives had been rigidly excluded from all public and political life. They even played no part in the local urban and district organizations. In Tashkent, where the population is 75 per cent. Muhammadan, a few natives were permitted seats in the Municipal Committee, but their number was strictly limited to one-third as opposed to two-thirds Russians. Turkestan had no electoral rights for places in the Imperial Duma, and the Tsar's Government discouraged the native Press. In these circumstances it was naturally impossible for the native population to have any properly organized political parties with clearly defined political programmes. Nevertheless, in spite of this enforced backwardness, there were in existence two distinct movements or schools of thought among the Muhammadan population. These were the Radical-Democratic party, on the one hand, and the Conservative party, favouring strict adherence to the *Sheriat*, on the other.

The former of these two movements comprises the so-called Young Sarts and Young Kirghiz, and aims at the democratization of Muhammadan society on the lines of European culture. They are the direct opponents of Muhammadan *archaism*, and in this respect are just as revolutionary as are the Turkish Nationalists, who have now gone so far as to abolish the temporal powers of the Caliph. Politically the Radical Democrats aim at establishing a wide autonomy for Turkestan, based on federation

with Russia more or less on the lines of the British dominions.

The second movement, that of the conservative adherents to the *Sheriat*, is centred round the Sart Mullahs, Ulema, and other spiritual leaders. Their aims are naturally to restore the old Muhammadan social and religious order, which would result in the restoration of power to the Imams. Their idea of the future structure of Turkestan is that of an independent Emirate, in which the Emir would be the temporal ruler on the strict lines of the *Sheriat*, under the supreme spiritual leadership of the Imam.

Such are, briefly, the two movements which on the outbreak of the Revolution appeared in the arena of political activity in Turkestan, and now assumed the character of definite political groups.

The Radical-Democrats, by conviction more or less moderate Socialists, adopted as their base of activity the existing "Regional Muhammadan Council," which now numbered among its adherents all the educated representatives of the Sarts and Kirghiz. As some of these individuals are probably destined to play more or less prominent rôles in the future history of Turkestan, it may be worth while mentioning the names of the more important among them. These are the President of the Regional Muhammadan Council, Mustafa Chokaieff, a Kirghiz lawyer, who had already come to the fore as Representative of the Muhammadan Council on the original Turkestan Committee; Obeidulla Khojaieff, the Vice-President; Shagi Ahmedoff, Shah-ul-Islam, Tashbulat Bek Narbutabekoff, Pashabek Palatkhanoff, Ali Muhammad Kutebaroff, Munavar Kary Abdurashidoff, and others. The majority of these individuals had been educated at one or other of the Russian universities, and were, generally speaking, enlightened people. During the régime of the Provisional Government the Muhammadan Council had exercised a certain influence upon the Turkestan Committee and from the first had adopted an antagonistic attitude towards the

Soldiers' and Workmen's Deputies in Tashkent, who represented, of course, the future Bolshevik rulers. The Council enjoyed considerable prestige and influence in the different centres of Turkestan, and also carried appreciable weight with the Turkestan Committee. This latter fact, in particular, brought it into direct antagonism with the Bolshevik party, which was daily growing stronger in Tashkent. From the first, the Council made no secret of its aim to establish an effective autonomy in Turkestan through the medium of a Russian Constituent Assembly—a fact which again was sufficient in itself to incur the hostility of the Bolsheviks, to whom the word Constituent Assembly was anathema.

The Conservative "Sheriatists" were also not idle, and they formed a central committee which they named the "Ulema Committee" or simply "Ulema." The president of this committee was a Kirghiz named Serali Lapin, a private solicitor by profession, and previously interpreter to the Governor-General. The members of the "Ulema Committee" included all the leading Mullahs of Tashkent. They aimed at the reconstruction of Muhammadan society on pure *Sheriat* lines, beginning with the nomination throughout the country of Qazis or Muhammadan judges, and the abolition of all existing institutions which did not conform to the conditions laid down by the *Sheriat*. Realizing, however, that they were not in a position to take up a directly hostile attitude to the Russian authorities, the Sheriatists adopted a policy of passive resistance, based on the idea of the non-cooperation of Muslims with non-Muslims, and after the Ferghana Conference, which paved the way for a Constituent Assembly by establishing an electoral system, the Sheriatists commenced an active campaign of propaganda to persuade Muslims to vote for none but Muslim representatives in all local administrative bodies. It was obvious from the first, however, that with the great majority of influential Kirghiz and Sarts already adherents of the Radical-Democrat party, the Sheriatists could not make much progress, and their influence has

never succeeded in penetrating much beyond the town of Tashkent.

In Trans-Caspia, where the population is almost entirely Turkoman, the situation is slightly different in that there is no particular feeling for the *Sheriat*. Here, however, there are two distinct movements, the Democratic or Young Turkoman party, and the Conservatives, or supporters of the old tribal families, such as the aged Khansha of Merv, with her numerous relatives, some of whom, still living, took part in the defence of Trans-Caspia against the original Russian invasion, and survived the massacre of Geok Tepe.

The attitude of these old families is one of pure conservatism, free from all religious fervour or fanaticism. They have an exact counterpart in the better class of our old Indian pensioners, the Sardars, Raïses and Maliks of Northern India. They deplore the passing of the old Russian régime, and they deprecate still more the advent of the Young Turkomans.

It is scarcely probable that Trans-Caspia will ever play a salient rôle in the inner history of Turkestan, and her political development will doubtless follow the same lines as the more central portions of the country.

As regards the present status and activities of the Radical-Democrats, there is not much to be added. At the Congress of Ferghana they publicly proclaimed the autonomy of Turkestan, and they convened a body which they named the Provisional National Government of Turkestan. There is little doubt that, had circumstances permitted it, the party would have demanded the complete independence of Turkestan rather than mere autonomy; but the political situation was against them, and no sooner had the Bolsheviks come into power, than they immediately dispersed the infant Turkestan Government. From that time onwards the party had no fixed centre of activities. A number of the leaders, including Mustafa Chokaïeff, were compelled to leave the country, whilst most of the

remainder became scattered or fell victims to Bolshevik repression. It is interesting to note, however, that in spite of four years of this repression, the Radical-Democrat party still exists in Turkestan, and scattered as are its members, it has nevertheless proved itself a factor which the Moscow Government have repeatedly found it necessary to take into serious consideration.

During the last two years the attitude of the Moscow authorities towards the Muslim population of Turkestan has vacillated between repression and reconciliation. The reconciliation, however, has never been more than superficial, and consisted in repeating the original declaration that Turkestan is an "autonomous Soviet Republic," a phrase as meaningless as "the free self-determination of peoples," with which it is supposed to go hand in hand.

As to the real meaning and character of the so-called "Soviet Republic," no better explanation can be given than that furnished personally by Stalyn, the "Commissar for Nationalities," who himself signed the "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia."

In this document it was stated that the Soviet Government accepted the basic principles of its national policy :

1. "The equality and the sovereignty of the different races forming the Russian people.
2. "The right of the peoples of Russia to free self-determination, even to the extent of separation from Russia and the formation of entirely independent states."

In direct contradiction to the above "Declaration," Stalyn subsequently made an authoritative statement* to the effect that "Soviet autonomous republics were in reality nothing more than "a new administrative division of Russia, based on the idea of regional autonomy in the form of administrative communes." The Bolsheviks' ideas

* *Vide* article by Stalyn, "The Policy of Soviet Government in Connection with the National Question," published in the Moscow *Pravda*, and reprinted in the *Communist Gruzii*, Nos. 6 and 7, and also the Baku publication *Narodnoe Khozyaistvo*, No. 9, December, 1920.

on the subject of Turkestan are very definite. Its primary importance in their eyes is the fact of its being their most convenient field for Asiatic propaganda and intrigue against Britain. It is the very last portion of the Russian Empire that the Bolsheviks would ever dream of surrendering, and there is evidence on record to show that, even if the Soviet Government were overthrown in European Russia, they would retire eastwards, and would look for a refuge in Turkestan.

Needless to say, the Russians have no intention of relinquishing their hold on the country. While still professing to recognize the autonomy of Turkestan, and admitting an increased number of natives to the administrative councils, these native officials are still in such small minorities that they can have no controlling vote whatever.

On the other hand, the Bolsheviks have embarked on a policy of complete Russification. The railways are entirely worked by Russians, even down to the lowest ranks of employees. This alone has caused great hostility on the part of the Turkestanis, who protest with justice that their own people are dying of starvation in thousands owing to lack of employment, and that, instead of giving them work on the railway, the authorities were drafting in workers from Russia. The feeling of hostility is further aggravated by the Bolshevik policy of colonization. Large numbers of Russian peasants have been brought into the country, and settled on land forcibly taken from the Kirghiz settlers. The result of these measures has been to create feelings of bitter hatred between Russian and native Muslim—feelings which were unknown under the government of the Tsar. From time to time insurrections break out, and guerilla bands, locally known as "Basmach," or robbers, organize themselves in the inaccessible highlands in the east of the country, and for a time keep the Soviet forces busy in repressing them. During the past year these insurrections assumed even more serious dimensions than hitherto, and efforts were made to amalgamate the various scattered

bands, and create one undivided movement against the Soviets. The Bolsheviks, however, again proved too strong for the insurgents, and the Basmatch found that they were themselves playing into the hands of the Bolsheviks by affording the latter the very excuse they wanted for retaining strong garrisons in Turkestan.

In view of all these repressive measures, together with the ever-present fear that one day the forces which they are at present controlling may break their bonds and overwhelm their present masters, it is not surprising that the Bolsheviks feel themselves compelled to continue their propaganda, showing up Britain as a much bigger tyrant than themselves, and emphasizing the fantastic lie that if the Bolsheviks relinquish their hold on Turkestan, the British will immediately take possession of it, and will drive the inhabitants into absolute slavery.

Briefly it can be said, therefore, that Turkestan is being held by force, and will continue to be held by force so long as the Moscow Government has an army wherewith to garrison it.

LIMITARIS.

THE NEW ORGANIZATION OF THE INFANTRY OF THE INDIAN ARMY

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL, COLONEL
74TH PUNJABIS

THE new organization of our Indian Army, the details of which were made public recently, is noteworthy as the first occasion of the adaptation to any of the military forces of the British Empire of this system which has served as the standard military organization for the armies of all the Powers of the European Continent for the last hundred years.

The different social and geographical conditions obtaining in our Island Kingdom and its widely scattered dependencies have hitherto prevented the assimilation of our military system to that of other nations, and the new experiment in the case of our Indian Army will be watched with interest by the military world. The native Indian Army has already undergone more than one change in its organization during its eventful history; but the present change constitutes a more complete departure from custom and precedents than has ever yet taken place.

It is now one hundred and seventy years since the Honourable East India Company began to train and equip Indians after the manner of European soldiers in imitation of their French rivals, who had already made good progress in "training the miserable Kafirs of Telingana to fight in ranks, and to perform evolutions that are truly wonderful."* The first sepoy levies were organized in companies under their own officers, the whole body of sepoy with the Army being commanded by an Indian General of Sepoys, assisted by English adjutants and sergeants. In 1763 these independent companies were collected into battalions; in 1796 two of these battalions were united to form a double-

* Meadows Taylor's "Confessions of a Thug."

battalion regiment, and this organization lasted in the three Presidency armies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay until the year 1824, when the double-battalion regiments were divided into single-battalion regiments for two reasons. One reason was the desire to assimilate the organization to that of the British Army, the infantry regiments of which had all been reduced to single-battalion regiments in the great reductions that followed on the general peace in 1815. Another reason was the need for accelerating the rate of promotion of the British officers of the Honourable Company's service, which had become intolerably slow since the cessation of the state of continual war formerly prevailing in India. The doubling of the number of regiments doubled the number of regimental colonels, and so gave a run of promotion throughout the whole Army. This change necessitated the re-numbering of all the regiments, but the Indian is averse to change, and for years afterwards the 28th and 39th regiments of Madras Infantry were colloquially known as the 1st Martin's and 2nd Martin's, they having been the first and second battalions of Colonel Martin's regiment; while many of the Bengal Infantry regiments added to their title the prefix of "Dahina" (right) or "Bayen" (left), according as they had been first or second battalions in the former organization.

In the year 1903 the three separate Presidency armies were merged in one Indian Army, and the regiments of infantry were again re-numbered on one consecutive list, the only exception being the ten double-battalion regiments of Gurkha Rifles, which were numbered in a separate list.

During the Great War the Army was largely augmented, mostly by the addition of second and third battalions to the infantry regiments; but after the conclusion of peace all these new formations were disbanded, as well as some old ones, so that the post-war strength is less than the pre-war by some twenty battalions. Moreover, under the new organization twenty of the battalions are depot or training battalions and so not available for service in the field.

It now remains to be seen whether the recent introduction of the Continental system of infantry organization into our Indian Army will prove of practical benefit and result in any increase of military efficiency.

France is no larger than a single province of our Indian Empire, but the French Army musters half a million of men on a peace footing. India is five times as large as France, but her Army is only one-fifth of the peace strength of the French Army and only one-twentieth of its war strength.

It is thus evident that the conditions and circumstances of military service are totally different in India from what they are on the Continent of Europe. Instead of large armies capable of automatic and indefinite expansion garrisoning a limited extent of territory, we have in India a numerically small army spread over a geographical area almost equal in size to the European Continent, and inhabited by 300 millions of people. Will it be practicable to keep the new large regiments assembled in one body in quarters and in the field, and so secure the maximum of efficiency and economy which is the aim of the new system? It remains to be seen whether a system based on conscription and on the automatic expansion of an army on mobilization from a peace to a war footing can be satisfactorily worked in an army recruited by voluntary enlistment and unprovided with any machinery for rapid expansion.

It has hitherto been the custom to augment the British and Indian Armies on occasion by the addition of fresh battalions to existing regiments, these new formations being composed of newly enlisted recruits; but this hand-to-mouth expedient places us at a disadvantage in modern warfare, and in the late war it was long before we could make our full strength felt. The provision of permanent depot battalions goes some way towards remedying this defect. Large cadres generally result in slower promotion, but this will not affect the British officers of the Indian

Army whose rank is regulated by length of service; it may, however, retard the time of their succession to commands.

The change of organization will no doubt be unpopular with our Indian soldiery, as all such changes have hitherto been; because the Oriental temperament is essentially conservative and averse to change of any kind; and the Occidental pursuit of progress and restless experiments in reform are regarded by Eastern peoples with suspicion and aversion.

Another new experiment is the "Indianization" of eight units of the Indian Army; that is to say, eight units are to be officered exclusively by natives, without any British officers. It is not made clear whether the units are to be regiments, or squadrons and battalions—probably the latter. When our sepoy force was first raised it was organized in independent companies officered by natives, and the whole body was commanded by a native Indian "General of Sepoys," with the title of Subadar, who was assisted by a staff of European adjutants and sergeants. Later on the companies were assembled in battalions under a native officer called Comidan (commandant). But experience soon proved that European leadership trebled and quadrupled the value of the sepoy as a fighting man, and the Comidan was replaced by a British captain; and this process went on until the native officers were all reduced to the status of subalterns in the troops and companies, which were all commanded by Englishmen.

It was no doubt assisted by the natural inclination of the Directors of the Honourable East India Company to increase their influence and extend their patronage; and it went on until every native Indian regiment had a full complement of British field officers, captains, lieutenants, and cornets or ensigns. But there were some irregular regiments, mostly of cavalry, to which only three British officers were allotted as commandant, second-in-command, and adjutant, and the squadrons or companies were commanded by Indians. These regiments, owing to the

absence of pipeclay and routine, were most popular, and were filled by a much better class of men than served in the Regular Army. Many of their Indian officers were men of birth and wealth, and some of the risaldars owned all the horses in their squadrons. The Imperial contingents of the Native States of the Indian Empire are now entirely officered by Indians; and it is only fair that our Indian fellow-subjects should be given a fair chance of attaining to the highest military rank in the service of the King-Emperor. In the Egyptian Army some of the regiments are officered entirely by native Egyptians, while in others the field officers and adjutants are English; and in the French regiments of Spahis and Turcos in Algeria there are native squadron and company commanders. Racial and religious differences interpose many obstacles to the social intercourse of Europeans and Asiatics, but these can be overcome by goodwill and common sense*; and the admission of Indian gentlemen to commissions in the Army on an equal footing with their British comrades has so far been a success. The new experiment will be so gradual in its operation that it will be a long time before any conclusion can be drawn from its results which, it is to be hoped, may justify the expectations of its promoters.

* In the old Madras native regiments, of which few have survived, recent changes in the Army, Christians, Mussalmans, Hindus, and Pariahs all lived and served side by side in complete peace and harmony.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER OF INDIA

BY SIR ALFRED HAMILTON GRANT, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

To the man in the streets of London the words "North-West Frontier" merely recall the picture of hurrying newspaper boys with special editions of evening papers screaming sensational catchwords about horrible murders of British officers, the abduction of English ladies, victories over unpronounceable tribes, and other alarms and excursions. They suggest, perhaps, the vague idea of wild mountains somewhere up in the left-hand top corner of the map of India, where for some unknown reason we seem to be always getting into trouble. As soon as this periodical trouble subsides public interest in this tiresome terrain subsides also—and the people of Britain gratefully forget all about it, and are content to resettle themselves comfortably in their ignorance of and indifference to an important part of perhaps the most important appanage of the British Empire. I shall attempt to-day to describe as briefly and as simply as may be the general conditions of the North-West Frontier and the problems arising from those conditions.

As very few schoolboys know, we have here a dual boundary—an inner and an outer line. The inner line is the boundary of the settled districts of the North-West Frontier Province—the boundary, in fact, of British India proper—and is known as the administrative border. The outer line is the boundary between the Indian Empire and Afghanistan, and is commonly known as the Durand line, because it was settled by Sir Mortimer Durand and his Mission in 1895 at Kabul with the old Amir Abdur Rahman. These two frontier lines give us three tracts to be dealt with: first, the tract inside the inner line, the settled districts of the North-West Frontier Province, inhabited

for the most part by sturdy and somewhat turbulent Pathans; second, the tract between the two lines, that welter of mountains where dwell the hardy brigand hill-men—the tribes of the Black Mountain, of Swat and Bajour, the Mohmands, the Afridis, the Orakzais, the Wazirs, the Mahsuds, and a host of others whose names from time to time become familiar according as the outrageousness of their misconduct necessitates military operations; third, the country beyond the outer line, self-styled “the God-granted Kingdom of Afghanistan and its dependencies.”

Now each of these tracts presents its own peculiar problems, though they are all intimately interconnected, and react one on the other to a great extent. It is impossible, indeed, to deal with them apart; and for this reason Lord Curzon, when Viceroy of India, very wisely secured the separation of the North-West Frontier Province from the Punjab, of which it had up to that time formed an integral part, and brought this difficult corner under the direct control of the Government of India, with a frontier expert in direct charge of the local administration. Roughly speaking, the problems presented by the three tracts above mentioned may be classed as the major, the minor, and the minimus problems—though the terms minor and minimus are in this sense purely relative, and in no way connote that these problems are unimportant or are free from the gravest anxiety.

The major problem is the problem of the outer tract, and is not merely the problem of our relations with Afghanistan and its rulers, but is the great international problem of all that affects or threatens the security of the Indian Empire from that direction. It is the problem of “the beyond the beyond.” In the early days of the last century it was dominated by the ambitions of Napoleon, and later of Imperial Russia. It was fear of Russia that landed us in the vain and deplorable debacle of the first Afghan War: it was fear of Russia that led to the second Afghan War, to the ill-judged Treaty of Gandamak, to the despatch of

the ill-fated Cavagnari to Kabul, and to Lord Roberts's subsequent memorable victories. Thereafter fear of Russia still remained the paramount factor in our frontier problem, and was not altogether allayed by the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907. With the fall, however, of Czarist Russia during the Great War there has come a change over the whole situation. The menace of an invasion in force by Russia is for the present outside the range of practical politics, and is no longer a serious military proposition. The Bolsheviks have, however, been seeking in every way possible to intrigue against us in Afghanistan, and to create in Afghanistan a centre for the transmission of Bolshevik propaganda into India. The danger is of a different form, and is being dealt with in a different manner. It is none the less necessary, however, that we should maintain and cultivate the friendliest relations with the Amir of Afghanistan; he is our neighbour, and we want from him good neighbourliness. We require that he should not allow his country to become a focus of intrigue against us, and we want him to co-operate with us for the maintenance of peace on our common border. This is indeed practically all that we require of Afghanistan. All that the Amir requires of us is some assistance in money and munitions for the internal and external safeguarding of his realm: some commercial and other facilities, and above all honourable recognition and treatment; for the Afghan, like the Indian, is very sensitive, and has a craving for self-respect and the respect of others. All this sounds very simple, but where some of our statesmen have failed in the past is in treating Afghanistan as a petty little State to be browbeaten and ordered about at our pleasure, without allowing for this sensitiveness, and without recognizing the very valuable cards that the Amir holds against us. He knows, in the first place, that nothing could be more embarrassing to us than the necessity for another Afghan War, and the despatch of a large force to the highlands of Kabul, to sit there possibly for years as an army of occupation in desolate country, incapable of affording

supplies for troops, at enormous expense of life and treasure, with no clear-cut policy beyond. He knows, in the second place, that such a war would be the signal for the rising of practically every tribe along our frontier. The cry of "Jehad" would go forth as in the third Afghan War, and we should be confronted sooner or later with an outbreak from the Black Mountain to Baluchistan, a formidable proposition. He knows, in the third place, that, with Muslim feeling strained as it is to-day on the subject of Turkey, he could command sympathy in India and among the Muslim troops of the Indian Army. Now these are serious considerations, and I have dwelt thus at length on Afghanistan, though it is somewhat outside the scope of my address, because it is impossible to overrate the influence of the Afghan attitude on the North-West Frontier, or the closeness of the connection between local frontier politics in that region and our relations with our neighbour beyond.

Let me now turn to the minor problem, the tract that lies between the Durand line and our administrative border, the great tribal territory. Here, from Chitral on the north to Baluchistan on the south, we have a belt of roadless mountains, inhabited by wild and virile tribes, with the hereditary instinct of raiding in their veins, extremely well armed and skilled in the use of arms, living in a country that cannot support them. In the mentality of the tribesman there are three dominant factors—namely, jealousy of their independence, fanatical religion, and greed for gain. And it has always been one or other of these characteristics, or a combination of them, that has brought us into conflict with the tribes. Let me illustrate this. Although by the Durand agreement the tribal belt came within the sphere of the Indian Empire, the tribes themselves were independent, and no attempt had been made to enforce law or collect revenue in tribal territory. But in the early nineties our frontier policy assumed a forward direction, partly following the example of Sandeman in Baluchistan, partly for special local reasons. We had pushed our way into Chitral owing mainly to the afore-

mentioned fear of Russian encroachment on that side. We had established ourselves in the Khyber, the great highway to Central Asia; we had taken over the Kurram Valley at the request of the inhabitants themselves, the Turis, who are a Shiah tribe living in the midst of hostile Sunni neighbours; we had forced our way into the Tochi Valley and up the Gomel River to Wano in North and South Waziristan, in order to counter Afghan aggression on that side. The result of all this was a general apprehension on the part of the tribes along the whole North-West Frontier regarding their future independence, and this apprehension suddenly materialized in the general conflagration of 1897, with the resultant troublesome and expensive operations, against the tribes of Swat, against the Mohmands, against the Tirah Afridis, against the Orakzais, against the Tochi Wazirs. These operations, though they secured a settlement of sorts with the tribes concerned, were by no means conclusive. But they demonstrated two things clearly: first, that the subjugation of the tribes on the North-West Frontier is a very tough proposition; and second, that advanced posts in tribal territory, and the occupation of tribal territory by force, are irritants to the tribes concerned that are likely to lead to trouble. It was made evident that it is not possible to "Sandemanize"—if one may coin the word—the North-West Frontier tribes in the same way as the great Sandeman had reduced the tribes of Baluchistan—with the sword in one hand and rupees in the other. The reason is that they are totally different. On the one hand, unlike the Baluchistan tribes, who for the most part have a strong internal tribal authority, the tribes of the North-West Frontier are generally completely democratic, even anarchical, and are not susceptible of central control; on the other hand, they are much more populous, much better armed, more truculent, and favoured by better natural geographical defences. They are, indeed, the rocky barrier that has stopped and turned aside the tide of our expansion in India. The conflagration of 1897 was fanned also by

fanatical religion. Mullahs were the organizers and leaders, and the belief that this was Holy War, or Jihad, gave heart to the fighting men, and for very shame spurred on those who hung back. It is this spirit of fanaticism that has led to many deplorable and meaningless murders of our officers, and it is this spirit that drives the tribes into open rebellion if the Amir of Afghanistan, the so-called King of Islam, is threatened by our arms. He is their co-religionist, and they must help him against the infidel.

Let us now see how the third element in the Pathan character—namely, greed of gain, comes in. The hills are hungry and afford but a poor livelihood to the hardy fighting people who inhabit them. There is perennial economic pressure; the trade of raiding the fat plains below is hereditary. Added to this, deperate outlaws from British territory seek asylum with the tribes, who in accordance with the Pathan code cannot refuse it. There is no land or craft for these outlaws, and they must make a livelihood. This they can only do by raiding. Many are men of resource and courage, who form gangs composed of other outlaws and the hot-heads of the tribe, and embark on a course of wholesale raiding. Now one of the rules of frontier administration is that each tribe is responsible for persons coming from, crossing, or taking refuge in its limits. Thus a tribe harbouring a raiding gang is continually incurring liability. Most of the tribes are indifferent—the leading men probably receive a share of the loot; in any case the communal government of the tribe is probably too weak, except under stress of considerable pressure, to suppress this lawlessness, and the bill gradually mounts up. Eventually the position becomes impossible, and military operations are necessary. This accounts for the majority of the smaller expeditions that have occurred in the last fifty years.

Now this brings us to the question so often asked by the advocates of what is called the "forward policy": "If the tribes give so much trouble, why not go in and conquer them once for all, and occupy the country up to the Durand

line?" It sounds an attractive solution, and has been frequently urged on paper by competent soldiers, but the truth is that to advance our frontier only means to advance the seat of trouble, and that the occupation of tribal territory by force is a much more formidable undertaking than it sounds. We have at this moment before us a striking proof of the immense difficulty and expense of attempting to tame and occupy even a comparatively small tract of tribal territory in the Waziristan operations. Those operations have been going on for over three years. At the start there were ample troops, ample equipment, and no financial stringency. The operations were conducted with skill and determination, and our troops fought gallantly. But what is the upshot? We managed to advance into the heart of the Mahsud country on a single line, subject, and still subject, to incessant attacks by the enemy, but we are very little nearer effective occupation than when we started, and now financial stringency has necessitated a material alteration in the whole programme. We have gone back to what may be called the "half forward policy"—that is, the occupation by militia of a point in trans-border territory, supported by Khassadars, or local levies, and by troops behind. Whether or not this experiment will succeed any better than similar experiments have in the past, it is difficult to say. We can only hope for the best. My own view is that the occupation of trans-border outposts merely acts as an irritant without dominating the tribe, and sooner or later these outposts necessitate further military operations. The advantage of the tribal hills is that they are much healthier than the plains, particularly the sweltering Derajat—but the idea of large trans-border cantonments has been now, I think, abandoned—and with this we should, I think, abandon the idea of dangerous, irritating, though perhaps healthy, outposts. Doubtless, if we applied our whole military resources to the subjugation of this troublesome welter of mountains, we could subjugate it, but should we have any better frontier then? As it is, we must not expect the millennium, on the North-West

Frontier, and we should not make too heavy weather of the unavoidable tribal lawlessness that must from time to time occur. Our policy should be briefly as follows :

(1) We should remove all reasonable irritants, such as trans-border posts. I do not, of course, include in these the Khyber, which is our essential communication with Central Asia, nor do I include the Kurram, which we were invited to occupy, nor Lower Swat, which we occupied under special conditions. But I should clear out of Waziristan altogether, except the lower Tochi, where we have commitments, and the Thal-Idak road.

(2) We should do everything possible to provide honourable employment to the tribesmen ; for the problem is largely economic. And it should be remembered that, though I have had to lay emphasis on the bad qualities of the tribes, they have also many good qualities, and have worked excellently in Government service in the past.

(3) We should do all that is possible to establish friendly relations with tribal elders, and to give them by means of subsidies for service an interest in maintaining law and order. We must remember that we have duties towards the tribes as well as rights against them.

(4) We should extend the Khassadar or levy system—that is, we should pay for tribal corps to police their own borders, arming themselves and providing their own munitions and equipment. This experiment proved most successful on the Afridi border of the Peshawur district.

(5) We must have efficient, well-paid, and contented civil forces within the border—militia, frontier constabulary, and police located in posts connected by telephones and telegraphs and good roads.

(6) We should improve our lateral communications, so that our forces can move out promptly for the interception of raiders. Nothing is more effective in stopping raiding than the interception and destruction of a raiding gang.

(7) We should in the case of lawlessness deal with it promptly by the arrest of members of the tribe concerned, in British territory by blockade, and by the swift rounding

up of recalcitrant villages beyond the border, and by the use of aeroplanes. The policy of "raid and scuttle" is undoubtedly cheaper and more effective than ponderous military operations.

(8) Finally, we should, so far as possible, enlist the co-operation of the Amir of Afghanistan in the maintenance of peace on our common border. It has been the practice of our statesmen to adopt the attitude that because the Amir was by treaty precluded from interfering with our tribes, therefore he must not have anything to do with them. This is a short-sighted view. We found during the Great War the late Amir's influence, particularly over the Mahsuds, of the greatest value when he agreed to use it for the maintenance of peace.

Let me now turn to the third tract, which involves the minimus problem—that is, the administration of the settled districts of the North-West Frontier Province. Here you have a population 95 per cent. Muslim, and to a very large extent Pathan, with a peculiar code of honour, and special customs of their own. They are a hospitable, manly, vigorous people, delightful to deal with, full of humour, and with the sporting instinct of the Englishman, but they hold human life cheap, and the blood feud is rampant amongst them. According to their code murder is not only legitimate under certain conditions, but it is obligatory. To deal with this mentality there exists a special law called the Frontier Crimes Regulation, a valuable enactment which enables us to deal with cases through the medium of local councils of elders, who act as a kind of glorified jury. Without this system an enormous number of violent crimes would go unpunished, for it is almost impossible to obtain adequate judicial evidence in the majority of cases. Apart from this, there are all the ordinary functions of administration, such as education, medical relief, civil litigation, etc., which have to be adapted to the peculiar needs of a backward and prejudiced people. In this respect the creation of the North-West Frontier Province as a separate administration, though it has doubtless proved an expen-

sive administration, has been of untold benefit to the people of the North-West Frontier Province. Recently there has been an agitation to re-amalgamate the North-West Frontier Province with the Punjab. I have shown, I think, how inseparable are the main problems of the districts, the tribal area and Afghanistan. The proposal is indeed a little short of administrative lunacy. There is, however, an underlying method in the madness of this agitation—namely, the self-interest of a clever minority—which I need not now dissect. I trust that, if this proposal should go further, it will be stoutly resisted. Certain individual incidents that have of late occurred on the North-West Frontier have given rise to a good deal of public alarm, and I am constantly asked by people, as one who has spent many years in that region, whether I think that the frontier is any longer safe as a place of residence for English ladies. I have always held that it is a great mistake to allow ladies to live in exposed trans-border outposts, not only because of the danger to themselves, but because of the fact that their presence must necessarily hamper the officers and garrisons in those places in the discharge of their ordinary duties, and necessitates in times of trouble special precautions for ladies, which take the men from other duties. But as regards the large cantonments within the border, I consider that ladies are just as safe as they have ever been, and just as safe as they are living in London and crossing the streets many times a day. The fact that one or two isolated atrocities have occurred must not be taken as any index of general insecurity. The tribes as a whole have genuinely disapproved these outrages, and the fact that tribal feeling was against the offenders has been a considerable asset in the handling of the situation by the local authorities. Sir John Maffey has, as I can say from experience, a very difficult task; but thanks to his understanding of the Pathan, his resourcefulness, and his firmness, I believe that the administration of the frontier is at this moment, in the face of exceptional difficulties, more efficient than ever before.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, July 16, 1923, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, at which a paper was read by Sir A. Hamilton Grant, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., entitled "The North-West Frontier of India." General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir Lionel Jacob, K.C.S.I., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Sheppard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir William Ovens and Lady Clark, Sir John Wallis, Sir Henry Stone, C.I.E., and Lady Stone, Lady Barrow, Lady Seton, Sir Frank Beaman, Mr. E. V. Gabriel, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.V.O., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, Lieut.-Colonel P. W. O'Gorman, C.M.G., I.M.S. (retd.), Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mrs. and Miss Wilmot Corfield, Miss Scatcherd, Lieut.-Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mrs. Whittock, Mr. and Mrs. E. Parsons, Miss Farmer, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Lieut.-Colonel W. B. Lane, C.I.E., I.M.S. (retd.), Mr. F. H. Skrine, Major G. W. Gilbertson, Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Mr. and Mrs. G. M. Chesney, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Colonel Lowry, Mr. F. M. P. Higgins, Miss Grant, Mrs. Farmer, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mrs. Henry, Mr. J. E. Monins, Mr. E. Lloyd Evans, Mr. P. Weston Edwards, Mr. H. O. Boger, Rev. H. Halliwell, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. R. S. Thakor, Captain Rolleston, Mr. and Mrs. G. D. Robertson, Mr. W. C. Dible, Mr. A. Sabonadiere, Miss A. Vallah, Mr. J. Rogers, Mr. Fabian, Mr. Marshman, Colonel A. D. Creagh, C.M.G., M.V.O., Major Claude Hamilton, Mrs. Herron, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen—It is hardly necessary for me to introduce the Lecturer to you, because I am sure a great many of you already know of him, if not personally, at any rate through his eminent services in India during many years. As you know, Sir Hamilton has been not only Chief Commissioner on the frontier, but he has also been Foreign Secretary in India, and he also had charge of the negotiations with the Afghan envoys which led up to the existing treaty. He is, therefore, thoroughly acquainted with the subject on which he is to lecture, and you may be absolutely certain that he is putting before us all the facts of the case. Whether we agree with all his deductions or not is quite another matter, but I hope we may have an interesting discussion.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen—We have had a most interesting and instructive lecture, as we all expected, but I may remind you that the great value of these lectures lies in the discussion that follows, because we then get an inkling of the different points of view from which people regard these questions; so I hope someone will open a discussion on what we have heard to-day.

Mr. F. H. SKRINE said that he had learnt a great deal more from the paper than from his long experience in India regarding that debatable land, which was the most romantic tract in the world. In studying the North-West Frontier one's mind was carried back 350 years to happenings in the borderland between England and Scotland.

The Lecturer had said that much of the unrest on the frontier was due to economic causes; population was increasing more rapidly than the means of existence, which made the matter a most complex question to deal with. He would like to ask whether it would not be possible to abolish the Durand line, and share the responsibility for that territory with the King of Kabul, each side accepting equal responsibility for maintaining law and order.

They had heard a good deal about Russophobia, which had landed Great Britain in unnecessary wars and caused considerable loss of prestige, but in his opinion that sentiment was based on an entire mistake. Years ago, in discussing the question with General Kuropatkin, then Governor-General of Transcaspia, the latter assured him that Russia had no desire to accept the responsibility of governing 300 millions of Asiatics, and had absolutely no use for India. The speaker ventured to enquire why, if that was so, should there have been so much friction and so many bellicose utterances? Kuropatkin's reply was that Russia required a counter-irritant when she was thwarted with regard to her real line of expansion—towards Constantinople, which had been her goal since the time of Peter the Great.

In conclusion, he would like to urge all those who were interested in India to bear in mind the absolute necessity of maintaining a benevolent, but watchful, attitude towards Afghanistan, which might well become the hub of an Asiatic empire. The mistakes made in Great Britain-Russian policy must not be repeated. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. H. O. BOGER asked if the Lecturer could tell them anything about the Punjee incident which happened in 1886, which at the time almost caused war with Russia, and which created great excitement at the time.

The LECTURER said that the name was "Pauj-deh," and meant "the five villages." It was now quite ancient history, but briefly, as Mr. Skrine had suggested, it was to a large extent a bit of Russian bluff in order to put England into an awkward position. There had been from time immemorial quarrels between the people on the Russian side of the border and on the Afghan side. What had happened was that the Russians took very drastic action against Afghan subjects which very nearly precipitated this country into what would have been a most unfortunate, deplorable, and rather a meaningless war, in his opinion.

Sir FRANK BEAMAN said he was delighted to have the honour of saying a few words on the very able and informing lecture they had just listened to. From some of the observations contained in the lecture, the Lecturer appeared to assume he was addressing an audience ignorant almost of the A B C of the subject, which was what commonly happened when those who had first-hand knowledge of Indian questions were endeavouring to disseminate their views to an English audience which,

while always patient, was very difficult to convince, and was usually possessed with the idea that the people who knew best were least worth listening to. He did not claim to be an expert on frontier problems, and he would not dream of questioning the Lecturer's authority on the theoretical problems he had touched on, but there was one point on which he ventured to differ from him; he thought he had given them too rosy a description of the conditions on the frontier, which might leave a very false impression on the minds of those whose lot might presently take them to that dangerous region. He was not aware how long ago it was since the Lecturer had been resident on the frontier, but not long ago he personally had visited the borderland, with a desire to learn at first-hand the actual conditions at the very moment that Earl Winterton was making observations—observations on which he later assured the House that frontier conditions had greatly improved. On the surface undoubtedly they had improved, but he had been a close student of Indian problems for many years, and he was a little distrustful of surface calms, but when they were assured that conditions on the frontier were as safe as conditions of life in London he could not help thinking that civilization must have very largely effaced the impressions gained on the spot. He could say most emphatically that life along the frontier was far from being as safe as in this country; it was simply absurd to compare conditions on the North-West Frontier with the ordinary perils of the streets of London. The matter was much too grave to be treated in that manner. Perhaps Sir Hamilton was not aware that along the border it was regarded by those who were responsible for the safety of English women under their charge as unsafe to go outside their compounds after dark without an armed escort, and that orders had been issued to that effect. He was speaking principally of English women, but he would also like to bear witness to the hardships and perils daily undergone by political and all officials along that perilous border; the work was not only extraordinarily arduous and continuous, but was carried on under conditions of great personal danger, and they certainly deserved well of the Empire. (Hear, hear.)

Major GILBERTSON said he had not been long back from the North-West Frontier, after spending nearly forty years there, and he was proud to say that he had always found a Pathan a jolly good fellow, fully deserving of all the sympathy they had offered to him. If he had to undertake service again he should go back to the North-West Frontier and again make friends with the Pathan. The way to manage him was to learn his language, and shake him by the hand; he was not at all a bad fellow, and there was no reason why anyone should be frightened of going out to India. (Hear, hear.)

Sir PATRICK FAGAN said he must first of all congratulate the Association on having had the opportunity of listening to such an excellent and instructive lecture. He wished to express his entire agreement with the remarks of the Lecturer as to the undesirability of again uniting the Frontier Province to the Punjab. The separation took place twenty-two years ago, and although there was a good deal of discussion and controversy about it at the time, he thought that everybody in a position to form a judgment on

the matter would agree that the policy had been a sound one, and had proved to be such by its results. (Hear, hear.) It had been fairly obvious at the time, and had become more so as time went on, that the main problems of administration in the two provinces were of a different nature, and the difference had been greatly emphasized within the last few years. The North-West Province had been recently more or less immune from that infectious disease political agitation, whereas the Punjab, on the contrary, had enjoyed a full measure of the amenities which sprang from it. (Hear, hear.) The difficulties of the Governor of the Punjab would have been immensely aggravated if he had had to deal with the political and military complications which were inseparable from the administration of a region such as that of the North-West Province.

In conclusion, he would say that it had always impressed itself upon him that the real root of the difficulty on the frontier was an economic one, an instance of the age-long practice of the hungry highlander looting and raiding the fat lowlander, and until some means were devised for satisfying the hunger and poverty of the highlander, he feared that Sir Hamilton Grant was right when he said that the North-West Frontier and its problems would always remain with them. (Hear, hear.)

Sir CHARLES MILES said that there was just one point in Sir Hamilton Grant's admirable and convincing address which he would venture to remark upon. The Lecturer had laid stress upon Sir Robert Sandeman's work of subduing the tribes of Baluchistan. No one recognized and admired the great work done by Sir Robert Sandeman more than he did, but the way undoubtedly had been prepared for him. The man who did the spade work was that great soldier and administrator, General John Jacob. Probably all those present were aware how the raiding tribes of Baluchistan were brought to heel by Jacob and his able lieutenants. For instance, the late Colonel Sir William Merewether—then a lieutenant—with 130 sabres of the Sind Horse succeeded in catching the whole fighting strength of the Bughti tribe in the plains, upwards of 600 in number, and—polished off the lot! Examples such as this were effectual, and Jacob's system secured the peace of the border.

The Rev. H. U. WEITBRECHT STANTON, D.D., said that during thirty-five years in the Punjab he had seen something of Pathan settlers who had established themselves generations ago in the Punjab villages. They were useful cultivators and decent citizens. The Punjab villages were also visited by gangs of Pathan coolies who travelled about doing earth work and other odd jobs for the villagers, and returning homewards in the hot season. These last were of the same stock as the troublesome frontier tribes for whom the main problem of the Government of India was to provide an economic outlet until they could find sufficient means of subsistence without raiding. Might it not be possible to do something in this way under the Sukkur barrage scheme which would both absorb a great amount of labour in construction and also irrigate wide lands partly adjacent to the tribal territory?

Mr. E. C. CHANNING said that although he had never served on the frontier, he had had something to do with that particular part of North-

West India in dealing with questions which arose at headquarters at Lahore. They must remember that the part of the country they had been speaking about was not essentially India at all, and the Sikh annexation of it to which the British succeeded was only made final in 1834. What he particularly wanted to say was that the problem of those warlike tribes living in a barren country had existed for centuries—it was not a new problem by any means—and he would like to ask the lecturer if he could give them any information as to how those tribes were treated in old days when strong rulers held both Kabul and India; what, *e.g.*, was Akbar's policy in dealing with them?

The CHAIRMAN: As so often happens on these occasions, it now devolves on the Chairman to make a few remarks, for what they are worth. A Chairman is supposed to hold the balance between the various speakers, and not to be a critic, and therefore I shall say very little by way of criticism.

There is one point though that particularly struck me in this lecture, which is this. The Lecturer says at page 5:

"The subjugation of the tribes on the North-West Frontier is a very tough proposition; and second, that advanced posts in tribal territory, and the occupation of tribal territory by force, are irritants to the tribes concerned that are likely to lead to trouble."

Then again on page 7 he says:

"We can only hope for the best. My own view is that the occupation of trans-border outposts merely acts as an irritant without dominating the tribe, and sooner or later these outposts necessitate further military operations."

Now I venture to think that that is not quite a true representation of the case. I have been a good deal on the frontier both in peace and in war, and I speak with a certain amount of knowledge of the subject. No doubt it is not very pleasant to have someone occupying your country; you do not like it, and *for a time* it does act as an irritant. But is it true to say that it *always* remains an irritant? I think not! We have an example in Chitral. When I went there in 1885 perhaps we were irritants then, but anyhow we made great friends there, and we have permanently stayed there ever since (1895). When I went there again about fifteen years ago I was most cordially received by everybody whom I had known on the previous occasion. (Hear, hear.) Again, let us look further afield at Malakund. It is true we were regarded as "irritants" when we first went there, but I am sure it is not so now. I fancy we are rather popular in those regions, more popular than we are in certain much more civilized places; we have lately made a canal there, and a good road through the hills leading right away to Chitral. I am not at all sure that the Swatis would be altogether pleased if we turned our backs on them and went back to the old frontier, but on that point perhaps Sir Hamilton thinks otherwise.

With regard to the Khyber, as he says, there are special reasons for our remaining there, and I think we are all agreed that we must control the main gate to Afghanistan.

Still further afield, we come to Waziristan, which is the place which has mainly inspired the Lecturer's remarks. There it is true at present we are an irritant, but I am not at all sure we need be so ten years hence when they have become accustomed to us, and when the country has been opened up and employment found for the people. Indeed, I am inclined to think the people will not then resent our presence as they do now. I must confess that in this matter I am rather an optimist. I think that our relations with the frontier tribes have improved since the days when I first knew them forty-five years ago, and the Pathans and the Englishmen on both sides of the border, particularly the political officers, have become great friends.

Another remark which interested me was this. The Lecturer says at the bottom of page 6 :

"Now this brings us to the question so often asked by the advocates of what is called the 'forward policy' : 'If the tribes give so much trouble, why not go in and conquer them once for all, and occupy the country up to the Durand line?' It sounds an attractive solution, and has been frequently urged on paper by competent soldiers, but the truth is that to advance our frontier only means to advance the seat of trouble, and that the occupation of tribal territory by force is a much more formidable undertaking than it sounds."

Well, this is a very moot question, and I believe the political people and the soldiers have not always seen eye to eye regarding it, but I do say that if we went up to the Durand line we should reap certain benefits. We should be up against a boundary wall, and we should have on the other side of the wall a ruler who at all events understands doing business with us, and we should not have the troubles that we are constantly having now with the lawless and leaderless tribes in front of us. I am one who thinks there is a good deal in the "forward policy." (Hear, hear.)

Then there is the question of the employment of the tribesmen. I believe there is no more civilizing panacea for the evils with which we are confronted than employment and trade, because after all the Pathan is just as much alive to his own welfare as anyone. The making of roads and employment have been the means of pacifying many wild countries, and in this connection I much regret the change that has lately been made in the Indian Army by reducing the Pathan element in the Army. I have the greatest appreciation of the Pathan's many fine qualities. It is quite true they have played us false once or twice, but it has not been unnatural in the cases where it occurred, when they have been sorely tempted. I regret that the number of these soldiers has been so much reduced, as employment for these tribesmen will be more difficult to find. The more the Pathans come over and work for us, drawing good pay, and then going away happy, the better it will be for the Frontier.

The lecture to me has been a most interesting one, not only from the fact that Sir Hamilton Grant has made it, but because many of the points he has brought to our notice I know to be strictly correct and in accordance with the knowledge and views of all frontier officers in that important and interesting area. (Hear, hear.)

The LECTURER, in reply, said that in the first place he wished to plead not guilty to the charge preferred against him by a learned judge of levity in regard to the danger of the frontier. Having spent twenty years of his life in close proximity to those dangers, and having eaten fear—to use a local expression—both by day and by night, his natural inclination would have been to draw a blood-red picture of the frontier, and how he had faced the danger with coolness and courage for all those years. The tendency no doubt was to be an alarmist and to adopt the wrong spirit with regard to the frontier, and it was with the direct intention of countering that inclination that he took the line he had taken. A finer lot of men than those who served with him and under him on the frontier he never wanted to see. They had a great tradition, and that tradition was due to the fact that they were not for ever worrying about whether the ladies or they themselves were safe; they tried to do their duty and ignore its dangers, and that was the best way to face the situation to-day. (Hear, hear.)

As to the criticisms made in regard to Baluchistan, he did not wish in any way to belittle the wonderful work of Sandeman and Jacob; he yielded to no one in his admiration of them, but, as he had said, the problem was a different one, and the same methods could not be applied to the two countries. People were apt to think that because they were contiguous countries they could be dealt with by the same methods.

He entirely agreed with what had been said about the desirability of finding employment for the trans-border Pathans, and the suggestion that settlements might be found for them was a very valuable one. That had been considered by the Government of India, but it was difficult to get those people to come and settle definitely in the plains.

As to the question of whether they could or could not administer the frontier with the same efficiency as Akbar did in ancient times, he was afraid his knowledge was not sufficient to enable him to say how far the conditions were better in those days than now, but he had every reason to believe that the Pathan in those old days was not absolutely a chastened character, and that raiding was not an unknown incident; but one great advantage the Mogul Emperors had was that they were on both sides of the tribesmen. If in the course of time it should happen that we were to be on both sides, they would find the North-West Frontier problem would crumple up like a piece of paper.

With regard to the valuable remarks made by the Chairman, it was with diffidence he ventured to reply to criticism by a man of such military distinction and with such knowledge of the frontier, but in self-defence he must say that when the Chairman criticized his remarks as to the occupation of tribal territory being an irritant to the tribes concerned, he disregarded one very important phrase which he had there introduced—he omitted to notice that the reference was to occupation of tribal territory *by force*. As to the Chairman's reference to Chitral, they had not occupied that by force, but with the entire consent and goodwill of the people concerned. As a matter of fact, when he informed the Mehtar that they were drawing

up plans for the evacuation of the place he clasped his knees and said, "For God's sake do not go." It was quite natural therefore the Chairman would receive the welcome such as he had described when he visited Chitral. He very much doubted if he would receive the same sort of welcome to-day in Waziristan; there might be a salute, but he was afraid it would not be with blank cartridge. (Laughter.) The Chairman had said the tribes would gradually get accustomed to the occupation. All he could say was that they had been in Tochi for twenty to thirty years, since 1895, and in 1919 when the Afghan War gave them a chance of showing whether they liked their presence or not, they turned upon the English people and murdered their garrison and nearly all the officers, and the retreat from Wano was one of the most pitiful tragedies in history. Was that what was meant by the people gradually getting accustomed to their occupation?

With regard to the Malakond, he would admit that the Chairman's contention here was true. Partly by wise handling and partly by the knowledge of the benefits that came from the Pax Britannica, those people had got accustomed to our rule, and they would be very sorry if we left. In that he agreed that Sir Edmund had cited an instance which controverted his general assertion, but on the other hand, in Waziristan and in other parts round the frontier if they had outposts they would surely lead sooner or later to military operations.

In conclusion he wished to thank them all for the great patience with which they had heard him, and for the kindly terms in which most of the speakers had alluded to the poor effort he had made to explain the conditions of the North-West Frontier. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

A hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and Lecturer concluded the proceedings.

THE FIFTY-SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE Council submit the following Report on the Proceedings of the Association for the year 1922-23 :

The Association added 58 new Members during the year, but lost 29 by resignation and 15 by death. A few others who, for a considerable period and in spite of reminders, have shown no inclination to subscribe have automatically ceased to be members, leaving the net membership very much where it was last year.

The Council was strengthened by the inclusion of Sir Valentine Chirol and Sir John Cumming. Lord Lamington, the President, has always shown his interest in the work of the Association, and the Council gratefully acknowledge the invaluable help of its Chairman, Lord Pentland.

The affairs of India are, as usual, being watched with keen interest. At the time of writing the Report an important discussion is in progress regarding the rights of Indians in Crown Colonies, and although the Association, true to its non-political character, has not intervened, it is not blind to the immense results which may flow from any decision that may be taken.

The following Papers were read during the year :

May 22, 1922.—"India in the League of Nations: What She Gains," by Sir Valentine Chirol. Sir Thomas J. Bennett, C.I.E., M.P., in the chair.

July 17, 1922.—"The Tenancy Law of Oudh," by Alfred Sabonadiere, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.). Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., in the chair.

October 23, 1922.—"The Indian Labour Problem," by P. Padmanabha Pillai, Esq., B.A., B.L. Sir Valentine Chirol in the chair.

December 4, 1922.—"The Hindu Outlook on Life," by Stanley P. Rice, Esq., I.C.S. (ret'd.). The Right Hon. Viscount Peel, G.B.E. (Secretary of State for India), in the chair.

February 12, 1923.—"The Present and Future Management of Indian Railways," by Sir Robert W. Gillan, K.C.S.I. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., in the chair.

March 19, 1923.—"Protection for India," by Gilbert Slater, Esq., M.A., D.Sc. Sir John Wallis in the chair.

April 9, 1923.—"The Newspaper Press in India," by Everard Cotes, Esq. J. A. Spender, Esq., in the chair.

The number was somewhat less than usual, partly owing to the *Conversazioni* in June and January, a feature which seems to be appreciated. The Papers read were on a high level, and the Association is to be congratulated on having in several cases secured the assistance of acknowledged experts.

The following have been elected Members of the Association during the year :

Mrs. Anstey, B.Sc.

C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, Esq., C.I.E.

William Bird, Esq.

Frank Douglas Bennett, Esq., M.B.E.

James Perch Bedford, Esq., I.C.S. (ret'd.).

Rai Bahadur Ghanasyam Barua.

Sir Charles Porten Beachcroft.

Sir Maneckji Byramji Dadabhoy, C.I.E.

William Cuthbert Dible, Esq., I.C.S.

Sir Lionel Davidson, K.C.S.I.

Mrs. Eckstein.

O. Lloyd Evans, Esq.

Sir Stuart Mitford Fraser, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Hussain.

Sir Patrick James Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Sir George Stuart Forbes, K.C.S.I.

Lieut.-Colonel Henry Albert Gidney, F.R.C.S., F.R.S.,
I.M.S. (retd.).

Sir Edgar Joseph Holberton, C.B.E.

Charles Hardless, Esq.

Herbert George Whitby Herron, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).

Nawab Izamat Jung Bahadur.

Lieut.-Colonel Henry Kirkpatrick, I.M.S. (retd.).

Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan.

Edward Stuart Keymer, Esq.

Lady Lukis.

Rai Bahadur Lakshmi Narayan Lal, M.L.A.

Harry Alexander Fanshawe Lindsay, Esq., I.C.S.

Mrs. W. G. Martley.

General Sir Charles Carmichael Monro, G.C.B.,
G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G.

John Eaton Monins, Esq.

Alexander Maclean MacDougall, Esq.

Brijnath Mithal, Esq., B.Sc., LL.B.

Dewan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nair.

Sir Francis Du Pre Oldfield.

Bryan Ward Perkins, Esq., I.C.S.

Sir Alfred Donald Pickford.

Mangaldas G. Parekh, Esq.

P. Padmanabha Pillai, Esq.

Captain Ronald David De Pass.

Pestonjee Sorabjee Patuck, Esq., I.C.S.

Rai Bahadur Madho Pershad.

James Alexander Richey, Esq., C.I.E.

J. O. Robinson, Esq.

James Arthur Richardson, Esq.

Colattur Ranganatha Rao Sahib, Esq., B.A., B.L.

Reginald Arthur Spence, Esq.

Sir Harold Arthur Stuart, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.

Alexander Burroughs Strange, Esq.

Alfred Sabonadiere, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).

Sir Robert Stanes.

Sir Joseph Henry Stone, C.I.E., M.A., F.R.H.S.

Gilbert Slater, Esq., M.A., D.Sc.

Nowroji Bapuji Saklatwala, Esq., C.I.E.

John Hope Simpson, Esq., C.I.E., M.P., I.C.S. (retd.).

Walter Stanley Talbot, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S. (retd.).

R. S. Thakur, Esq.

The Right Hon. Sir Guy Douglas Arthur Fleetwood Wilson, G.C.I.E., K.C.B., K.C.M.G.

Sir John Edward Power Wallis.

The Council regret to announce the death of the following Members :

The Right Hon. Viscount Cobham.

Raja Kisori Lal Goswami.

Sir Lancelot Hare, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

A. R. Hutchins, Esq.

Duncan Irvine, Esq.

Lieut.-General H.H. Sir Sawai Madho Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of Jaipur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O.

The Right Hon. Lord Kinnaird, K.T., F.R.C.S.

H.H. Sir Shahu Chhatrapati, Maharaja of Kolhapur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., G.C.V.O.

Sir Richard Amphlett Lamb, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

Percy James Mead, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E.

Sir William S. Meyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

Lieut.-General H.H. Maharaja Bahadur Sir Pertab-singh of Jodhpur, G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O., K.C.B.

Sir John David Rees, Bart., K.C.I.E., C.V.O., M.P.

Rai Bahadur Boikunt Nath Sen, C.I.E.

Sir Harold Arthur Stuart, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.

The roll is unusually long. Noteworthy are the names of Their Highnesses the Maharaja of Jaipur, the Maharaja of Kolhapur, and the Maharaja Sir Pertab Singh. Amongst our English members the familiar figure of Sir John Rees will be missed, and the Council had scarcely secured the adhesion of Sir Harold Stuart when death took him from us. The sudden death of Sir William Meyer, who as it chance~~d~~ was to have taken the Chair at the meeting of the

month, came as a most unexpected blow, and in him both India and the Association have lost a friend.

The following have resigned membership during the year:

C. H. Atkins, Esq.

Major H. Wilberforce Bell.

The Right Hon. Lord Carmichael, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.,
K.C.M.G.

Dewan Bahadur Sir Tiwari Chajuram, K.C.I.E.

M. V. Chalum, Zamindar of Kasimkota.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. G. Cole, C.S.I.

Sir Walter Erskine Crum, O.B.E.

A. J. Dash, Esq.

G. Owen Dunn, Esq., O.B.E.

The Rev. Dr. R. H. Durham, M.A., D.D.

Lieut.-Colonel E. A. Ewart.

W. S. Hamilton, Esq.

Lieut.-Colonel E. C. Hare.

Miss H. M. Howsin.

Sharafat Hussain, Esq.

Lieut.-Colonel A. A. Irvine, C.I.E.

Khan Sahib Yusuf bin Ahmed Kanoo, M.B.E., K.-I-H.

Colonel W. G. King, C.I.E.

Bal Krishna, Esq.,

Dr. S. H. Modi.

F. J. Monahan, Esq.

C. Vincent Morgan, Esq.

Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. A. C. Murray, D.S.O., M.P.

H.H. the Nawab of Radhanpur.

M. S. Sirdar, Esq.

S. H. Slater, Esq.

Hugh Spencer, Esq., C.I.E.

S. S. Gnana Viran, Esq.

The Right Hon. Lord Willingdon, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.,
G.B.E.

The following Members of Council retire by rotation :

Sir Charles H. Armstrong.

William Coldstream, Esq., K.-I-H.

Sir William Ovens Clark.

Sir Krishna G. Gupta, K.C.S.I.

Sir Frank C. Gates, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Lieut.-Colonel S. H. Godfrey, C.I.E.

Colonel M. J. Meade, C.I.E.

John C. Nicholson, Esq.

Stanley P. Rice, Esq.

Miss F. R. Scatcherd.

These Members are willing, if re-elected, to continue to serve, and it is open to any Member of the Association to propose any candidate for election to Council.

The Accounts show a balance of £159 10s. 8d. as compared with £136 18s. 7d. last year.

BALANCE SHEET, APRIL 30, 1923

ASSETS.		LIABILITIES.	
Investments in India: Govern- ment Promissory Notes for			
Rupees 92,400 ...	£3,700 0 0		
Library and Furniture ...	300 0 0		
War Loan ...	305 2 3		
Balance of Bank and Cash			
Account ...	160 19 3½		
Deposit Account ...	200 0 0		
	£4,666 1 6½		£4,666 1 6½

Examined and found correct.

F. R. SCATCHERD, Member of Council.

G. M. RYAN, Member of Association.

May 15 1923.

STANLEY P. RICE, Hon. Secretary.

The income of the Association is derived from—

(1) The interest on investments, as shown below :

DIVIDENDS RECEIVED FROM GOVERNMENT PROMISSORY NOTES.*

	1920-21.	1921-22.	1922-23.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
(a) { Rs. 7,000, 1854-55 Loan	13 17 0	12 4 9	13 9 10
{ Rs. 10,900, 1865 Loan ...	23 2 1	17 13 3	17 10 4
(b) { Rs. 12,000, 1842-43 Loan	25 17 5	18 16 9	20 2 6
{ Rs. 12,500, 1865 Loan ...	29 13 5	20 5 1	20 15 2
(c) { Rs. 7,800, 1842-43 Loan	15 11 5	11 1 6	12 0 9
{ Rs. 40,700, 1865 Loan ...	96 11 11	65 19 2	65 10 6
{ Rs. 1,500, 1879 Loan ...	3 0 8	2 6 10	2 11 7
Rs. 92,400	£ 207 13 11	148 7 4	152 0 8

1922-23.

£305 2s. 3d. War Loan 5% 1929/47 Inscribed Stock £15 5s. od.

(2) Subscriptions received from Members, as shown below :

	£ s. d.
1920-21	557 3 6
1921-22	557 12 6
1922-23	526 13 3

* The Hon. Secretary certifies that he has examined the securities in the hands of Messrs. Grindlay and Co., and found them in order.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE Fifty-sixth Annual Meeting of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, June 25, 1923. The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the following, among others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Pentland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Mrs. Martley, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-I.-H., Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Francis Oldfield, Mr. P. S. Patuck, Major Gilbertson, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. R. S. Thakur, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Sir John C. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Henry Stone, Colonel S. H. Roberts, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen—I regret that the Fifty-sixth Annual Meeting of this Association is not more largely attended; I daresay the inclement weather has prevented some of the members from coming. At the same time I should like to express my appreciation on the occasion of occupying the chair as President, having had the honour to be elected to that dignified office a few months ago. Having been connected with this Association for a considerable number of years, I am very proud to think that I have earned your regard to the extent that you have elected me to this office.

My quota of satisfaction, though, on this occasion is diminished by the sad announcement which you have seen in to-day's paper of the missing of our dear old friend Dr. Pollen. We only hope that good news will come that he is alive and well. At the same time we must associate our anxiety with that of Mrs. Pollen and the family at this sad disappearance. I have always had a great appreciation of the remarkable zeal and enthusiasm Dr. Pollen had for this Association and what he did for it in his intense desire to bring together Indians and British into a fuller and better understanding. He worked hard, as you know, to that end; it was his one idea, and I am sure there are countless numbers of Indians who have come to this country who have always felt that they had a sure and certain friend in Dr. Pollen.

Passing from that melancholy thought, you have presented to you—probably you have read it—the Fifty-sixth Annual Report. There is nothing very striking in it except that it shows that the affairs of the Association are being conducted on a satisfactory footing; that we have had very interesting papers read from time to time, and discussions, too, of a fertile nature in producing views on the various topics. I think I may also say that our finances are on a fairly satisfactory basis. I should like to see—and naturally we all should—a greater membership in the Association. For a long time I have always felt that I should like to see our rooms made more accessible; I am sure a great deterrent to people coming to our rooms is the fact they have to go up those three flights of stairs to get there. I know that I myself think, and other members must think, that it is rather an effort to get there. We require, therefore, to have either more accessible rooms or a lift to take people up. I only put that forward as an

indication of what I should like to see, but greater funds are needed to enable us to extend ourselves in some such direction, and thereby, I imagine, we should get a greater number of adherents and the public would realize better that we were a living body and not merely a body to whom papers were read. They would be able to have access to the library, and they would find our good friend Mr. Stanley Rice ready to give them any information, or, failing him, Mr. King. Here I might say that when our friend Dr. Pollen resigned it was to me a matter of considerable concern as to who should fill his place, and it was only after very close enquiry that I and those associated with me thought we were justified in asking Mr. Rice to give his services as Honorary Secretary, and I think I may claim that his services have very fully justified our anticipations, because he has worked so hard for the furtherance of the objects of the Association that we may congratulate ourselves—and I may congratulate myself particularly—on having made such an efficient choice.

The members of the Council, too, have attended with suitable regularity the meetings of the Council. My friend Miss Scatcherd is a host in herself, and here at the moment I have the opportunity of seeing the Chairman of the Council (Lord Pentland), who, Mr. Rice tells me, is indefatigable in his careful study and intention to carry on the objects of the Association.

With these few remarks I think it is not necessary for me to say anything further, because there are resolutions which have to be put to the meeting. Therefore I am not going to elaborate anything further, except to say one word about affairs in India, which is that, so far as we can gather at this great distance, those who were extreme alarmists as to how the new Constitution would affect India were, I think, unduly pessimistic. It is a matter of settling down and a deeper realization of the intentions of the Government, when many of the alarming manifestations will disappear. I hope I am speaking correctly in making this survey, but I do feel strongly myself, and I have always regarded our position in India as part and parcel of the life and welfare of the Indians, and although forms of administration may have to be amended, yet I believe in no case in the history of the world can it be said that a foreign Power has so governed a country as we have governed India, and have worked so entirely for those people who have been committed to our charge. With a rule founded on an unselfish desire to promote the welfare of all classes in India, I hope the future will show that I was not wrong in my optimism.

I should like, in mentioning the other officers of the Association, to mention the name of Mr. King as being always in the office when Mr. Rice cannot be there, and I do think that we have a most valuable servant in Mr. King owing to his constant attention and his insight into the affairs of the Association and his zeal in doing whatever business may be put before him to discharge.

MR. STANLEY RICE read a letter from Colonel Meade, who sent apologies for his absence.

THE CHAIRMAN: I call upon Mr. Coldstream to move the first resolution.

MR. WILLIAM COLDSTREAM: The report, I understand, has been in the

hands of all the members, and I do not suppose, Mr. Secretary, you have received any adverse comments upon it, so I simply propose that it be accepted and passed as a report of this year's work and the annual report of this Association.

The accounts show a balance of £159 10s. 8d. as compared with £136 18s. 7d. last year. That, Mr. Chairman, is satisfactory, and shows that we are not suffering in these days. The balance sheet shows that we have £3,700 invested in Government promissory notes for Rs.92,400; that our library and furniture are valued at £300; War Loan, £305; balance of bank and cash account, £160; and deposit account, £200. There is a small balance of bank and cash account, and the deposit shows that we are in a satisfactory position.

I do not think that there is anything else I have to remark upon and I hope that you will unanimously accept this report. I have much pleasure in proposing that the report and accounts be passed.

Mr. PENNINGTON: I have much pleasure in seconding the adoption of the report and accounts. All I can say is that the accounts are very good, but what we all want is more members. If each member could enlist even one friend we should do very well.

The CHAIRMAN: I put to the meeting the passing of the report and accounts.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Sir WILLIAM CLARK: I propose that the present President and Vice-Presidents be re-elected for the ensuing year.

Mr. RICHTER: I have much pleasure in seconding that resolution.

The CHAIRMAN: I have to put it to the meeting that the President and Vice-Presidents be re-elected for the ensuing year.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Sir MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGEE: My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen—The third resolution, with which I have been entrusted, is the confirmation of Sir Valentine Chirol and Sir John G. Cumming to be members of the Council of this Association. Both these gentlemen are well-known authorities on Indian subjects, and I am perfectly sure that this general meeting will cheerfully confirm the selection made by the Council to incorporate them in that body, and I am quite sure that their accession to the Council will strengthen its hands.

While I am given an opportunity of addressing a few words to you, may I, my lord, associate myself respectfully with your expression of sympathy with the relatives of Dr. Pollen at the present juncture, when we have had the sad news that he is missing? We only trust that perhaps Dr. Pollen may have, wittingly or unwittingly, just taken himself off from his temporary home and given his friends a little anxious surprise at his absence. At all events, let us hope for that before we more certainly know what the cause of his present disappearance is. The reason of my taking up the time of this meeting in reference to that friend of ours is to express, if I may do so, on behalf of the people of India, the great esteem, the respect and affection in which Dr. Pollen has been held for many years past, ever since he has worked in India, and even after he left the

shores of India. As you truly remarked, in him Indian visitors have found here a kindly and sympathetic friend. We trust that he will be restored to his family, and that we may have the good news shortly that he has been found.

Another matter which I should like to associate myself with is with regard to what has fallen from you, my lord, in the high appreciation you expressed of Mr. Rice's services to the Association. I remember the time when, on Dr. Pollen's resignation, many of us old members of the East India Association felt that it would be very hard to fill up his place suitably. In Mr. Rice we have found as energetic a secretary as Dr. Pollen was, and I am perfectly sure that he has contributed to the best of his ability to the success of this Association, which is evidenced by the fact that the number of associates and members has not decreased and that the high standard of literary publications which the Association has afforded has been retained.

I beg to propose the resolution.

Miss SCATCHERD: I rise with the greatest pleasure for the purpose of seconding that Sir Valentine Chirol and Sir John Cumming be elected members of the Council, and I should like to associate myself with the remarks which have been made by Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggee with reference to Dr. Pollen. I remember that one young Indian student said to me a few years ago: "I did not know that there were such Anglo-Indians as Dr. Pollen; it has given me confidence in human nature and a love of the British people that I never believed I should feel. I belonged to a section who thought that the presence of the British in India was not desirable. After hearing Dr. Pollen my views have completely changed, and I feel that I can have nothing but love for people who have produced such a man as Dr. Pollen." That was one of the things that made me associate myself first with Dr. Pollen.

The CHAIRMAN: It has been proposed and seconded: "The election of Members of Council: Sir Valentine Chirol and Sir John G. Cumming."

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: There is a subsidiary resolution to the one just carried, that is, the re-election of the retiring members of Council, that is to say, those who retire automatically, who are Sir Charles H. Armstrong, William Coldstream, Esq., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Krishna G. Gupta, Sir Frank C. Gates, Lieutenant-Colonel S. H. Godfrey, John C. Nicholson, Esq., Stanley P. Rice, Esq., and Miss F. R. Scatcherd. I will ask the Honorary Secretary to make some remarks before I ask for that resolution to be actually proposed and seconded.

Mr. STANLEY RICE: I merely wanted to explain that retiring members need not necessarily be invited to serve again; their term has expired automatically and it is open to the meeting to elect others. If that should be your pleasure—the names of certain gentlemen were given to me at the time—I should like your approval of their names in case you decide not to re-elect any of the outgoing members.

The CHAIRMAN: I will ask Sir John Cumming to propose that subsidiary resolution as to the retiring members of the Council.

Sir JOHN CUMMING: I beg to propose formally that the gentlemen whose names were previously read out be elected members of the Council; that as regards certain members, who owing to absence from town or for other reasons have not found it easy to attend the meeting, a communication be sent to them to enquire whether they are prepared to continue on the Council, and in the event of there being any unwillingness, that the three other names should be substituted for them. I understand that is what is desired to be done.

Mr. PENNINGTON: I have very much pleasure in seconding that proposal, that these members should be asked whether they will continue to serve before further action is taken.

After some discussion on a point of procedure,

Lord PENTLAND said: Ladies and Gentlemen—The position is this: that certain members of the Council retire, and unless the vacancies are filled the Council is not equipped to carry on its duties for the year, and this is only done at the Annual Meeting. Amongst the retiring members are Sir Charles Armstrong, Colonel Godfrey, and Mr. Nicholson, who doubtless for excellent reasons have not been able to attend the meetings. The Secretary is ascertaining from these gentlemen whether they wish to continue as members of Council or not, so we shall suspend their election for a month; if they wish to continue, as Lord Lamington said, they can be co-opted by the Committee at the next Committee meeting; it does not require the sanction of this meeting. If they do not wish to be re-elected, we have already got the three names which have been mentioned, and all we have to do to-day is to move the re-election of Mr. Coldstream, Sir William Clark, Sir Krishna Gupta, Sir Frank Gates, Mr. Stanley Rice, and Miss Scatcherd.

Sir JOSEPH HENRY STONE: I have much pleasure in moving that resolution.

Major GILBERTSON: I have much pleasure in seconding that.

The CHAIRMAN: That resolution as formulated by Lord Pentland is now put to the meeting.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Mr. RICE: Before we part, may I have your permission to send a letter of condolence to Mrs. Pollen? I drafted a letter in anticipation of your approval.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure that a letter of sympathy will receive the approval of the meeting.

Mr. RICE: May I propose the usual vote of thanks to Lord Lamington for occupying the chair to-day? I know that he has come to-day at very great inconvenience to himself, and we are very glad to welcome him back to England.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen—I can only express my feelings of pleasure in having been elected the President of your Association, with which I have been so long connected, and I can only say as a special point I only arrived from the south of Germany last night, and I am here to-day to mark my appreciation of my election as President.

OBITUARY

DR. JOHN POLLEN

By the death of Dr. Pollen, the East India Association has lost, as we feel, not only a former Hon. Secretary who had done all in his power for the furtherance of its aims and objects, but one who had become, by his example and his exceptional qualities, an indispensable part of its whole structure.

I remember very well the circumstances which attended his acceptance of the appointment, for it was in the same year that I was asked by the Council to become its Chairman, and I do not hesitate to say that it was the promise of his co-operation which chiefly induced me to accept the invitation.

The prospect which he was asked to face might well have deterred many excellent and energetic men. The membership, through various causes which it is not necessary to describe here, had fallen in a few years from 550 to 60. Clearly a very great effort was needed to retrieve the fortunes of our Association. It seemed a thankless task, demanding a long and wearisome effort, without any immediate prospect of reward for the toil. It is my firm belief that it is just for that reason, and also because he felt that he owed an immense debt of gratitude to his Indian fellow-countrymen, a debt which he regarded as his solemn duty to discharge, that Dr. Pollen accepted a responsibility which would require him to strain every nerve, and could only be discharged by dint of untiring effort and boundless enthusiasm. Enthusiasm he certainly possessed, and of that infectious kind which immediately gathered around him a band of ready helpers, attracted by the goal to be reached, and no less by the sterling and unselfish character

of their leader. In seven years the membership was multiplied seven times over, the number of meetings annually was steadily increased, and the influence of the Association was immensely strengthened. For it had come to be recognized that the Association provided a real platform, where, "without fear or favour," all opinions would be given a hearing, every point of view would find a spokesman, and that thereby a genuine effort was being made to examine the grievances and appreciate the aspirations of India. And that, indeed, was Dr. Pollen's great idea and noble mission, not only in respect to India, but also in the many other fields which attracted his energy: to bring the opposing factions to a common meeting ground, to make them rub shoulders with one another, to talk matters over, and through argument to reach agreement.

The obituary notice in *The Times*, which was clearly written by one who knew him well, touches upon this very point. "The amazing thing," it runs, "about John Pollen was the time he was able to give to the help of anyone whose need of succour appealed to his generous nature, and especially to young Indians." I fully endorse that statement, and should like to add that if he attracted the helpless and hopeless like a magnet, and was surrounded by them literally every day in the week, he was able to give them both help and hope, not only in the material sense—for he was the most generous of men—but also by the noble principles he preached and practised, and with which he inspired all who had the privilege to come into contact with him. They came away with their grievances satisfied or forgotten.

The great interest which he took in Indian students is exemplified by the fact that the first paper he read before the Association on his appointment to the Secretaryship was devoted to their needs. I had the pleasure of taking the chair on that occasion, and I can well remember the enthusiasm which he aroused.

During the war Dr. Pollen, in spite of the many other

calls on his time, continued the work of the Association and arranged a series of lectures which brought home to both Indians and Englishmen the great efforts that were being made in India to help in the common cause.

He also published a very successful translation of Omar Khayyám, giving all the profits to the Indian Soldiers' Fund. In 1916 fell the fiftieth anniversary of the birth of the Association, and Dr. Pollen immediately set to work to write its history, the chapters of which appeared regularly in the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, for our members.

In spite of failing health, Dr. Pollen determined to continue all his activities, and to add to them, only retiring when the war had been brought to a successful conclusion, when our new Hon. Secretary, Mr. Rice, took up his duties. Even after his retirement he continued to keep in touch with all our activities, carefully studied all the papers that were read before the Association, and sent us his comments upon them, which were usually read out by our friend Miss Scatcherd at the commencement of the discussions. In the winter of 1921 he contributed his paper on "Abkari." To the last moment he hoped that his health would allow of his reading it in person, but that was not to be. I know that the discussion which followed Mr. F. H. Brown's reading of the paper was one of the most valuable of recent years.

The best service we can render to the memory of Dr. Pollen, and the only one he would like us to render, is to continue the work of the Association on the liberal lines he has laid down, and to preserve, as far as we can, the prestige with which it has been invested by his wisdom and his love. Above all, to follow his example of trying to enter into the feelings of our Indian fellow-subjects with the fullest understanding.

LAMINGTON.

THE FINANCIAL REHABILITATION OF INDIA

I

THE keynote of the Indian Budget of 1923-1924 is a return to the narrow and strait path of old-world conservative finance. Previous post-war Indian Budgets had, as was shown in the April number of this Review, been framed and passed in light-hearted disregard of the fundamental object to which a Budget should be directed, namely the balancing of expenditure by revenue. The ease with which the annually recurring deficits were being financed by borrowed moneys tended to obscure the fatal unsoundness of the position, while it strengthened the hands of those, inside and outside the Assembly and the Executive, whose optimism blinded them to the recognition of the true necessities of the Indian financial system. As in Europe, so in India, there were many ready and willing to subscribe to the comfortable doctrine that the future must be left to take care of itself, and to accept any financial makeshift sufficient to tide over the immediate needs of the moment. The consequences which might have been expected from such a policy very rapidly showed up. The Government of India were continuously in the market as borrowers, both in India and at home, and to a very considerable extent these borrowings were for unproductive purposes. Their sterling borrowings, it is true, were made at gradually diminishing rates of interest, but this was due to the gradual fall in money rates, caused partly by the contraction in the trade demand for finance, and more particularly by the rapid restoration of British credit, and can in no way be ascribed to any improvement in the credit of India. In

India all the borrowings of the Indian Government were on a 6 per cent. basis, a rate considerably higher than that which had to be paid for the finance required during the war period. Apart from the additional annual burden which was being thereby thrown on Indian revenues, the Indian taxpayer was, as a consumer, being further burdened by a price level far higher than that to which he had in the past been accustomed, and the consequential economic effects of a higher cost of living were becoming increasingly apparent. The recognition that the crying need of the times was a rehabilitation of the Indian financial system is the outstanding feature of the Budget. This very necessary result was to be secured by cutting expenditure, military and civil, down to the quick, and by expanding the revenues so as to cover the outgoings from the Exchequer. To the first part of this programme the Assembly was ready to give its assent, but, in its inability to divorce financial from political considerations, it chose to challenge the Executive in regard to the proposal to enlarge the revenues by enhancing the salt tax. The challenge was, as might have been expected, taken up by the Executive, which had given ample proof of its appreciation of the dangers to which another unbalanced Budget would expose its finances. The controversy over the salt tax at no time presented any interest to the financial or economic critic—for it was from the outset clearly a political controversy designed, as events have demonstrated beyond doubt, to raise a constitutional issue, as to the powers which under the new constitution are reserved to the Governor-General. Financially this additional burden of taxation was justified by the needs of the Exchequer, and, economically, as a return to a level of taxation which had been in force for many years, and at a time when the Indian consumer of salt was immeasurably worse off than he is at present, the denunciations of the measure in the Indian Press and Assembly were palpably without substance.

II

It is as yet too early to say how far the estimates of revenue and expenditure will be realized. The Indian financial year closes on March 31, but the agricultural year extends to beyond that date, and the last of the crops sown in the autumn and early winter are not harvested before May or June, and the end of July is usually taken as the end of the agricultural year. Not an inconsiderable portion of the land revenue in Northern India does not fall to be paid into the Government Treasuries before May, so that the receipts of the first quarter of any one financial year reflect, to a very considerable extent, the season and crop conditions which prevailed in the preceding financial year; they do not, therefore, afford a guide to the probable receipts during the remaining three quarters of the year.

These latter, of course, are very greatly dependent on the July to September rains, as also on the winter rains. So far as present advices go the monsoon may, generally speaking, be described as normal. It began early and vigorously, but retreated very sharply, and for some time was the cause of anxiety; but it has since re-established itself, and though the distribution has not been entirely satisfactory, on the whole the crop prospects are now regarded as promising. The important September rains, on which depends the sowing of the commercial crops, such as wheat and seeds, in Northern India have still to be awaited, and their failure or appearance will very largely modify or improve the present estimates of crop prospects. It is true that, now that the Central Government have handed over to the Provincial Governments practically the whole of the revenues arising from land, their direct interest in the realization of the land revenue demands is not so important as it was in the past; but to them, as to

the Provincial Governments, a failure of the crops has a significance in that the railway receipts and the general capacity of the taxpayer are sensibly modified according as satisfactory or unsatisfactory agricultural conditions prevail.

If, however, it is not possible at this stage to make any forecast of the realizations of revenue, the first quarter of the new financial year has seen a very considerable improvement in the position of the Indian Government in respect of their floating debt and of their borrowings generally. We have already referred above to the very large borrowings which were forced on the Government of India in recent years by the failure of their revenue to cover their expenditure, such deficits, as has been pointed out on numerous occasions, having been mostly covered by additions to their floating debt. In 1922-1923, as was pointed out in the financial statement, some progress was made in the direction of reducing the debt, for at the close of that year the outstanding Treasury bills had fallen to 21 crores. In the four months that have elapsed since the Budget was presented, there has been a very material further reduction, and on August 11 there were with the public not more than $7\frac{1}{2}$ crores of Treasury bills. This achievement is one on which the Indian Government have every right to congratulate themselves. The large amount of outstanding Treasury bills in the hands of the public hung like a millstone round the necks of the financial authorities, and handicapped any effort that was put out to improve the condition of their finance, and neutralized, more particularly, any tendency towards an upward movement in exchange. Being potential currency notes, these outstandings could be, and were, in fact, applied by the public to render nugatory any attempt to deflate the currency.

It is therefore satisfactory to find that for some considerable time past the Government of India have been able to avoid this method of financing their operations. It may not be possible for them to avoid selling Treasury bills

during the lean months of the year, say, from November to January, but the mere fact of their having brought down the outstandings to the comparatively small figure of $7\frac{1}{2}$ crores is a very notable achievement, and the position in this respect is far different from that eighteen months ago when in a moment of desperate need these bills were being sold on tap at a rate yielding for three months' bills as high as $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

Simultaneously with this reduction in their floating debt the Indian Government have achieved a considerable measure of success in consolidating some of their short bonds issued during the war period which are now falling due for redemption. The results of this year's Rupee Loan, which, unlike its predecessors, was limited in amount, must have been very gratifying to the Indian Treasury authorities. The 25 crores which they asked for were subscribed in the course of a few days, and we may now have seen the end of the unlimited loans which have been a feature of Indian finance ever since 1917.

One consequence of this change in their method of borrowing has been to enable the Government of India to bring out again the Funding Loan, originally issued in 1919, which it was hoped to build into a consolidation loan to mop up into a longer maturity the large amount of short maturities into which they were forced as a method of borrowing during the war. When the Funding Loan was first issued, a public undertaking was included in the prospectus pledging the Government to make no issue of a long term loan at a rate more favourable than that at which the first attempt to fund their obligations was launched. During the last four years, not being able to attract money into long term loans at the rate of $5\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., at which the Funding Loan was originally issued, the Indian Government were driven into making issues of short term bonds, redeemable in ten years, at rates as high as 6 per cent. That this year they should have been able to reduce to $5\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. the rate at which they have been borrowing

on ten-year bonds, and at the same time have been able to attract money into their Funding Loan at a slightly less favourable rate to the lender than $5\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. is in remarkable contrast to the conditions on which the last few years' borrowings of the Indian Government have had to be made. The result has been, as might have been expected, to cause an appreciation in the older and less favoured securities issued before the war or just after the opening of hostilities. The $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cents. now stand at $66\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., whereas a year ago they were quoted ten points lower, and many of the short term bonds are already above the price at which they are to be redeemed.

Money during the last few weeks in India has been in plentiful supply, and a further appreciation in the price of their securities might quite likely be anticipated by the Indian Government. It is not impossible that conditions may arise in that country similar to those that have been characteristic of the last eighteen months in England, when, by reason of a shortage of trade bills, consequent on the depreciation of trade, bank balances have been forced into securities, an opportunity thus presenting itself for the Government to fund its short term debt on terms not entirely unfavourable. Good crops in India might conceivably find no foreign purchasers, and in the unsettled conditions in Europe, with Central Europe out of the market, it is not impossible that the Indian export trade might languish. Surplus funds which would, but for such stagnation, be employed in the financing of Indian trade, may seek employment in short-dated Indian Government securities, and still further accentuate the appreciation which the last few months have witnessed. Such a result would, of course, mean, as regards their sterling requirements, that the Indian Government would be in a difficult position, for, with the stagnation in the export trade, the demand from outside India for rupee currency might quite conceivably fall off to such a point as to make it impossible for the Indian Government to remit to their Home Treasury the sterling

funds required for their Home expenditure. So far, since April 1, the sales of Councils have resulted in the Indian Government being able to secure some £3,000,000 sterling on this side. The figure of the amount of the Home remittances must, of course, take in the purchases of sterling in India by the Indian Government. This method of effecting remittances to the Home Treasury is a departure from past practice; but no serious criticism can be directed to this new development in Indian finance, provided that the same publicity is given to these operations as attends those of the India Council in regard to their sales of rupees. The total amount of sterling purchased in either of these ways is insignificant as compared with the estimated requirements of £27,000,000, which the Secretary of State anticipates he will need to disburse during the current year in England. Within the last few weeks the paper currency reserve of British Government securities has been drawn upon to enable securities to be released on this side held in the gold standard reserve—a procedure which is perfectly normal and sanctioned by precedent and principle. By this method some £4,000,000 have been made available for expenditure in this country, a corresponding decrease being made in the note circulation which will, when the operation is completed, stand on the backing of gold, silver and Indian securities. It would be possible, of course, by the withdrawal of gold from the paper currency reserve, and by holding it as part of the gold standard reserve, to make a further £18,000,000 available for Home expenditure, and we have no doubt that such a procedure is contemplated by the Indian financial authorities. The combination of these two methods may, therefore, result in providing the Home Treasury of the Indian Government with practically the funds which the Budget estimated it would require during the current year, and though the transfer of gold from the paper currency reserve to the gold standard reserve will cause the backing of gold in that reserve to disappear from the published returns of that

reserve, there will have been an equivalent reduction in the note circulation, while the gold standard reserve would show an equivalent holding of gold, so that India will not have lost the control of the yellow metal, although its location will have been changed from the paper currency reserve to the gold standard reserve.

G.

POETRY SECTION

BURMA—THE LAND OF THE PAGODA AND THE PALM

THE captive breezes, from their heat-walled prison
Have, at the sunset's freedom call, arisen,
 And bartered whispered spells
For perfume from the splendour-bearing flowers.
With softest touch, they stir pagoda bells
To shatter silence by their dulcet powers.

Then Burma from her lethargy awaking,
The fetters noonday laid from tired limbs taking.
 Arrayed in wondrous light—
Its brilliant colours springing from the West—
Awaits her lover,—star-bespangled Night!

Serene the water—yet a whisper stealing
Ruffles that calm surface—gems revealing!

 The sombre shadows twist,
And lotus petals gather in for sleep.
That mysterious message none resist :
The Herald of the Night has touched the deep!

The radiant furnace in the West is flaming—
The timid, ghostly vapour-phantoms shaming—
 In burnished glory dies,

• And evanescent gleams in shadowy glades
Swoon in the violet arms of Night's dark spies,
Who faintly breathe his echoed serenades.

Night comes with imperceptible advances,
The ling'ring light expires before his glances.

His magic cloak he folds
Around his Burma, whisp'ring to his Love
Divine enchantments. Tenderly he holds
Her spellbound, while his lamp is lit above.

His lamp, the awestruck earth illuminating—
Nocturnal life his nuptials celebrating—

A festival indeed!
The nightjar's brilliant eyes, the glow-worm's spark,
And diamond constellations intercede
With clinging shadows, breaking up the dark.

And man is also welcome at the wedding!
He cannot understand what means the shedding
Of glorious, silver light.

But reverently, with silent, shoeless feet,
He seeks his gilded fane, with lustre dight,
And makes, by candle flare, his offering meet.

* * * * *

And whoso loves the land of Palm and Paya,*
When, in her theatre, Night is leading player,
Must—heart and soul attuned—

Seek diligently Nature's perfect whole;
When in its spell all vanities have swooned,
His Burma shall reveal her very soul!

MARGARET L. DONALD.

* Pagoda. "Paya" is the correct Burmese word, but the word "pagoda," a corruption of "dagoba," a "relic shrine," is universally used.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION

SCHOOLBOY SCRIBE AND SAGE IN ANCIENT EGYPT

BY WARREN R. DAWSON

IF we walk through the great Egyptian gallery at the British Museum, or that of any other large museum, and gaze upon the massive statues of the Pharaohs and their gods, or the great stone sarcophagi covered with mystic scenes and inscriptions, we are apt to visualize the ancient Egyptians as a race of kings and priests whose whole energy was spent in the worship of the gods and the cult of the dead. All the great monuments in Egypt itself likewise convey the same impression: the pyramids, the tombs, and the temples are all huge piles of religious significance. In a nation which produced these great works so abundantly it seems hard to realize that there moved ordinary men and women of flesh and blood, and with human aspirations and emotions, but this side of their character is borne in upon us as forcibly when we read their manuscripts as the other aspect of it from their monuments.

Ancient Egypt has bequeathed to posterity a large and varied literature written in the cursive script known as *hieratic* upon rolls of papyrus. We have popular romances and stories, poems, hymns, letters and business documents, wills, conveyances and reports of legal proceedings, learned books on medicine, surgery, magic and mathematics, moral precepts and didactic works, and numbers of copy-books and exercises written by youthful scribes in the schools by the banks of the Nile more than a thousand years before the Christian era.

These literary remains are scattered throughout the museums of the world, and one of the finest collections is

that of the British Museum. The trustees of that institution were amongst the first to publish facsimiles of hieratic papyri, and the first issue of the celebrated *Select Papyri* in 1841 was one of the foundation stones of modern Egyptology. A new volume has just appeared containing photographic plates of eight manuscripts which contain a number of compositions of a very varied nature.*

The first papyrus (No. 10,474, *recto*, Plates I.-XIV.) is a didactic work of moral precepts, very similar in character to the well-known *Precepts of Ptah-hotpe*, which is often called "the oldest book in the world." Its title is "The Instruction as to Life"—*i.e.*, instruction concerning the conduct of life. The ancient author begins by assuring his readers that his words must be seriously listened to and acted upon, and that they will be a source of strength and a storehouse of moral rectitude. The admonitions begin with an injunction not to plunder the poor nor oppress the destitute, and the text proceeds to a description of a man of ungovernable anger and how to avoid or counter him. The empty chatterer is next discussed, and advice as to the dire results which follow sacrilege to the gods or the dead. An echo of the Biblical precept as to laying up treasure on earth occurs in Chapter VII., and Chapter VIII. is advice to treat all men with kindness, and to speak evil of no man. The author must have suffered much annoyance from dealings with men of angry and hot-tempered dispositions, for he reverts again and again to this topic, breaking off at times to inveigh against gluttony, covetousness, the falsification of measures, slothfulness, and other vices. An interesting feature of this work is the series of instructions as to correct deportment in the presence of a chief, amongst one's fellows, or with the aged and infirm, and a stern condemnation of drunkenness and intemperance.

* "Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum" (Second Series), with Descriptions, Summaries of Contents, etc. By Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, K.T., M.A., LITT.D., Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum. Printed by order of the Trustees, 1920. Folio. Price £6 10s. net.

The next work (*Papyrus Lansing*, No. 9,994, Plates XV.-XXX.) now published for the first time, deals with a topic with which we are familiar from a number of kindred writings. No subject was more popular in the New Empire schools than books which exalt the dignity of the scribes' profession and draw lurid comparisons with the hardships of other callings, the best-known example being the *Satire on the Trades*, to which we shall refer later.

A long papyrus of magical content (*Salt* 825, No. 10,051, Plates XXX.-XL.) follows, and contains a number of mystic drawings and texts written in "enigmatic" characters. The late Dr. Birch published a translation of it many years ago, and this was a pioneer attempt at a difficult text of great sagacity and insight. The book describes the mystic origin of many plants, etc., of which the following specimens may be quoted:

"When Horus weeps the tears that fall from his eyes turn into myrrh. The blood of Geb fell on the ground; thus came into existence the cedar, and from its water the cedar oil. When Shu and Tefunt weep their tears change into plants that bear incense. The sweat that falls from the members of Rē becomes the water-flood, etc."

The greater part of the papyrus is occupied by the pictures and magical incantations connected with them, but of much greater general interest is the papyrus which follows (*Harris* 500, No. 10,060, Plates XLI.-LII.). This papyrus contains a collection of love-songs, the *Song of the Harper*, and two stories, one an historical romance, *The Capture of Joppa*, and the other *The Tale of the Doomed Prince*. To our Western notions the sighings of the amorous Egyptian seem very strange, but there is the closest bond of sympathy between the lay of the disconsolate lover of three thousand years ago and his modern successor of to-day. The highest compliment which the ancient lover paid to his lady would scarcely be appreciated by the maiden of the present day, who would resent being compared with a cow, for instance, but the sentiment is the

same whatever vehicle is used for its expression. The cow was to the ancient Egyptian a sacred animal, the embodiment of the goddess Hathor, and therefore an object of admiration and beauty.

The *Song of the Harper* was sung at the funeral banquet, and its burden is "Eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die"; the inevitable fate which awaits all should not deter them from making the best of such time as they have.

The story of the taking of Joppa is similar in concept to *Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves*. An Egyptian officer is received into the court of the Prince of Joppa with his staff and is hospitably entertained. The prince desired to see the great mace of Pharaoh, and whilst he was looking at it the Egyptian struck him and put him in fetters. The officer had represented himself and his men as deserters from the Egyptian army, and no opposition was made to their baggage being brought into the town. Amongst this baggage were five hundred large jars, and two hundred of them contained each a soldier, the others being filled with cords and pieces of wood. The soldiers thus brought into the town leapt out of their hiding-places and captured it, binding the inhabitants with the ropes and staves from the other jars, and the officer reported his capture to the Pharaoh. This episode is attributed to the reign of Tuthmosis III. Unfortunately the story is incomplete, but a clever reconstruction of it is given by Maspero in his *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt*.

The Tale of the Doomed Prince relates that a certain king, who was childless, prayed for an heir. In due course a son was born, and the goddesses who presided at his birth predicted that he would meet his death either by a crocodile, a serpent, or a dog. He had an adventurous career, and won a princess as his bride who saved his life from a crocodile and from a serpent. His travelling companion was a faithful hound, and although the end of the story is missing, we cannot escape the conclusion that the third prediction was fulfilled by his own dog.

The papyri which follow contain a very varied mass of subjects. The first (*Sallier I.*, No. 10,185, Plates LIII.-LXII.) is a school copy-book of the youthful scribe Pentawere. The first exercise is a romance, the persons in which are borrowed from history. The story is of a quarrel between the Theban Prince Seknenrē and the Hyksos King Apophis. After two pages this text abruptly ends in the middle of a sentence and continues with "Instruction in Letter-writing." A long series of model letters follows. The first is dated the seventh day of Choiak in the tenth year of the reign of Meneptah (not Rameses II., as stated by the Editor on page 27), when the Sovereign was residing in his Delta residence known as "The House of Rameses." The second compares the calling of the scribe with that of the soldier, whose hard lot is amusingly described. As already mentioned, this was a favourite topic, and at least three duplicates of this letter are known. The third letter is from an official, who reports to his master on the good condition of the estate placed in his charge. The fourth letter is on performing one's duty, and the fifth once more reverts to the comparison of the scribe with other callings—the farmer's this time. The sixth has the same *motif*. The remaining letters contain a eulogy of the reigning King, Meneptah, a hymn to Thoth, a warning to an idle scribe, and some official business letters. On the *verso* are the opening lines of the *Instruction of King Amenemhēt*, of which a full copy occurs in the next papyrus.

Papyrus Sallier II. (No. 10,182, Plates LXIII.-LXXVI.) contains three classical works which were very popular in the Rameside schools. Duplicate copies of parts of the text are very numerous, and many a small boy must have chewed his reed-pen thoughtfully as he laboured upon them. Some of these documents have the teachers' corrections elegantly written on the margin of the page, and on others the pupils have amused themselves by drawing birds, lions, bulls, and other animals. *Sallier II.* is one of the most

corrupt manuscripts known, and contains all the offences against grammar and spelling which the schoolboy has kept as a living tradition throughout the ages. The first text is the *Instruction of King Amenemhät to his Son*. This is a kind of political testament made by the famous twelfth dynasty King whereby he commits a prosperous kingdom to his son's charge. The second work is the celebrated *Satire on the Trades*, wherein the scribe is exhorted to turn his attention to letters, and describes the terrible hardships which befall those in other callings—the smith, the barber, the sculptor, the boatman, the builder, the gardener, the field-labourer, the weaver, and many others. The third work is the *Hymn to the Nile*, which, in spite of its textual corruptions, is a work of considerable poetic merit and feeling.

The *Third Sallier Papyrus* (No. 10,181, Plates LXXVII.-LXXXVII.) contains a single composition and is a school copy of the *Poetical Account of the Victories of Rameses II.*, which are more fully inscribed on several of the temples of Egypt. It contains a glowing account of the single-handed prowess of the Sovereign against tremendous odds and his final triumphant and overwhelming victory. The papyrus contains a number of interesting geographical names.

A long calendar of lucky and unlucky days occupies the whole of the *recto* of *Papyrus Sallier IV.* (No. 10,184, Plates LXXXVIII.-CXXVIII.). Each day is divided into three parts. Each of the epithets which occur in this calendar refers to one of these parts. Thus if the whole day is lucky we find "Good, Good, Good," or if all bad, "Bad, Bad, Bad." If the first and second parts are good and the third bad we find the notation "Good, Good, Bad," and so on. One or two specimens may be given :

4th Paopi. *Bad, Good, Good.* Go not forth from thy house on this day. Whosoever is born on this day shall die of the plague. [It would seem that the designation of

this day is a scribe's error and should read "Bad, Bad, Bad."]

6th Paopi. Good, Good, Good. The day of the festival of Rē in heaven. . . . He who is born on this day shall die of drunkenness.

27th Paopi. Bad, Bad, Bad. Go not out on this day. . . . Whosoever is born on this day shall die by a serpent.

On the back of the papyrus is a number of miscellaneous jottings, fragmentary letters, accounts, and a sketch of a bull, a sacred hawk, and other emblems.

The volume in which the above texts are reproduced is preceded by an introduction summarizing their contents, but owing apparently to an oversight no mention is made of the texts on the *verso* of *Papyrus Sallier IV*.

"THE MAN IN THE PANTHER'S SKIN"

BY W. E. D. ALLEN

THE MAN IN THE PANTHER'S SKIN. A Romantic Epic by Shota Rusthaveli. A close rendering from the Georgian attempted by M. S. Wardrop. Oriental Translations Fund.

L'ART AU CAUCASE. F. J. Mourier. Bruxelles.

VOYAGE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE AU CAUCASE. M. F. Brosset. Paris.

HISTORY OF GEORGIAN LITERATURE (in Russian). A. Khakhanov. 4 vols. Moscow.

IN the twelfth century the Christian nations of the Middle East were enjoying the interval which supervened between the attacks of the Seljuk Turks and the great invasions of the Mongols. The period is regarded by the Georgians as the Golden Age of their country, and legend has idealized as the representative of the brief glories of the Georgian race the figure of Queen Tamara—

"The mild, the pleasing, the sweetly-speaking, the kindly-smiling,
The sun-like shining one, the majestic, the gently-moving, like a full
river."

IN the reign of Tamara the Georgians attained the height of their military power. The Byzantine Emperor, a fugitive in Trebizond, sought her alliance; the mountain tribes of the main range and the Mussalman emirs of the Eastern Caucasus recognized her suzerainty; her generals pressed hard on the Seljuk Sultan of Rum, and pushed their cavalry raids far into Persia.

IN this brief heyday of their history the versatile genius of the Georgians flowered into a delicate culture which, in thought and manners, in architecture and literature, was a casual and erratic blending of foreign influences, Byzantine, Arabian, and Persian.

THE Georgian princes proved their devotion, expiated their sins, or raised monuments to their wealth and taste by the foundation of cathedrals, churches, and castles, in the design of which the technique and skill of Greek and

Armenian architects and masons is frequently⁶ to be observed. The mural paintings of Sion, Ghelathi, and Bethani show the members of the royal house of Bagratiani in all the panoply of Byzantine majesty—coronets and sceptres, long purple tunics, jewelled belts, and red leather boots; and we know that the Georgian youth went to imbibe the wisdom of the West at Byzantium and in the Georgian monasteries at Mount Athos and Jerusalem, returning to endow their country with learned manuscript translations of ancient and contemporary Greek writers. But if the Georgians looked to the West for the essentials of culture and fashion, if they combined Byzantine free thought with a political fanaticism directed against the Muslims, they acquired from the East many of those customs and traits of thought which characterized mediæval Persia. It is a remarkable illustration of the catholicity of taste and liberalism of outlook of the Georgians that, in the most urgent years of their national wars against the Muslims, the masterpiece of their literature should be "this Persian tale done into Georgian," "*The Man in the Panther's Skin*," in which the principal figures are followers of Muhammad, and in which the philosophies of Islam and of Christianity are inextricably intermingled. This heyday of the Georgians saw the rise of a class of poets and bards very similar to the troubadours of contemporary Europe. They apparently wandered from castle to castle, reciting and singing fantastic romances and lyrical accounts of victories over the Muslim, of single combats, and of celebrated huntsmen, at the great feasts and drinking bouts. Their favourite songs, or parts of them, were acquired by heart by their audiences, and repeated from generation to generation; their more famous pieces were recorded in manuscript, copies of a few of which have been preserved in noble libraries. The most renowned of these mediæval romancers were Shavteli, whose odes have been translated into Russian; Shahrukhzade, Khoneli, and Tmokveli, most of whose works have been lost; and Rusthaveli, the author

of "The Man in the Panther's Skin." Of Rusthaveli we know little. Imaginative portraits show him with the long, well-groomed hair and pointed beard of the fashionable courtier, the dark colouring and slight slim figure typical of his race, the large eyes and full lips of the man of sentiment. Popular tradition and his own lines attribute to him a hopeless passion for his beautiful qucen, and his work certainly gives token of a character wayward and erotic. His life, however, from the sparse details which we have, appears to have run a course of pleasant prosperity. Shota Rusthaveli was born towards the latter part of the twelfth century—probably in the reign of Thamara's father—at Rusthavi, a village near Akhaltsikh. He was brought up under the care of his uncle, a monk, and received an ample education in the monasteries of Tbeti, Gremi, and Ikhaltho, and afterwards in the Georgian monasteries in Greece and Palestine. As a reward for the composition of odes in honour of Queen Thamara, he received a position at Court, and later his native district in fief, in enjoyment of the comfortable increments of which we may assume that he produced his masterpiece.

The tale of "The Man in the Panther's Skin" is highly fantastic: the plot is typical of mediæval romances; and the work is attractive in its philosophy and in its description rather than in its incidents. As a human document it is unique. It is the interpretation of the soul of the mediæval Georgian, of his cosmopolitan free-thinking mind, of his easy, rather idealistic sensualism, of his aggressive though gallant individualism. Throughout the poem is manifest his pure joy of life, the joy of seeing and touching and hearing, his love of the chase, of strife, of jewels and of flowers. We can see as vividly as though he rode past us on his "jet-black" charger, girt in "Khvarasmian armour," the mediæval Georgian knight, a courageous slayer of foes and of beasts, a respecter of the aged, a patron of the poor, chivalrous to women, a loyal friend and a great drinker, but withal callous, passionate,

and cruel, ingenuously treacherous. Here is primitive man, with a gay fatalism, a light-hearted wisdom, a smattering of Greek learning with a craving to assert his virility in combat and to sate his passions amidst beauty and barbaric luxury. Through the mouth of the paladin Avthandil Rusthaveli gives us a disquisition upon the nature of a brave man :

"A brave man must be of good cheer, he must not mope in grief. . . . I am such an one as will not gather cucumbers in this world as an old man. . . ."

". . . A wise man cannot abandon his beloved friend. I venture to remind thee of a certain discourse made by Plato : ' Falsehood and two-facedness injure the body and then the soul.' "

". . . Thou hast read how the apostles write of love, how they speak of it, how they praise it ; know thou it and harmonize thy knowledge. ' Love exalteth us,' this is as it were the tinkling burden of their song ; if thou conceive not this, how can I convince ignorant men ? . . . Sadness avails thee not nor useless flow of tears. . . . It is a law with men that they should struggle and suffer woes, and no creature of flesh hath power to thwart providence. . . ."

"Mindfulness of a friend ne'er doeth us harm. I despise the man who is shameless, false and treacherous. I cannot be false ; I cannot do it for a mighty King. What is worse than a hesitant tardy-going man ? What is worse than a man in the fight with a frowning face, shirking, affrighted, and thinking of death ? In what is a cowardly man better than a woman weaving a web ! It is better to get honour than all goods ! . . ."

"If thou art wise, all the sages agree with this principle : a man must be manly, it is better that he should weep as seldom as possible ; in grief one should strengthen himself like a stone wall. Through his own reason a man falls into trouble. . . ."

"Who hath not been a lover ? Whom hath the furnace not consumed ? Who hath not seen pains ? Who faints not for somebody ? Tell me, what has been unexampled ? Why should thy spirits flee ? Knowst thou not that none e'er plucked a thornless rose ?"

"They asked the rose : ' Who made thee so lovely in form and face ? I marvel why thou art thorny, why finding thee is pain ! ' It said : ' Thou findest the sweet with the

bitter; whatever costs dear is better; when the lovely is cheapened it is no longer worth even dried fruit.' . . .

"Who else is a man save he that will endure what is grievous? How can one let himself be bent by grief! What subject of conversation is this! Fear not, God is generous, though the world be hard! Learn, then, what I teach thee; I make bold to tell thee that he who will not learn is an ass."

On the love of man for woman Rusthaveli discourses in his preface:

"Love is tender, a thing hard to be known. True love is something apart from lust, and cannot be likened thereto; it is one thing; lust is quite another thing, and between them lies a broad boundary; in no way do they mingle—hear my saying! The lover must be constant, not lewd, impure, and faithless. . . . I hate heartless love—embracing, kissing, noisy bussing.

"Lovers, call not this thing love; when any longs for one to-day and another to-morrow, lightly bearing parting's pain. Such base sport is like mere boyish trifling; the good lover is he who suffers a world's woe."

But later, when Avthandil, the faithful lover, is forced by circumstances into a squalid intrigue with a sprightly dame, the poet laments that:

"Better for him who can bear it, is aloofness from woman; she plays with thee and pleases thee, she wins thee over and trusts thee; but in a trice she betrays thee, she cuts wherever she pierces; so a secret should never be told to a woman."

And on this passing love he meditates:

"Every unfitting deed is brief, and then it is fruitless."

With all the fantastic descriptions and wild deeds of his book, Rusthaveli interposes here and there some touch which indicates a careful observation of humanity, some trite sayings of a kindly courtier of the world. His delineations of character are masterful. The enraged king, who, "as if he poured flame from his face," threw furniture at his vizier, and the vizier, who, when he was summoned, "his colour paled and he was careful," after the manner of

Agag, and who later "crept off crestfallen" like a fox, and "went away in black luck," are the familiar figures of oriental romances.

And in the engaging lady, Phatman Khatun, Rusthaveli creates a woman of all centuries :

"Dame Phatman was attractive to the eye, not young, but brisk, of a good figure, dark in complexion, plump-faced, not wizened, a lover of minstrels and singers, a wine-drinker ; she had abundance of elegant gowns and head-dresses. . . ."

Few of Rusthaveli's thoughts bear separation from their text, but there are some which may be quoted almost in the form of proverbs :

"When a man has waited for a man, the coming pleases him wondrously . . . great comfort it is to speak of troubles when a man has the opportunity."

"This true saying is written on a stone in China : 'Who seeks not a friend is his own foe.'"

"Even in the book it is written 'Of all the most hateful is the friend-foe ; if a man be wise he will not heartily confide.'"

"No one knows mine affairs like myself ; what embitters me, what sweetens me. The discourse of idle men greatly grieves a man."

"Timidity slurs a man, and wantonness a woman."

"Spite is a net of woes."

"Since the sun shines alike on roses and middens, be not thou weary of mercy to great and small."

"Munificence in kings is like the aloe planted in Eden. All, even the traitor, are obedient to the generous."

"Who else would have related this ? It is the choice of a foolish man to learn before anybody else what is evil."

"What is of equal value with life to a man ? . . . Life is better than loot ; this I even now learn."

"A bribe settles matters even in hell."

"See what gold does, that crook from a devilish root. God never gives joy to them that love it ; till the day of death greed makes them gnash their teeth. Gold comes in and goes out, they murmur at the course of the planet when it is lacking ; moreover it binds the soul here in this world, and hinders it from soaring up."

All Rusthaveli's descriptions, of hunting and feasting and fighting, of travel, cities, and animals, are full of originality

and colour; of that joy in the grace and romance of ordinary life which is the greatest charm of the Georgian character.

Rusthaveli describes a hunt in which King Rostevan had made a wager with Avthandil as to their respective prowess in the chase.

"They fixed the wager and laid down this condition: Whoever shall be beaten, let him go bareheaded for three days. . . .

"Herds of game, innumerable, flocked in; stags, goats, wild asses, high-leaping chamois. Lord and vassal pursued them; what sight could be fairer! Behold the bow, the arrow, and the untiring arm!"

Eventually it was agreed that Avthandil had won the wager, but

"The King heard this with as little concern as if it had been the result of a game of backgammon. . . ." and "there they both sat to cool themselves at the foot of the trees; the soldiers assembled and stood round them, countless as chaff. . . . As they sported they gazed at the stream and the edge of the glen."

Rusthaveli recounts how Tariel, who is "The Man in the Panther's Skin," the friend and brother-in-arms of Avthandil, heard news of his lost love:

"One day the King and I went forth to the chase; we climbed upon a cape, jutting out into the sea. Phridon said to me, 'I will tell thee how, when we were out riding for sport, I once saw a wonderful thing from this cape.' I bade him speak, and Phridon told me even this tale: 'One day I wished to hunt. I mounted this steed of mine. It seemed as if there were a duck in the sea, a falcon on the land; I stood here and watched the flight of the hawk thitherward. Now and then, as I climbed up hill, I gazed out to sea. I perceived a small thing far away on the sea. . . . I could not make it out. . . . It was a boat tinted over with many-folded stuff; a steersman guided it. I fixed mine eyes upon it, and there in a litter sat the moon; I would have given her the seventh heaven as habitation. Two slaves as black as pitch crept out. They put ashore a maiden, I saw her thick-tressed hair. . . . Joy made me hasten, quiver, stagger. I loved that rose who appeared torn to mine eyes. I resolved to engage them, I

said, 'Let me go towards them.' . . . I pressed my horse with my heel. There was a noise and rustling among the rushes. I could not reach her, however much I used the spur; they were gone."

Of the marvellous city of Gulansharo, Rusthaveli says:

"They saw a city engirt by a thicket of garden, with wondrous kinds of flowers of many and many a hue. In what way canst thou understand the loveliness of that land?

"With three ropes they moored the ship to the shore of those gardens. . . . Thither came the gardener of him at whose garden they had landed. . . . Avthandil hailed him. . . . 'Whose man are ye? Who are ye? . . . ' He said . . . 'This is the city of Gulansharo (the city of flowers), full of much loveliness. Hither everything fair cometh by ships sailing from sea to sea. . . . Even if he be old a man is rejuvenated by coming hither; drinking, rejoicing, tilting and songs are unceasing; summer and winter alike we have many-hued flowers; whoever knoweth us, envieth us, even they who are our foes. Great merchants can find nought more profitable than this; they buy, they sell, they gain, they lose; a poor man will be enriched in a month; from all quarters they gather merchandise; the penniless by the end of the year have money laid by.'"

But in his description of fighting Rusthaveli, in words reminiscent of the Old Testament both in language and sentiment, shows the primitive Georgian man, when he threw off the light cloak of chivalry. Tariel is recounting a fight to Avthandil:

"We crossed the sea; we landed. Mounted they threw themselves on us. Again we engaged; then began the vicissitudes of battle. Phridon's bravery and agility pleased me then; in warfare a lion, in face a sun, that aloë-tree fought. With his sword he cast down both his cousins, he cut their hands clean off; thus he crippled them; he led them away bound by the arms; the one did not abandon the two. He made their knights to weep, his knights to vaunt themselves. Their soldiers fled from us, we threw ourselves upon them, we scattered them; swiftly we seized the city, we wasted no time; we broke their legs with stones, we tanned their skin into leather. Kill me if it was possible to empty the treasures both by lading and stowing.

"Phridon inspected the treasures and put his seals upon

them ; he himself led away his two vanquished cousins ; he shed their blood in exchange for his, and poured it out on the fields."

Again we see these Georgian knights, at one of the drinking bouts, on the subject of which, two hundred years later, the Venetian traveller, Josaphat Barbaro, expressed his very candid disgust :

"They sat, they banqueted, they multiplied the best liquor ; they entertained Avthandil as kinsman treats kinsman, they brought beautiful vessels, all quite new. . . . That day they drank, they ate, there was a banquet for the tribe of drinkers. Day dawned. . . ."

And even in twelfth-century Georgia there appears a type which is particularly in evidence in modern society. Says Phatman Khatun of her husband :

"Now behold the tipsy merchant, how hasty, rash, and ill-bred he is ! Truly it is said, 'A rose befits not a crow, nor do horns suit an ass.'"

It is in speaking of his own art, in opening to us the door of his own mind, that Rusthaveli has left the most beautiful lines he wrote, has expressed the most witty and trenchant of his thoughts :

"This Persian tale, now done into Georgian, has hitherto been like a pearl of great price cast in play from hand to hand ; now I have found it and mounted it in a setting of verse ; I have done a praiseworthy deed. . . . Minstrelsy is, first of all, a branch of wisdom ; divinely intelligible to the godlike, very wholesome to them that hearken ; it is pleasant, too, if the listener be a worthy man ; in a few words he utters a long discourse ; herein lies the excellence of poetry.

"Like a horse running a great race on a long course, like a ball-player in the lists striking the ball fairly, and aiming adroitly at the mark, even so it is with the poet who indites long poems, when utterance is hard for him and verse fails. Then indeed behold the poet and his poesy will be manifest. When he is at a loss for Georgian words, and verse begins to fail, he will not weaken Georgian nor will he let it grow poor in words. Let him strike the ball cunningly and he will make his goal.

"He who utters somewhere one or two verses cannot be

called a poet; let him not think himself equal to great singers. Even if they compose a few discrepant verses from time to time, yet if they say 'Mine are the best!' they are stiff-necked mules."

Rusthaveli died, according to legend, in the same year as Thamara; with her passed the form, with him much of the spirit of the Great Age of Georgia. But through all the dreary centuries of the Mussalman and Mongol wars, and through the years of foreign rule, his poem has survived as the expression of the national philosophy of the Georgian.

In the concluding quatrains of his epic, Rusthaveli voices the gay, sad fatalism that was in him, and seems, mournfully prophetic, to foresee the dismal future of his race.

"Their tale is ended like a dream of the night. They are passed away, gone beyond the world. Behold the treachery of time; to him who thinks it long, even for him it is of a moment. . . . Old-time customs and deeds, praises of those kings, have I found and done into verse. Thus have we chattered.

"This is such a world as is not to be trusted by any; it is a moment to the eyes of men, and only long enough for the blinking of the eyelashes. What seek you, what do you? Fate is an insulter. . . . I, a certain Meskhian bard of the borough of Rusthavi, I write this."

COMMERCIAL SECTION

PROSPECTS FOR BRITISH TRADE IN PALESTINE

BY ARTHUR D. LEWIS

(Joint-Editor "Zionism: Problems and Views")

PALESTINE is, no doubt, a market for the future rather than for the present. It is an undeveloped country, mainly devoted to agriculture, but its agricultural methods are very primitive in character. The use of the ordinary European plough (not to mention the motor plough), of the reaper and of other familiar agricultural machines is confined to the Jewish colonies. The Arab peasant lives in a windowless clay hut, and is too poor to be able to pay for what we regard as necessities. Practically all manufactured articles are imported, except those which can be made locally by relatively unskilled labour in small workshops and under primitive conditions.

In the following pages an attempt will be made to give in the main a cautious description of present conditions, rather than to foretell future developments: the latter will be indicated only in a few of their most probable directions. It is hoped that the information here given as to the main economic activities of the country will suggest in what direction possible openings for British trade will be found.

A general survey of the imports and exports of the country will indicate trade conditions.

The trade balance in Palestine is what would commonly be considered as very adverse to the country. In 1920 the excess of imports over exports amounted to about £4,400,000. In 1921 the excess of imports amounted to about £4,700,000, and in 1922 to about £4,300,000, an improvement on 1921. The figures throughout this article are in Egyptian pounds, which are slightly higher in value

than the English pound. The improvement is distinctly encouraging. This adverse trade balance, which is found in an even greater degree in Syria (for which, of course, France is the responsible mandatory), is due to several causes.

The country is under-populated and under-cultivated. Though predominantly agricultural, only one-fourth of the land capable of producing is being cultivated. It urgently needs the fresh capital, fresh labour and fresh enterprise which Jewish immigrants, spurred by the nationalist idealism stirred into life by Zionism, alone can supply. The country needs fresh capital before it can effectively produce and export.

During the war the country suffered considerable destruction of assets—such as cutting down of trees, requisitions, and expulsions of productive workers by the Turks, and exhaustion of stocks owing to isolation from Europe. These lost assets have now to be gradually replaced.

The presence of the British troops and the expenditure of the Zionist Organization, as well as of tourists and of religious and relief missions, are further sources of an expenditure on imports unbalanced by any visible exports. The imports partly consist of the agricultural and industrial machinery, the tools, implements, and building materials introduced by private persons or Zionist institutions in their efforts to establish new agricultural villages or new industries in Palestine. Such capital expenditure can show a return only after a certain period of waiting; agriculture, in particular, is not a trade for the impatient man. It takes three years to bring a heifer to profit; the orange, though a quick-growing tree, takes eight years before it yields a marketable harvest. There must, therefore, if the resources of Palestine are to be made profitable, be for many years a large capital expenditure on the country.

The peculiar climatic conditions, added to the neglect of the soil and the exhausting methods of cultivation employed

by the Arabs, are further causes why initial expenses must be heavy before adequate returns can be obtained from the land.

It is worth while to point out that the British occupation has led to an increase of land prices, which greatly affects the rate of Jewish colonization, since the Jews have to buy from Arabs in the ordinary market every piece of land which they use.

Another fact has to be remembered. The export figures are incorrect. The Department of Commerce and Industry itself reports (Commercial Bulletin, February 21, 1923) that "the figures shown for export, re-export and transit . . . only tell a part of the story of the eastward flow of goods, since only the limited portion which enters Syria by the Haifa-Semakh-Damascus line is recorded: of the camel caravan loads of merchandise which travel east to Transjordan and Iraq, and south-east to Arabia, there is practically no information, for there are no Customs Houses on the Eastern frontier, and thus no record of the traffic that goes on unceasingly across the Eastern deserts is ever made."

It will be noted from this quotation that Palestine is and will increasingly become a commercial centre for the supply of other Eastern lands, an *entrepôt*, a warehousing and trading country.

Mr. Palmer, of the English firm of consulting engineers, Rendel, Palmer and Trenton, an expert on the construction of ports, is visiting Palestine in order to advise the Government with regard to one of the obstacles impeding the development of this merchant trade, as, indeed, it impedes the whole development of the country—the want of a good port. Jaffa is at present very unsatisfactory, since all goods and passengers have to be landed from small boats. The improvement of the port has been talked about for some time. The contract is certain to be given to an English firm, whenever it is possible to make the necessary arrangements.

The total values of imports and exports in recent years have been as follows :

			Imports.	Exports.
April, 1919 to March, 1920	...	£4,191,000	£773,443	
" 1920 " 1921	...	5,216,633	771,701	
" 1921 " 1922	...	5,645,343	935,490	

The English Press has devoted a disproportionate share of attention to the subject of imports to Palestine from Germany and Austria. Some statements which have been made are untrue. In order to appreciate the facts, let us for an instant look at the imports from Germany into *Great Britain*. In the last full year before the war, 1913, the imports to the United Kingdom amounted to £80,411,057. In 1917, the first year in which trade was resumed, they amounted to only £48,900. In 1918, for special reasons, they fell back to £8,240, but then increased in 1919 to £993,415, in 1920 to £31,126,000, and in 1921 to £20,550,000.* It will be seen that there is a sudden spring upwards in the imports after 1918, as Germany made a great effort to recapture a market which during the war she had entirely lost.

The movement in Palestine was something like this, but on a smaller scale and less marked.

Before the war, not far short of one-half the imports came from the three enemy countries, Turkey, Austria-Hungary, and Germany. Thus in 1903 :

Imports from Turkey, Austria-Hungary and Germany	...	£220,000
" " the United Kingdom	... ..	38,000
" " other countries	... ..	181,775
Total	... ..	£439,775

In 1913 the position was not very different :

Imports from Turkey, Austria-Hungary and Germany	...	£570,000
" " the United Kingdom	... ..	170,000
" " other countries	... ..	572,659
Total	... ..	£1,312,659

* The figures are for imports at the port of Jaffa. There are no records for the other less important ports (Haifa and

* See various issues of *Whitaker's Almanack*.

Acre), but there is reason to suppose that the total result would be much the same, if the returns were complete, since this is the case when we examine the figures for the entire country, which can be put together for the year 1907.

These were years before the war. What about the years after the war? Here are two years for comparison :

	Year ending March 31, 1920.	Year ending March 31, 1921.
Imports from United Kingdom ...	£1,204,682	£1,696,629
" " Germany and Austria ...	29,000	399,500
" " other countries ...	2,957,378	3,120,504
Totals	£4,191,060	£5,216,633

The figures for the year ending December 31, 1922, tell the same tale :*

Imports from Germany and Austria,
£766,242
(14 per cent. of the whole.)

Imports from Great Britain.
£1,550,502
(28 per cent. of the whole.)

There have been no imports from Turkey since the war. Such are the facts. Still, even if German imports constitute a less proportion of the total imports than they did before the war, and allowing for the advantage the German exporter gains by depreciated currency and a low rate of exchange, let it be noted that Germany is making a great effort to recapture a lost market. Extended credits, catalogues and price lists in the vernacular, and persistent canvassing are said to be the weapons in the hands of the German. Cannot similar weapons be brought to aid the English exporter?

It is, however, encouraging to be able to state that trade relations between Palestine and Great Britain are steadily increasing; the recent general drop in prices conceals to a considerable extent the increase in quantities; it becomes more noticeable when the weight of goods imported and exported is examined.

* See Report on Palestine Administration, 1922. This Report is able to claim signs of prosperity: "There have been no bankruptcies or compulsory windings-up of companies."

The goods imported from Germany seem, judging by the monthly classified returns, to consist of machinery, textiles, furniture, ironware, timber, glass, liquors, and cement.

The principal imports from all countries are cotton fabrics, sugar, flour, coal, rice, petroleum, clothing, iron and steel manufactures, timber and machinery.

The rise in imports since the war is very marked, and by no means due wholly to the alteration of money values. Thus, in 1913, the imports of worked iron, etc. (at Jaffa, no details are available for Haifa), were given as £43,192; in 1921-22 iron and steel manufactures at £226,848. Machinery imports in 1913 were valued at £15,320, in 1921-22 at £167,638.*

There is a "boom," according to the scale of things in Palestine, in the building industry. No one but an Arab could live in the Arab clay hut. The Jews build houses of cement or stone, roofed with tiles—very unpretentious houses and not picturesque, if compared with the old cottage in the English village, ivy-clad, and with such quaint features as faded oak-beams, latticed panes, chimneys that run outside the house from the ground to the roof, and ornamented chimney-stacks—but the house of the Jewish settlers provide a comfort which is absent in the Arab villages. Building is being carried on at practically every Jewish settlement, but especially at Haifa, Jaffa, Tel Aviv, and Jerusalem. Houses, said Sir Herbert Samuel, during his recent visit to England, are being built by the thousand.

Haifa is largely to be rebuilt, according to the plan sketched by Professor Geddes.

There has been a considerable increase in the import of building material into Haifa. Firms, which in the past were dealing principally in the export of cereals and the import of other food-stuffs, have now made building materials their chief trading commodity.

* *Commercial Bulletin*, vol. i., No. 5, February 21, 1922.

The stone of the country is used as well as an artificial "silicate brick," manufactured at Tel Aviv at the works of the Silicate Brick Factory; the raw materials used in the manufacture of these bricks are chiefly the sand and chalk to be found at its very doors.

On the other hand, tiles, woodwork, and iron girders are largely imported. (The tiles used at present are chiefly French.) The manufacture of cement blocks and glazed tiles in Palestine has been begun.

It will be convenient now to turn to the question of exports. The chief exports are oranges, soap (manufactured from olive oil), melons, and wine, fruits, and fruit products.

Recent figures are as follows :

			1919-20. £E.	1920-21. £E.	1921-22. £E.	1923. £E.
Oranges	...	...	162,409	200,475	325,274	374,798*
Soap	...	...	142,407	132,169	186,255	
Melons	...	...	15,166	64,008	59,757	
Wine	...	...	65,017	50,409	52,694	

The returns are in one way disappointing. Difficulties of cultivation during the war and definite damages inflicted by the Turks have reduced the productive power of the plantations, so that Palestine has even now hardly re-ascended to its pre-war position, as is seen when the actual quantities of goods exported (and not their money values) are compared before and after the war. The number of dunam of oranges under cultivation has dropped from 22,200 to 19,600.

The main exporters of oranges, both Arabs and Jews, are combined in the Jaffa Orange Growers and Shippers Organization, a fact that should be noted in the face of misstatements about the hostility of Jew and Arab. In the period between November 23, 1922, and January 31, 1923, about 292,000 cases of oranges were shipped—all, except 9,000 cases sent to Amsterdam, were shipped to British ports: Liverpool, Bristol, Hull, Manchester, and Glasgow. In the complete year, ending March 31, 1921,

* The orange season is ended.

830,950 cases were exported, valued at £E.200,450. Each case usually contains 144 oranges. The majority are exported to Liverpool. The average price obtained during 1920-21 was 18s. 6d. per case. Over 1,200,000 cases were exported in 1922, and the price for *best* grade oranges was 25s. per case. The price was low; it is believed that the Spanish orange in particular competed with the Jaffa oranges. In 1923 the total quantity exported was satisfactory, but prices were low.

Melons and apricot paste are also exported. There is no doubt whatever that many manufacturing industries, based on fruit and flower growing, could be carried on profitably in Palestine. Canned and dried fruits and vegetables, perfumes and drugs, vegetable oil, jams and marmalade, citrate of lime (made with lemons, many of which are now left to rot on the ground, owing to the disappearance of Russia as a market), could all be manufactured.

Only a small amount of olive-oil is exported from Palestine, and that mainly to Egypt. Soap made from inferior oil is exported, there being some fifty soap factories of different sizes in the country. This industry has also suffered from the war. The soap is chiefly exported to Egypt.

An industry introduced into Palestine by Jews is the production of wine. Before the war, the average production was from 35,000 to 45,900 hectolitres a year. The wine is chiefly produced at the colony of Richon-le-Zion, which is said to possess the largest wine cellar in the world.

The Fates have not since the war been too kind to the wine-growers. Prohibition in the United States, the loss of Russia as a market, diminished consumption in France and Italy are mentioned as the main headings under which to seek the causes of the set-back.

Now markets are being sought in India, the Argentine, Australia, and the Far East.

Some tobacco is imported into Palestine by British firms

—425 tons of cigarettes and uncut tobacco entered in 1922. They have to compete with Egyptian and Turkish supplies, and there will probably in the future be an increase of home-grown tobaccos.

But little space remains at my disposal. It would be rash to speak at length concerning the future. Much depends on the capital available for the development of Palestine. The Rutenberg scheme, which has been approved by eminent consulting engineers in England and the United States, will be worked on commercial lines. Mr. Rutenberg has stated that British firms will be preferred in purchasing the necessary machinery, and an excess of 5 per cent. in prices will be allowed to them to counteract the effect of depreciated foreign exchanges. The main scheme will not be put in hand until the full capital required has been subscribed.

A less important scheme from a commercial point of view and of quite a different kind is the projected Hebrew University in Jerusalem. In connection with this, chemical laboratories and an institute for micro-biology will be fitted up.

Those interested in the commercial future of Palestine will like to know that steps are being taken to arrange for the representation of Palestinian economic life at the British Empire Exhibition to be held at Wembley Park in 1924.

The prospects in Palestine are good. The land needs time, money, enterprise, devotion, and enthusiasm. These will be given by the Jews alone, its ancient people, who associate with it the one period of their history which makes them glorious throughout the world.

EDUCATIONAL SECTION

COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN INDIA ON
A VOLUNTARY BASIS

BY "GURU MAHASAI"

Two reports bearing on literacy in India may shortly be expected—the report namely on the decennial Census and the quinquennial review of Education. These reports will bring the available facts and figures down to the spring of 1921 and 1922 respectively. The interest ordinarily attaching to these periodical documents is enhanced in the case of those about to issue by the recent reform of the Indian Constitution, or, as others might prefer to put it, the conferment of a constitution on India. The bold attempt has been made to place the Government, or at least a large part of the Government, on democratic lines. Such a superstructure demands a broad basis of reasonable intelligence. Does such a basis exist? In so far as education argues intelligence, or in so far as it is at least a necessary condition to the growth of intelligence, these forthcoming reports will shed light upon the question. Of course, there are those who will say intelligence is often found divorced from educational attainment, and that education, so far from producing intelligence, often stifles its development. It is quite true that the illiterate Indian cultivator is often gifted with a fund of commonsense, courtesy and empirical knowledge. But it has generally been the habit to suppose that the wider spread of education produces a higher general level of intelligence and that, as forms of government grow more democratic, it is necessary to educate the new rulers. Of course, the supposition may be all wrong. But, until much ampler experience has been gained of the use which the Indian electorate make of their powers, education or literacy is the sole available criterion.

If education is not in itself the evidence of individual intelligence, it is at least a phenomenon of the growth of intelligence in the community.

Let us admit, then, that education is an important factor in the situation and in the fulfilment of the intention which bestowed upon Indians a large measure of political power and set the people's feet upon the road leading to autonomy within the British Empire. What are the facts?

So far as the number of those undergoing education is concerned, the figures are collected annually. In the year in which the reforms were introduced, only 3.42 per cent. of the population was under instruction—namely, 5.55 per cent. of the males and 1.18 per cent. of the females. By an irony of fate, the year which saw the initiation of the great constitutional experiment (save the word!) and the transfer of education to the care of popular Ministers, saw also, not, indeed, a decline in numbers, but a decline in the normal expansion. This was due to the non-co-operation campaign and affected the higher stages of education, in which there was an actual decrease, while the increase in the elementary stages remained constant. Small as the percentage appears, it represents large numbers—a total of eight and a half million pupils in schools and colleges. Where such large figures are concerned and where conservatism and financial stringency play a dominating part, no great percentage change can be looked for in the brief space of twelve months or even more. The figures quoted above may, therefore, be accepted as fairly representing those of early 1922 and of to-day.

As regards literacy (the ability to write a letter to a friend and to read the reply), a forecast of the 1921 figures was given in a paper recently read before the Royal Society of Arts. The Census Commissioner stated that the proportion returned as literate at the Census of 1921 was 105.6 males and 10.5 females per mille of each. In 1911 the corresponding figures were 106 and 10 per mille. It is clear that for purposes of comparison the female part of the population must be neglected, though it is a hopeful sign

that education and literacy among women have made some slight progress during the last ten years. Of the male part of the population, then, it is surprising to find Burma with over half literate. Such a figure does not appear to be justified by the numbers at school in that province or by the idea of Burman backwardness, which received some imprimatur from the fact that the conferment of a constitution on that province came later than in the most important provinces of India, where, however, the percentage of literacy is much lower. The facts are that the figures of those at school in Burma are misleading, since an enormous amount of education is imparted in the monastic schools, which furnish no returns; that the Burman, though educationally superior to the Indian so far as literacy is concerned, has not developed the political sense to the same extent; and that collegiate education has not enjoyed the same popularity which it has in India. In Madras and Bengal the literates constitute a fifth of the male population; in Bombay less than a fifth. In other provinces the figures are lower still.

These figures may well give rise to apprehension as regards the development of a democratic system of government. Such apprehension is merely increased by the fact that education in India is notoriously top-heavy, the expansion in the higher stages of instruction (mainly of the literary kind) being out of all proportion to the figures for elementary instruction and, many consider, to the present needs of the country. The danger arises that the reforms may miss their avowed goal and that the result may be the substitution for a bureaucracy mainly European of a bureaucracy wholly Indian. Such an Indian bureaucracy would rapidly transform itself into an oligarchy, possibly a theocracy. Whatever its ultimate form, it would be less efficient, less secure, less incorruptible, and probably more expensive than the present arrangement.

So far as education is concerned, what is the cure? There are two schools of thought. One would use compulsion; the other would continue the voluntary system.

The idea of compulsory attendance at elementary schools is not new in India. Divided from India only by a narrow strait is an island possessed of a highly successful system of compulsion. More than a decade ago, compulsion was already in operation in one of the Indian States. In addition to the examples of Ceylon and Baroda, there was a natural straining after European and American models; there was honest patriotism; and there was the tendency to imitative legislation. Compulsory education also provides a good party-cry, and its absence a favourable weapon for attacking Government. In 1911 the late Mr. Gokhale introduced into the Imperial Legislative Council a Bill for expanding elementary education on compulsory lines. Mr. Gokhale's outstanding position, his patriotism and his selfless devotion to the public cause, formed in themselves strong recommendations of the measure. But the mass of opinions collected while the Bill lay before the legislature persuaded Government that there was no real demand, while the idea of local taxation was clearly opposed. There were flaws, too, in the proposal. The period of compulsory study was insufficient; no provision was made for the training of teachers or other necessary matters; the amount of money which the mover sought to provide was totally inadequate. Though, therefore, the measure was in itself cautious and contained in particular the excellent condition that its provisions could not be applied in any area till a reasonable percentage of the children in that area were voluntarily at school, the Government did not feel justified in supporting it, and it was rejected by the legislature in 1912.

In the course of the debate it was announced that the Government of India, though not prepared to accept a measure of this kind having general application, would not oppose similar measures introduced in local legislatures for local purposes. For five years it appeared as though no one desired to accept this offer. Then suddenly there sprang up a crop of provincial Bills which were passed by the Legislative Councils concerned, and duly placed upon

the Statute Book. In almost all the larger provinces the power now exists of sending children compulsorily to school. It appeared as though, at the very moment when the Reforms scheme was taking shape, India was preparing herself for the new voyage on which she was about to embark.

Generally speaking, these Acts follow similar lines, though there are differences arising out of local variations, and though the Madras Act has been described as "far more comprehensive and significant than the Acts passed in other provinces." Two conditions are laid down: first, the desire of the locality concerned, as voiced by its local bodies, for the application of compulsion; second, the approval by Government of the financial and other arrangements proposed for its introduction. Hence the initiation is thrown upon Municipal Councils and District Boards for urban and rural areas respectively. (In Bombay Presidency and the United Provinces the Acts apply only to urban areas.) The matter becomes one of local option—compulsion on a voluntary basis. The arrangement is in some respects not dissimilar from that brought about by the Act of 1876 in England, under which School Boards were empowered to make by-laws regulating the age at which school attendance should be compulsory.

What has been the result of these enabling Acts? The latest available report informs us that in the Bombay Presidency five Municipalities have introduced compulsory elementary education, and that two out of these five have extended the application of compulsion to girls; that twelve Municipalities in Bihar are receiving grants under the local Act; and that schemes have been sanctioned for two Municipalities in the Punjab. The report proceeds to inform us that "there is no indication of serious consideration of compulsory education in any particular rural area." After all the time spent in drafting the measures, after the hours occupied in their passage, not without grave argument on many points of controversy, after the high hopes and the higher phrases, it looks as though a very ridiculous

mouse had emerged. Is it the case that the mere placing on the Statute Book of these measures has satisfied public opinion? Has the transfer of education to the portfolio of Indian Ministers robbed the movement of its motive force? Has the war-cry died down because there is no foe at whom to level it? Possibly it may be so. But it would be totally unfair to assert that it is so. Though there has been time for results to be achieved, and though the results achieved in it have been negligible, there are various circumstances which must be considered before we criticize the accomplishments of the past or prophesy the developments of the future.

The question of education in India is mainly a financial problem. It is, moreover, to a larger extent than elsewhere, a problem connected with the condition of the public exchequer. For the funds of local bodies are inelastic, and, in a proverbially poor country, extensive endowments cannot be anticipated, and the fees of pupils cannot be indefinitely raised. (As a matter of fact, elementary education in India is in some places wholly, and in others mainly, free.) "Substantial allotments have been made from provincial funds, but there is ominous silence regarding any increase in provision from local funds except from the Punjab, where 'great aversion' from any such increase is reported." But the condition of the public exchequers in India, whether imperial or provincial, has for some years past been unsatisfactory, and the unremunerative part of the national debt has been increasing. Substantial allotments from this source cannot be made every day. Whether other factors which have arisen since, and largely as a result of, the Great War, have affected elementary education is doubtful; and the activities of the non-cooperators have probably not influenced the popularity of the primary schools. But financial stringency has largely dominated the situation. Nor does paucity of funds only restrict the opening of new schools. It also tends to prevent existing schools from rising to a proper standard of efficiency—especially at a time when the increased cost

of living involves higher pay to teachers, and hence enhanced expenditure without necessarily producing any improvements in their qualifications.

There are also difficulties of a more permanent nature. Public attention and charity are more easily attracted by the higher forms of education. The middle-class thirst for its expansion. Of the lowlier recipients of elementary education one hears various accounts—naturally, for feeling differs in different localities. But it would certainly be no exaggeration to say that, over a large part of India, the class who depend upon agriculture and who form the great majority of the population regard education without enthusiasm and often with actual dislike.

But—and this brings us for a moment to the opposite, or voluntary, school—these Acts, even if they have hitherto done little else, have had a stimulating effect on the formulation of schemes. Surveys have been undertaken, arrangements made with local bodies for the allocation of grants—all with a view to making some start with the compulsory system. Whether that system will ever become a reality over the country as a whole it is difficult to say. Compulsion naturally comes in after the voluntary system has done its work, to fill the chinks left by the latter. But in India it is not chinks but enormous voids which remain. The voluntary system has not yet done its work. But it has succeeded in doing much. In 1882 the number of those under instruction in India was $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions; in 1892 less than 4 millions; in 1902 it was $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions; in 1912 it was $6\frac{3}{4}$ millions. To-day it is some $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions. This is no paltry record. Clearly there are still life and hope in the voluntary system. If one may prophesy, it seems probable that this system will long persist over most of the country, while urban areas and favoured districts will select compulsion. But any prophecy is dangerous. When changes come, they often come with a rush. The force of example exercises marvellous powers; and imitative legislation has to-day great attractions.

HISTORICAL SECTION

THE EMBASSY OF SIR WILLIAM NORRIS, BART., TO AURANGZEBE

BY HARIHAR DAS, B.LITT. (OXON.), F.R.HIST.S.

CHAPTER I (*Continued*)

IN July, 1698, Parliament was dissolved and a fresh one was summoned for August. William Norris and William Clayton, one of the principal local merchants, were returned as members for Liverpool. Another dissolution took place in December, 1700. Picton, in his *Memorials of Liverpool*, is in error in his account of the election.* The old members were returned again, but not without opposition. Sir Cleave More, Baronet, the head of the oldest Liverpool family, was one of the opposing candidates, and did not accept his defeat patiently. He sent in a petition to the new Parliament, alleging that Richard Norris, the Mayor, had made use of "indirect practices" to secure the election of his brother Sir William, then absent in India. It was, for example, said that he threatened the ruin of many of the electors if they voted for the petitioner; refused several who wished to vote for him, as disqualified, while admitting others who, though not qualified, voted for Sir William Norris; and he refused an inspection of the poll to petitioner's friends. He, therefore, asserted that Sir William had not obtained a majority of legal votes. He had also been advised that Sir William was not eligible as member, having been two years absent in the East Indies and not likely to return during that parliament. A petition to the same effect was sent up by a number of the freemen (electors). The petitions were duly referred to the Committee of Privileges and Elections, but before any decision

* See vol. i., p. 148.

was made, Parliament was again dissolved. Sir William Norris was not put forward this time, William Clayton and Thomas Johnson being elected, apparently without opposition.*

In January, 1699, the members for the borough (Norris and Clayton) were desired to procure an Act of Parliament to make Liverpool a parish of itself, quite separate from Walton, to erect a church, etc., and the Act was passed.†

William Norris was made a baronet on December 3, 1698, to give him some pre-eminence suitable to his mission in India. The title became extinct on October 10, 1702. The King after reciting his care for Ireland and specially for the prosperity of Ulster, including due provision of troops for its protection from enemies or sedition, and reciting how James I. had instituted the order of Baronets as a dignity suitable for those who assisted in this matter in a special degree, declares that he regards as worthy of this honour his beloved and faithful William Norris of Speake in Lancashire, Esquire, whom he is sending as ambassador to the Mogul Emperor (*ad Mogulum Imperatorem*), and has created him a baronet, being worthy by his family, patrimony, position and good conduct, and in particular by maintaining thirty foot soldiers in our army in Ireland for three years.‡ (The patent goes on to recite the descent of the dignity to heirs male, precedence, and other formal matters.) He is to be made a knight immediately after the Letters Patent are ready.§

A farewell letter written before his departure as ambassador to the Indies announces that he has been offered a baronetcy, but had hesitated; having no children, he had been allowed to name a successor to his title: and

* See Journals of the House of Commons, vol. xiii.

† See pp. 342-3 of the Touzeau's "Rise and Progress of Liverpool."

‡ The words about paying soldiers for Ireland are only part of the regular formula, and mean only that he paid a considerable sum into the Exchequer.

§ Patent Roll 3398. 10 William III., Part I., No. 13. See also p. 176, vol. IV., 1665-1707 of G. E. Cockayne's "Complete Baronetage." William Pollard and Co., Ltd., Exeter, 1904. The above is an abstract of the Letters Patent creating the baronetcy.

should have wished to name Thomas Norris. But the piracy of Captain Kidd necessitating his immediate departure, he had not been able to delay his answer, and had listened to the advice of his brothers, who thought Thomas would not appreciate the honour. He has accepted it for himself.

LONDON,
Nov. 29th, 1698.

HONR^d S^r.

It will be now but a very few days before I shall embarke in order to my voyage, soe lay hold of oportunitys of takinge leave of my Freindes by degrees not havinge the hapynesse satisfaction or Time to take my leave any other way then by letter, & have soe much businesse on my hands that I have but very little command of that Time I have left soe least I should be disappointed of bidinge you farewell if I deferrd it longer I take this oportunity of wishinge you & your Lady all the hapynesse this World can afford & return my hearty thanks for all your favours :

The Lords Justices on Saturday last wholly unknown to me were pleased to passe a complement, & much bejoynd (*i.e.* beyond) either my Ambition or expectation, & contrary to my desire surprizd me with a peice of Honour I little dreamt of: & had signd an order for a patent for a Baronet before ever they soe much as intimated their intentions, as soone as they made me acquainted with it by their Secretary I waited on them all to return my thanks for the greate honour they designd me but sincerely begd they would excuse me from it, they were please[d] to say my character as the King's Embassadour extraordinary requird it, & that this was the only single Instance of any Badge of Honour conferrd for these severall yeares by the Lords Justices & beinge soe & the only one that would be bestowd they did this out of a particulare Respect & hopd I would take it as such, & accept of it, & were soe farr farther obliginge that they offerd me to have it incerted in the patent in case I dyd without Issue to have the honour goe where I would nominate but gave me but from Saturday to Munday to apoint how I would have it entayld because all expedition is usd to have me gon with all speed upon account of some pyracys that have lately been committed upon the Mogulls ships by one Captain Kidd an English man: It was in my thoughts forthwith to have namd you & your Heires but durst not venter on my own Leade without farther consultation with Brother Harry and

Brother Doctour by whom I was resolv'd to be concluded in this point to act most suitable to your inclinations & upon weighing circumstances they were of opinion that you might thinke it a Load upon your posterity as what would occasion greater Retinue & expence & soe forbore to have you incerted: I must confesse in my own particulare had I ever A son livinge, or att present in any liklyhood, I would by no meanes have been persuaded to accept of it but scince in all probability it will cease with me & I could not handsomely avoid it being soe pressd to it as a particulare instance of honour & their favour & beinge Knighted must unavoidably have hapned, I thought it would be a badge of greater honour to our Family to have the bloody Hand then otherwise, consideringe it was bestowd not only without my seeking but contrary to my Inclination: If the patent could have been stopt till I could have heard from you it should, but havinge both my Brothers opinion not ventringe to rely on my own I hope wee have done as you desird: The winds have been contrary a long time and kept the Kinge in Holland soe that parliament which by apointment mett to day was farther proroug'd to the 6th instant I am not resolv'd yett whether I shall carry the patent when it has passd the broad seale with me or send it down to you to be reserv'd if I dy for no dishoounarable marke to posterity Deare Sir I have nothinge more to add but my best Respects and sincere Love & service to your Lady & your selfe wishing you all health & hapynesse & if it be Gods will a happy meetinge I am

Your most Affectionate Brother
Faithfull Friend & very
humble Servant WM NORRIS.

As to my annuity you may please to pay it to my wife & if it please God I should Dy & you make any payment in your own wronge she will refund it: as soone as she knows it:

And soe once more I take my leave
& Adieu

„This letter is endorsed in Thomas Norris's hand :

“Sir W^m Norris letter ordering to pay the £20 per annum his Annuaty to his lady whilst he is at the Indes.”

PEDIGREE.*

Sir William Norris, Kt., aged 23 in 1524; d. 1568.

Edward, aged 28 in 1568; d. 1606.

Sir William, K.B., died 1630. A recusant.

William, d. 1651. A recusant.

Edward, a royalist, d. 1644 or 1645.

Edward, d. young.

Thomas, aged 46 in 1664. A royalist; d. 6th July, 1686. m. Katherine, dau. of Sir Henry Garraway.

William. Christopher. James.

Margaret.

Thomas, aged 11 in 1664; d. 1700.

Mary, who succeeded to the Speke estates after the death of her Uncle Richard in 1730.

Sir William, Bart., aged 6 in 1664; d. 1702.

John. Henry, d. 1702. Edward, M.D., d. 1726.

Jonathan, born at Childwall, 1667. Richard, born 25th August, 1670; d. 18th August, 1730 (the writer or recipient of most of the Norris letters).

Margaret. Ann. Katherine. Elizabeth.

CHAPTER II

HIS MAJESTY'S COMMISSION TO SIR WILLIAM NORRIS TO BE HIS AMBASSADOR TO THE GREAT MOGUL

SIR WILLIAM'S commission as Ambassador was dated at Kensington, January 1, 1698. The King expressed his desire to establish "a friendly and good understanding" with the Great Mogul and other Princes of India, so that his subjects trading there might have some benefit from it. Sir William therefore had full power not only to negotiate but to "agree and conclude" with those Princes and their ministers all things necessary for the good understanding desired and for obtaining such "Capitulations, Priviledges

* See also the pedigree of Edward Baine's Lancashire Creston edition, vol. iv.

and Immunities" for British traders as might conduce to their safety and profitable trading in India. All the agreements so made by Sir William would be ratified by the King:

"William the Third by the grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the faith, To all to whome these present Letters shall come, Whereas Wee have determined to send an Ambassador to the greate Mogul and other Princes in India for the establishing a friendly and good understanding with the said Princes and for promoteing the advantage and benefit of our Subjects tradeing to those parts, Know you That Wee reposing speciall Trust and confidence in the fidelity and prudence of our Trusty and wellbeloued S^r William Norris Bart have nominated constituted and appointed and doe hereby nominate constitute and appoint him to be our said Ambassador Commissioner and Procurator, Giving and granting to him full power and authority to conferr negotiate and treat in our name with the said Mogul and other Princes in India and their respective Ministers and Servants and to agree and conclude with them all such Matters and things as shall be necessary and convenient for establishing and confirming the said friendship and good understanding with the Princes aforesaid, and for procuring for our Subjects such Capitulations, Priviledges and Immunities and Settlements in their severall Dominions as may conduce to their Security, and advantageous carrying on of their Trade and Commerce in those parts, and to doe and execute all other things which doe belong and appertain to the said S^r W^m Norris as our Ambassador, Commissioner and Procurator, Promising by these Presents, and giving our Royall Word that Wee will ratify confirm and approve the same, and that Wee will truly perform All such things as shall be Stipulated and agreed by him on our Part in the Matters aforesaid.

Given at Our Palace at Kensington the First Day of January, One Thousand Six hundred ninety Eight In the Tenth year of our Reigne, Under our Hand and our greate Seale of England.

W^m R."

* The instructions given to Sir William Norris on his appointment were dated December 31, 1698. He and his suite were to embark immediately on the ships provided

by the King, which ships would convey them to a suitable port in the Mogul's dominions, and then be employed in suppressing the pirates who infested the Indian Seas. He was, after landing, to proceed as quickly as possible to the Mogul's Court, taking care to inform himself as to the procedure there observed, and "on all occasions to preserve the honor and dignity" of his character as Ambassador.

(To be continued.)

"THE CHILDREN."

BY ARTHUR VINCENT.

THIS story is born of retrospect. It is also a story virtually without a moral. There may be food for reflection in Rogers' faith in simple people, also his forecast of the Marri tribe's behaviour in the late war may be of use to the people who have to handle them during the next international drama. With those exceptions, however, the tale may be set down at once as quite useless in this calculating, hard-hearted, devil-take-the-hindmost age.

Still, in all the celestial joy of our splendid post-war millennium, when the "war to end war" has brought us a cornucopia of strife, political dissension, crushing taxes, and world-wide unrest, there be some of us who care at times to retrocede awhile from such Olympian bliss, and to meditate for a few stolen moments upon the fairness of all things in that peace which we knew and loved before the old world toppled to pieces in 1914.

In just such a frame of mind, latterly, I threw the day's issue of the "shriek" Press into the fire, retired to the quietness of my study, and sought solace in poring over the dog-eared old maps and diary which recalled so strongly and so vividly the events of a few all too brief days eight long years ago. I found that it pleased me to remember, it may please others. Let them judge.

In September, 1914, long before India saw aught of the true dimensions of the struggle upon which we had embarked, I had at my disposal some three weeks' leave. The medical profession forbade, point blank, my active participation in the war, albeit that was, as of a quondam soldier, where my heart was. Ever since August 5 I had chafed at my position. Almost daily I saw the coming and going of troops, many of my closest friends were already on the

high seas, westward bound; and with the unquenched instincts of earlier days, I grew heartsick of the circumstances which chained me to a table in a hot and stuffy office. I came to loathe the sight of my files; I hated the whole cribbed, confined atmosphere.

Leave therefore seemed the only hope for temporary relief. It at least would suffer me to go somewhere where I could forget for a while, and bury an ostrich-like head before the war which I might not join. But whither should I go? Hill stations I was tired of, from Simla which knew not Joseph to the eternal suburbanness of Murree and Mussoorie. At odd times I visualised a trip into the Terai, where irritation might drown itself in bodily activity, and society comprise but books, guns, and a dog, ever better company far than the bread, wine, and "thou" of old Omar.

Whilst I still hesitated, there came to me a letter, small of envelope, and penned with the characteristic neatness that I knew well, almost printed. It was from one Rogers, a subaltern with whom a chance acquaintanceship during my last leave in England had developed into a friendship standing even the test of correspondence.

"If you're fed up with your perpetual routine," it ran—for I had somewhat unburdened my soul to him of late, as to a brother sufferer who understood—"come up here and stay with me for a bit. I can promise you a pretty thorough change. Also, I'll give you some fresh air if you like, for I've an interesting trip to do at the end of the month, off the beaten track. Come and ride it with me. You'd love it, and so should I. Bring a horse if you like, but I can mount you if you don't mind a bolter. Bring a rifle and a gun anyway. You won't want much else, I've crockery for two, 'and all that messuage.' By the way, bring an 80-pounder tent and some camp furniture, there are no hotels in the Marri country, it's a bit backward."

I hesitated no longer. Rogers was good company, and I knew something of the vagrant life he sometimes led in

the saddle for weeks at a time. Also his "off the beaten track. Come and ride it with me," appealed to all my old desires. Here, at any rate, was promise of just the antidote to the present which I stood so sadly in need of. I wired for my leave, wired to Rogers accepting, and went home that evening feeling happier than I had done for weeks. Then, recalling the "Buy an 'am and see life" of Kipling's immortal Mr. Pyecroft, I duly assembled the gear which Rogers had prescribed, and commenced the four days' journey to our frontier rendezvous complete with bearer, syce, and horse.

The railway journey merits no description, it was as unpleasant and sand-smothered as any journey across the Plains of India in September will always be. Rogers met me at Harnai, and I first tasted the joy of the rugged border in the sheer scarped cliffs of Torkhan. Arrived next day at Loralai, per tonga drawn by ponies of microscopic size and untiring energy, we, or rather I, passed a few days in relaxation of a pleasantness only equalled by its idleness.

Then we packed up for the long trail, and I will confess to a thrill of excitement as, with my humdrum D——i existence far behind me, I saw my kit laden on great rough-haired camels. I felt still more exalted later when our ponies breasted the rockbound defile of the Gargara Pass with all the unknown before me. There is no need to treat of our brief stay at Duki, the "Mogoll" fort of "Duckee" visited by the intrepid Steele and Crowther exactly three hundred years before on a bold journey from Delhi to Isfahan, save that there we met the Political Agent with whom we were to travel as far as Kohlu, a burly and genial man. From thence we journeyed a long day's ride to the little conical hill of Gumbaz, shooting quail and black partridge en route, and sighting something of a rarity in a Houbara, or Lesser Bustard. A night at Gumbaz, and we rode on some sixteen miles to Zrind, whereat we camped in a little rocky defile and told

yarns by the camp fire, for it was cold. Next day's journey was to Kohlu, perhaps fifteen miles, and it is here that my real narrative begins.

Kohlu. The name is not very euphonious. I am told that it stands for "Koh," a mountain, and "Lu," the Baluchi name for that terrible scorching wind which devastates the crops where it passes, and beside which the western "sirocco" is a gentle warmth. If so, the name fits aptly, and comprises the nature, the panorama, and the very life-history of the place.

Kohlu is in Baluchistan, but not in the Baluchistan that is known to the multitude. That over-trodden tract consists of Quetta, Chaman, the Harnai-Loralai-Fort Sandeman road, with perhaps Ziarat thrown in for ten days' leave. Of these, Quetta is a typical modern cantonment, complete with all the stereotyped "properties," such as station polo, a drag hunt, a picture palace, a club bar, a gymkhana, and the usual feminine and feline amenities. Chaman, where a walk round a whitewashed Afghan boundary pillar was the romance of pre-war American tourists and distinguished strangers who had never heard of Durand, has changed little save for the extra dust left by the brief Mons-cum-Mus Third Afghan War and the permanent location of a second battalion. The rest of "known" Baluchistan has been given over to the obscene racketting of clattering, hooting Fords, and to very overpowered motor-cycles usually complete with "love-basket."

Neither I nor my story, however, have concern with "known" Baluchistan. Being antiquated in some ways, and heretical in others according to modern standards, I abhor the spectacle of a Ford at the foot of an 11,000 foot giant of grey-brown limestone which has gazed down impassively upon Nadir Shah and the armies of Alexander alike. Even the sight of a dirty, oily pair of grey flannel trousers protruding from beneath the starting handle for one grilling hour on end does not console me fully. Also, it is not in me to love the host of militarily-owned motor-

cycles and sidecars which, as modern "blessings," have deprived our latter-day subalterns and captains of more than half the manliness which used to sit with them on a good horse. Before the war junior officers kept ponies and were in time for their parades: now they keep noisy "grids," and are late.

But this is a digression. To return to Kohlu—oft I would I could. Kohlu is not of "known" Baluchistan. Save for a brief notoriety during the Marri Expedition of 1918, its acquaintance with the white world has remained limited, for a generation, to the occasional visits of Political Agents, the rarer calls of police officers, and to the attentions of that ubiquitous individual whose common concern it is to travel through wild desolate places for the making of governmental bricks without straw, the Frontier Sapper. One of these last it was who erected the mud buildings which constitute Kohlu, in 1907 or thereabouts: in the company of a lineal successor of his I visited the place in 1914, and whilst visiting on business a third I talked with Ali Gul, fresh from Kohlu, last month. But of that, more anon.

If Kohlu's name is not pretty, itself and its surroundings are at least in keeping. Dropped, as it were, into a landlocked valley some fifty miles long from the Biber and Kuba Wanga passes in the east to the wild declivities of Sini Gurag and the almost impassable water outlet of Savad in the west, its little squat buildings are but a khaki spot of shelter in one long stretch of apparent wilderness. North and south of it respectively there run two great hill ranges, Tikhel and Jandran, rising some 3,000 feet above the plain itself. These great masses of bare yellow rock, crossed by a few bridle paths and by no roads as we understand the term in Europe, seem to encircle the valley with a wall of stone which ends only with the sunrise in the east and the sunset in the west. At its broadest point the Kohlu Valley might be ten miles wide—ten miles of powdered rock, shale, and "put," with tiny spots of kinder

cultivation only near the centre line, where a little perennial water produces, as ever in Baluchistan, a Persian rose in the desert. All elsewhere the eternal khaki is unbroken, save by white efflorescences of saltpetre, that saltpetre which undermines mud walls as white ants eat wooden beams, and devastates the work of man unless he build in solid stone and cement. It is a desolate district.

Certainly Baluchistan, off the beaten track, is not beautiful in the European sense of grassy slopes and pine-clad summits verging upon the oleographic. Yet throughout it all there is a grandeur, a spaciousness, a ruggedness of primitive and enduring strength; and its apple-green and lilac sunsets, and the pink glory of its autumn and winter afterglows have a beauty that is beyond mere prettiness. Kohlu shares in measure all these glories—glories which make many a man's heart glad when fortune calls him once more to the expanse of Baluchistan from down-country cantonments where his horizon is often a mile away.

As a station, Kohlu is unimposing. Its Tahsil is a little four-walled mud fort, and without the walls are (or were in 1914) a few auxiliary buildings, one and all of the same construction and perpetual khaki shade. Within the walls is a miniature hive of activity. The Government's administrative buildings have just that veneer of the West which lies in European pens, paper, and script. A post and telegraph office plies a sparing trade, mainly upon Government business, for the Baluchi tongue has no writing of its own. Major and minor officials' quarters stand cheek by jowl with an iron-barred, iron-gated jail, and the south-eastern corner holds that most grateful asset of all, an "Officers' Rest House." Houses of this title are scattered throughout the length and breadth of the country, varying in size from the stately edifices of Sind to the little one-roomed enclosures of the border, affording kindly relief from tentage in the rigours of heat and cold. At Kohlu the Rest House is but a room and a bathroom, plainly furnished with severe but useful Government furniture, a

"newar" bedstead, pine tables and chairs, and the like. Nevertheless its welcome shelter, and the sense of security in its high-up little loop-holed windows, can be "paradise enow" after twenty or thirty miles a-horseback over God's unanointed rock in the heat of the day.

Our little party was not this time bound for the fort, for the kindly hospitality of the Political Agent's camp awaited us, with all the local luxury of a large "Swiss Cottage" tent. As we left Zrind, in the cold half-light that precedes an autumn sunrise, we were an appreciable cavalcade, but with only three white men—the Political, the ubiquitous Sapper represented by Rogers, and lastly myself, a mere sightseer and the most spoiled of guests and "bouches inutiles." With us there rode some thirty other horsemen, minor civil officials, local levies—a most engaging kind of moss-trooper—and Rogers' Military Works Sowars. These last attracted my notice, as a formation unknown to India proper. They were local tribesmen of businesslike trim, clad in plain khaki without badges, mounted on their own hardy little country-bred ponies, and in lent Government rifle buckets they carried Martini rifles of the '450 bullet which shoots not at very long range but carries the front of a man out through his back. Rogers told me that their small number, perhaps a dozen, was recruited mainly hereditarily, and that they took great pride in their status.

In the Ormazhu Pass, well remembered of those who took part in the Marri Expedition of 1918, there met us a great and unforgettable band of Baluchis, all the headmen of the famous Marris. They were a splendid sight indeed. Maybe a hundred and fifty of them altogether, they rode towards us in perfect orderliness along the jagged stone of that narrow defile; their wiry little mounts sweeping along in mass with no sign of jostling or confusion, they moved smoothly as one man. Conspicuous were their huge white turbans furl'd of yard upon yard of two-inch-thick twists of cloth, their full flowing white robes and voluminous white trousers, their gay gold-embroidered sleeveless waistcoats,

their richly patterned leather sword belts and curved scabbards, their shining steel sword hilts, and the sun-kissed brass which studded the woodwork of their variety of rifles and muskets, old and new. Most, perhaps, one was struck by their hair. Every man wore long, thick, heavy ringlets, black, grey or white according to his age, a great mane of carefully oiled hair, which hung, like ropes, often to below his waist, bobbing and waving as he rode. Thus is your true Baluchi unmistakable, in all India none others can show such hair.

At the head of the splendid cavalcade rode Mir Khair Buksh Khan himself, the Marri Nawab, ruling chief of a clan whose relentless raiding and desperate bravery had, for centuries of old, made their name a terror from Sukkur and Multan to Teheran. He was a fine man to look upon. Of middle age (your Baluchi ages quickly in that exacting land of harsh extremes and terrible trials of climate, frost and drought), he was broad of build, strong, even and Biblical of feature, with thick grey-brown beard and long greying ringlets to his waist. He sat his fretting, curvetting mare as though they two were one single being, and looked, as he was, every inch a border chieftain.

The wild grandeur of the pass in which we met formed a fitting frame to the Nawab and his chosen men; and I, for one, beg to take credit for realizing that we saw before us a sight vouchsafed to the few, in the Marri "Tumandar" riding at the head of his chiefs. To us it was a spectacle, a thrill, to be enjoyed. Move the scene but a hundred years back, and make us hardy traders from Kandahar and well armed withal; and we should have turned our horses on their haunches, and swung away to flee direly so long as a horse or a man had a breath left to draw.

Greetings were exchanged, on horseback. The Baluchi shakes hands as a European, but with a firmer, longer grip. Gravely, and with an old-time courtesy, the Nawab greeted the Political Agent, exchanging the customary Musulman salutations and maintaining his hand-grip the

while. Then Rogers was presented, and, with a studied deference in no wise derogatory which evidently pleased the Nawab, repeated the process at less length. Lastly I, with what I hope was an adequate imitation of Rogers, met the Nawab's hand and heard and voiced polite enquiries. To him I was of no account as being a mere visitor, but I was with the Agent as a companion, and so, by the immutable laws of Baluch hospitality, I was an honoured guest in Marri country. Thus, if my welcome was brief it was none the less sincerely spoken, and I own willingly to the thrill of sentiment I felt whilst the Marri chief scrutinised me levelly but kindly, eye to eye.

The twelve odd miles on to Kohlu passed quickly. The Agent and the Sirdar rode together, preceded by one magnificently attired Baluchi horseman as a formal guide. I rode on Rogers' left, on his right was a picturesque red-waistcoated Marri with whom he conversed in apparently fluent Baluchi. Behind us the cavalcade swept along smoothly, and extraordinarily silently on its unshod mares. A Marri will never ride a horse if he can help it; generations of experience have taught him that a mare makes no noise by night when raiding is afoot.

At Kohlu we clashed suddenly with the West again, and not with the West of Bond Street. Tinsel arches faced us, crinkly Chinese lamps swung incongruously in the blazing sunlight. White paper letters a foot long, pasted on sky-blue paper ribands, voiced "God Save the King," and "Welcome to our Political Agent." The notables of the Tahsil, with a band of begarlanded children in such clean linen as seldom graces a week-day, were gathered outside the camp which advanced parties had pitched the day before. It was garish display, but one which the East understands, and which would impress its audience very correctly. In many things the fierce men from the fierce hills have happy minds as uncritical as those of little children.

(To be continued.)

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

LEADING ARTICLE

ANGLO-INDIAN NOVELISTS

BY STANLEY RICE

ONCE upon a time three Englishmen went into an Indian bazaar in search of what they could pick up. The first sought out a curio shop, and after the usual haggling and a certain impatience with the time-honoured custom of the country, finally left the place with a miscellaneous assortment, some of them genuine Indian art, some local imitations of it, and some imported from Birmingham. They were gods and goddesses of different shapes, it did not matter much what; there were *chadars* from Rampur, and inlaid alabaster from Agra; there were betel boxes and phials for attar, and *hugahs* and *nandis* and other things with intriguing names. He was quite satisfied. All he wanted was to decorate his English home and to be able to talk India to his friends.

The second man wanted none of these things. He took out a pocket-book and began to sketch rapidly and to make notes. He got a picture of a bullock-cart with its matting top, its lumbering wheels and its patient oxen with the heavy yoke on their necks; and another of the quaint little shop with the turbaned master sitting cross-legged among his wares. A few lines gave him a white robed clerk, conspicuous among the almost naked coolies and a few more, a woman with flowers in her hair and ornaments in ears and nose going to a festival. He looked up at a lattice window and imagined all the traditional horrors of Zenana life. He noticed the refuse thrown in the streets and the endless wrangling over the question of price at each little stall. Here was a domestic servant buying chickens for an English master whom, of course, he would swindle; and there a policeman in the Government uniform equally determined on extortion in the name of the law.

By and bye there came along a procession. The first man looked greedily at the god; how splendid it would be to buy the image and exhibit it as the real article straight from the car! How beautiful were the fans that those

brown fellows in white clothes were waving about! He supposed that they were not for sale and turned away without further interest in these heathen folk and their idolatrous rites. The second man took stock of the rigid car with its heavy ropes; those no doubt were Brahmans who stood aloft and gave contemptuous commands to the people below. Haughty fellows evidently, to whom the masses were as dirt, their very touch defilement, and their shadow pollution. Heavens! what a country!

The third man looked deeper. Into his nostrils entered that indefinable smell of the Indian bazaar that was a compound of saffron and coriander, and chillies and damp cloth and many other ingredients, and yet is none of these things. And he, too, saw what his companions had seen, and thoughts rose within him that partook of all that he saw but were too elusive for definition. He was drinking in the mysterious, inscrutable Spirit of India, that spirit which men have termed the Call of the East. He saw a joyous crowd, jostling each other good-humouredly. He heard the chaffering of the stalls but recognized it for what it was, the accepted custom of the country. He noticed the men carrying the babies, to help the women, and the happy faces of the latter as they trotted along under male protection. Here and there a sweeper scuttled out of the way of his betters; it was the custom of the country and there was no resentment. Little acts of kindness he saw, and he heard little scraps of good-natured chaff, and as the procession hove in sight and the people bowed in deep salutation of the god his thoughts ran on that stupendous fact, the dominating influence of religion in the land. A great country, he thought, with a great past, perhaps with a great future; the kindly spirit of the East had got hold of him, and though the words would not come, it was in that spirit that he looked upon the scene. The smell of the bazaar was still in his nostrils.

This little apologue describes not unaptly the mental attitude of those writers of fiction who have chosen either to take India for their subject or have used her as a background for their story. The scenes, or some of them, are no doubt laid in India, perhaps because some kind of foreign country was needed for the plot, but the background is often very sketchily drawn in, and India, in fact, merely serves like the cheap bazaar gods to decorate the story. To do this class of writers justice, they do not pretend to know very much about India or to take the slightest interest in the country. They are generally women who perhaps have

spent a season or two in Simla or Bombay and have learned just enough of the jargon to be able to use India as a background, with a touch here and there of what is called local colour to give the picture at least a semblance of truth. They have in fact bought their little gods and bric-à-brac and use them for decoration, neither knowing nor caring whether the images represent Narayana or Lakshmi, Hanuman, or Ganesh. To them India is simply Anglo-India as represented by the dances, the dinners, the polo matches, and the races of some gay place. The Plains which are the real India are just a kind of sweltering desert, where of course it is infernally hot and where thunderstorms roll up bringing a breathless air and not a drop of rain, and where men work with bloodshot eyes and a terrible weariness at uncongenial tasks, slaving, not, as in real life, with an absorbing interest in the work for its own sake and without thought of reward, but for the woman of their heart who is probably having a more or less "good time" in England or in the ever blessed Hills. India to these writers is the handful of British men and women, and if the men are not in the Army, why of course they are in the Civil Service, which naturally includes the Public Works Department, Forests, and the rest. The world is divided into soldiers and others; so why not? The aim of every right-minded civilian is to rise in his profession so that he may escape the fiery torment of the horrible Plains and be caught up to the delight of the Hills. The population of India is negligible; it is simply and comprehensively "the native element," generally rather unpleasant, often malicious, and always incomprehensible. Indians flit in and out like shadows, soft-footed butlers creep about verandahs in snowy turbans and murmur that dinner is ready; saices and dak-bungalows and ayahs are peppered over the dish to season it, and now and again a mystery with fierce eyes and a skinny arm obligingly provides the sensation. One does not go to such books as these for Indian colour. For all that it matters the scene might just as well be laid in Nigeria or Zululand; only as it happens Simla is in India and is more attractive to the novelist in search of colour. Novelists of this kind need not detain us.

"Non ragionam di lor ma guarda e passa."

If it were not for the impression they leave that they know something of India and find the "natives" both uninteresting and negligible they would hardly come within the scope of our subject. They tell their story of English

loves and intrigues and passions more or less well, according to their gifts, and leave it at that.

Very different are those who have consciously chosen India not as a colourless background but as the essence of their subject. These writers have taken upon themselves a great responsibility, for they are the interpreters of India and all that she stands for to a public which has no intention of reading the heavy articles of the serious magazines or any other example of the more learned kind. Let it not be said that readers of this class read for the story alone. Do we not form an impression of Spain, or Corsica, or Russia, or some other country which that versatile writer, Mr. Merriman, portrays for us? Have we not all heard the exclamation that So-and-So's book makes you want to see such a place? An excellent parson once lent a novel of this class to the writer with the remark that it was "the finest novel that he had read"; the plot was vivid, the intention evidently earnest, but alas! it turned out to be a travesty of the Hindu home, coloured by the bias of missionary zeal and piling upon one devoted "heathen head" all the most sinister traditions of that little understood institution. It is a trite saying that the ignorance of the English in oriental matters is appalling; what can one expect when Mr. Punch calls Siva a goddess and scans Kemal as a trochee? How much greater then the task of the teacher! India has been called "The land of regrets"—we are all now familiar with the "Call of the East." Whence then come these regrets? What is this mysterious "call"? There are fascinations of light and colour, fascinations of the jungle and of the wild life lurking in it, fascinations of mountain and sky and river; yet all these do not suffice. There is surely a fascination too in the child-like unsophisticated people, and many a man there is who is proud to call Indians his friends, and who curses the distance which has turned so many pleasant conversations into memories of far-off days. Those who know India best admit the fascination is general, even while painting unflattering portraits of the individual; they leave India reluctantly and find disillusionment in that "home" to which their enthusiastic thoughts have turned so often.

"I suppose," says Mr. Hilton Brown, "there must be something wanting in my nature, for I could not feel anything of the appropriate elation in going home *qua* going home. I would much rather have travelled East and seen some new country. . . . Someone on board said, 'Never mind, my dear, we're going home—home!' To such people India must surely be a terrible incarceration. Certainly they do no good there."

Or, again, Mrs. Perrin, a true lover of India, who recognizes "the multitude below, the real people of India, who are India itself, who are as an army to an individual compared with the dwellers in hill regions."

"Then a horse fell down" (her hero had arrived in England) "a few yards from him in the street and a crowd collected from nowhere as if by magic, a crowd of unwholesome looking men in dirty clothes, all apparently of the same age and size and type, strangely alike, equally repulsive; he wondered vaguely what they would look like washed and trimmed and deprived of their filthy covering. . . . He thought of an Indian crowd clothed in white or bright colours, picturesque, polite, quiet perhaps to apathy or noisy with a naïve childlike excitement. What a contrast to these rough squalid human beings who gaped and pressed round the fallen animal."

How comes it, then, that such witnesses as these find but little good to say of the Indians? Partly, no doubt, because the main interest of the story is with the Englishman in India, partly too because piquant vice is more adaptable to their purpose than humdrum virtue, but mainly because they have not the knowledge. They represent the second traveller in the bazaar, and he who has carefully assimilated all the externals, has assiduously made his notes and his sketches, has all the materials for producing a realistic and unmistakable picture of India. But he has missed the heart of her, and in missing that he has missed all, for it is from such as these that the average reader draws his conclusions. There was in the Academy of 1923 a picture of a girl seated on a wooden balustrade, painted so realistically that one had to look closely to be sure that the woodwork was not carving but only paint. A clever picture, but a picture simply of a girl seated on a balustrade; nothing more. And so one might say of this type of Anglo-Indian novel that it represents most faithfully the various phases of Indian life—the details of a Civil Servant's life in "Dismiss"—the social aspect in kindly perspective of "The Anglo-Indians," the atmosphere of political unrest in the first of these and in Mr. Candler's "Abdication"—and yet somehow fails to get to the heart of things. The Indians themselves are to blame. Fenced round by the impenetrable wall of caste, the men appearing with the superficial mask of public life, and the women not at all, unless at their brief and childish attempts at the entertainment of other women, what chance do they offer to the intelligent and eager seekers after a fuller knowledge of and a more complete sympathy with the people? And so we get a fiction that is India and yet is not India—is the artificial India of the English with the artificial Indian.

created by the system. One glimpses here and there the yearning to tell of the real India, but always the barrier rises up, and the veiled image of Sais remains veiled.

The favourite characters of this artificial India are the domestic servant and the Prince educated in England. Mrs. Perrin's Gunga, the old butler who has served his master so well, who is heartbroken when the time comes for separation, and whose loss can never be replaced in England, save by a type now dismally drawing towards extinction, is both a kindlier and a truer type than Mr. Minney's swindling, untidy, tyrannical master of the servants' quarters. "The Delhi Road" purports to tell us what goes on behind the scenes, and doubtless there are as bad servants as there are good. But why lay stress on the bad? If the Indian servant has his perquisites, does he not repay such custom by faithful devotion? To read "The Delhi Road" one would think that the Indian servant is the worst in the world instead of being, as he is, the best. And the denationalization of the Indian Prince or the Indian graduate, does it not leave us a little cold? We may beg leave to doubt whether the Indian is really disgusted, as some have painted him, with the prospect of marrying one of his own people and of living according to the customs of his ancestors. We pride ourselves upon our own culture and wrap round us the garments of our own civilization. Nor are we to blame for this; but we ought not to forget that every other people with any claim to be called civilized, with any shred of self-respect for their country and their race, does the same.

For the present attitude of novelists towards India the present political situation is in a large measure responsible. For the political novel is coming more into prominence and is written now, like "Abdication," as a *θρῆνος* over the waning prestige of the English, now, like "Dismiss" in so far as it is political (and the title seems curiously misleading as to the main theme), as the passing bell of the Civil Service, which is perhaps the same thing. But we must pass now to other and more congenial themes.

Side by side with the picture already mentioned was another of Hudson's discovery—huge rolling waves, impressive in power, and on the horizon a tiny ship, emblem both of the majesty and of the insignificance of man. That is the conception which is suggested by him, the supreme example of the Indian novel, and, in a lesser degree, by Mrs. Steel's work. In its own way there is no more charming vignette of Indian life than the little story of

Danesh Ghand, lumbaradar of the village, awaiting the arrival of the long expected son, who turns out to be only the unwanted daughter. But the Indian is made of flesh and blood, and if the grandmother cannot quite forgive the baby for its sex, the father is made of softer stuff. It is not a boy, but it is his and therefore precious. Far better this than your tales of a demoralized and denationalized people, only saved from ruin in so far as they consent to copy their European superiors.

But it is to *Kim* that the reader of fiction must look for the real India, and it is with the wand of Kipling that every writer aspiring to write of India must wish to conjure. Popular as it is, the very conception of the English boy, rejecting the boasted civilization of his race, casting in his lot with the Indian, and miserably unhappy in his English clothes and his English school, must lose its full flavour to those who cannot appreciate the charm and the fidelity of the story. Kipling is the third of our travellers. The deftly introduced touches do not obtrude upon you with a show of learning or even of diligent observation. They are taken for granted, just as an English novelist will take for granted the sights and sounds of Oxford Street or the glamour of the sun upon the gorse. The mastery of *Kim* is gained through its atmosphere rather than through its detail. It does not matter what sort of bullock coach the Kulu woman had or what a third-class Indian carriage looks like; what does matter is the garrulity, the innate kindness and hospitality, the cursing of the servants that means nothing of the one, the joyous light-heartedness, the frankness, the badinage of the other. One does not grasp it, but as the scent of the bazaar is elusive, so is the atmosphere in which we move. Mahbub Ali, the rough, rascally, swashbuckling Afghan, the Lama, as simple as a child yet always to all the holy man, the sturdy woman of the Hills falling in love with *Kim*, the English parson quite unable to understand how anyone can fail to be impressed by the glories of Western civilization—these are more than types; they are living portraits.

Genius is not given to many; and this last class of Anglo-Indian novels is as rare as snow in May. Beside *Kim*, and perhaps one or two more, the ordinary Anglo-Indian novel pales its ineffectual light. For *Kim* shows us India as she really is—lovable and joyous, with her weakness and her strength, untouched by the artificialities of the grafted West, at times not far from detestable, yet always calling, calling to those who have forsaken her. As the

Lama found his river, so we have at last found the Land of Regrets. There is the field for those who will reap; would that there were more labourers who could give us so rich a harvest.

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

MONEY, BANKING AND EXCHANGE IN INDIA. By H. Stanley Jevons.
(Government Press, Simla.)

THE FUTURE OF EXCHANGE AND THE INDIAN CURRENCY. By H. Stanley Jevons. (Oxford University Press.)

(Reviewed by SIR JAMES WILSON, K.C.S.I.)

By the publication of these two books Mr. Stanley Jevons, who is Professor of Economics in the University of Allahabad, has done good service to India. In the first book he gives in simple language a clear and useful summary of the general principles which regulate the use of money and systems of currency, more especially with reference to Indian conditions. He describes the banking system in India, so far as it has been developed, and deals with such questions as the changes which have taken place in the price of silver and in the sterling value of the rupee, and the effect on prices, currency and exchange of the war and of the action taken by the Secretary of State and the Government of India since the Armistice. In the second book he states his views as to the probable future course of prices, and as to the policy which should now be adopted by the Government of India. He also gives a number of tables of prices, index-numbers, rates of exchange, etc., which will be found useful for reference. The books are well worthy of study, both by students of currency questions generally, and by all who are interested in the prosperity of the millions of India's population.

In dealing with exchange he confines his comparisons too closely to the rate of exchange of the rupee reckoned in sterling, and does not eliminate the effect on the value of the rupee of the changes which have taken place in the value of sterling itself, when measured in gold, which is still the basis of international transactions, and a much better measure of value than the variable British paper pound. As was shown in my article on "The Indian Currency Policy" in the April issue of the ASIATIC REVIEW, the value of the rupee in fine gold in London, which before the war was steady at 7.5 grains, had risen on January 31, 1920, to 9.6 grains, but had by January 31, 1923, fallen to 7.4 grains. On August 16, 1923, the rupee was quoted in London at 1s. 4d.—that is, at one-fifteenth of the pound sterling—but on the same date gold was sold in London at 90s. 2d. per fine ounce, as compared with the par rate of 85s. per fine ounce. This means that on that date the pound sterling would buy only 106.5 grains of fine gold, while the sovereign contains 113 grains; so that the pound sterling was worth only 94.2 per cent. of the gold in a sovereign; and as the rupee was worth one-fifteenth of a pound, its value in gold in London

At that date, was only 7.1 grains, as compared with the 7.5 grains which was the usual rate before the war, and with the rate of 11.3 grains of fine gold at which the Secretary of State in his announcement of February 2, 1920, said that he would aim.

Mr. Jevons admits that the Secretary of State's policy of giving the rupee the fixed value in exchange of one-tenth of a sovereign (which he himself at one time advocated) has failed up to the present, and that it cannot in all human probability be realized within the next four or five years. He also points out that, if it could be realized, it would result in a fall of prices so great that it would spell ruin and hardship for millions of cultivators, and would place an undue burden on all debtors, including the State itself. He therefore now urges that the immediate policy of the Government of India should aim at stabilizing the rupee at 1s. 4d., and discusses the ways in which this object might be attained. He recommends that this should be fixed upon as the permanent rate, and that the sovereign should again be made legal tender for 15 rupees, as it was before the war, instead of the present statutory ratio of 10 rupees, which is merely nominal, as the sovereign at present can be sold in the Indian bazaars at over 15 rupees. It seems probable that the difficulty will now be, not to raise the value of the rupee to anything like one-tenth of a sovereign, but to raise it from its present value of about one-sixteenth of a sovereign to the proposed fixed value of one-fifteenth of a sovereign, and to keep it permanently at that rate. Mr. Jevons suggests a large contraction of the note circulation, which is no doubt desirable; but perhaps he does not fully realize that an enormous number of rupee coins are at present hoarded by the people, and that the fall in the rupee prices of commodities, which is likely to result from any large contraction of the currency in circulation, may tempt rupees out of hoards, which would tend to lower the value of the rupee measured in gold, and would necessitate a further contraction of the note circulation and possibly the melting of rupees, in order to prevent the gold value of the rupee from falling below the proposed fixed ratio of one-fifteenth of a sovereign.

CONSERVATION MANUAL, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. By Sir JOHN MARSHALL, Kt., C.I.E. (Superintendent Government Printing, India.)

(Reviewed by J. C. FRENCH.)

This excellent work forms a fitting culmination to the great movement for the preservation of the ancient arts and monuments of India initiated by Lord Curzon about a quarter of a century ago, in which Sir John Marshall has played so distinguished a part. It is to be hoped that it does not also mark a conclusion, in view of the ominous signs of retrenchment activities in this direction. The present Manual is a milestone which marks how far we have travelled from the time when the Diwan-i-Khas at Delhi was used as a soldiers' canteen, and the Taj Mahal at Agra escaped being broken up solely because an experiment on a

smaller scale in the sale of marble had proved a financial disappointment. In a country such as India, the problem of the preservation of ancient remains assumes proportions vastly more formidable than in less luxuriant regions. The dry sand of Egypt, for instance, preserves where the Indian rains would rapidly disintegrate, and the conditions in the temperate zones are also favourable. Animal, vegetable, and climatic conditions in India are ceaselessly inimical to the works of man, and it is a strange sight to see how massive masonry, which has survived a hundred earthquakes, is finally broken by trees and creepers.

The present Manual is largely concerned with the technical aspects of building and administration, but interesting questions of general interest are not lacking. The difficult matter of restoration is treated with a care and thoroughness which ought to preserve India from the havoc wrought under this name in England. When the choice lies between collapse and restoration the decision is forced, and the Manual wisely prescribes that wherever old materials are available they should be made use of, to avoid the unsightly and distracting introduction of modern work. The delicate question of religious monuments is dealt with in a practical manner. If the owner or trustee has requested the archaeological department to look after the building, he still has the power to terminate the agreement at will. But the department, before taking charge, will take an agreement from him that he will refund any money spent on the building if he terminates the agreement. The point is an important one, as most of the ancient monuments of India are religious in one form or another.

An interesting point is the question whether flowers are to be used to decorate the approaches and surroundings of ancient buildings. As a general rule they are rightly rejected. They are troublesome, expensive to keep up, and unless chosen with exceptional taste are apt to produce a frivolous and incongruous impression, and to clash with the objects they are supposed to decorate.

Another interesting question is the use of modern flowers in ancient gardens. The Manual lays down that the tastes of the present frequenters of the gardens are to be considered, and no pedantic attachment to the precise flowers and shrubs in vogue when the gardens were built is to prevent full advantage being taken of modern advances in horticulture. It is to be hoped that the flowers chosen may harmonize with the old gardens, for one cannot help feeling that in an old garden old flowers are in place. And this is no idle caprice or sentimentality. The designer of the garden had such flowers in view when he built it, and it is a tenable theory that no other flowers, however large and brilliant, will ever suit it so well.

This Manual is necessary to anyone interested in the preservation of ancient monuments in the East.

THE KAN YING PIEN* or Book of Rewards and Punishments. The Chinese Text, with Introduction, Translation, and Notes. By JAMES WEBSTER. (*Shanghai Presbyterian Mission Press.*)

(Reviewed by Professor E. H. PARKER.)

The Rev. James Webster, a studious Wesleyan missionary, has resided in China for nearly twenty years, apparently at Ch'ang-sha (capital of Hu Nan) for most of the time, and he tells us in his Preface that the present neat volume of thirty pages, plus ten pages of Chinese Index, is the outcome of work done, at various intervals, during a period of seven years: the original plan was to include a complete translation of a standard Chinese commentary on the text, but he thinks that, on the whole, the treatment he has adopted will be the more useful to foreign students. The work, attributed quite wrongly to Lao-tsz himself, is purely a popular catechism based on the teachings of modern, non-mystical, corrupt Taoism: in 1906 an illustrated translation of it by Teitaro Suzuki and Dr. Paul Carus was reviewed by the present writer in the April number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for 1907, pp. 400-402. It hardly ranks amongst the learned Chinese as "literature" at all, though Stanislas Julien once took the trouble to translate it. Volume XLVIII. of the *Chinese Recorder* (January, 1917) reproduces a paper entitled *Book of Rewards and Punishments* read by Mr. Arthur Sowerby before the Tientsin Missionary Association, apparently in 1916; according to him the real author of this popular book was a man of Taoist persuasion named Li Chiang-ling, who is stated to have lived about the time when Kublai Khan was making an end of the highly literary Sung dynasty (about 1260 A.D.): the learned Jesuit Père Wiegier, in his *Moral Tenets and Customs*, is said by Mr. Sowerby to have published Père Davrout's translation of the work.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Trubner's Oriental Series (Kegan Paul), 10s. 6d. net each; "Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages," by Dr. De Lacy O'Leary; "Studies in Biblical and Semitic Symbolism," by M. H. Farbridge.

"Trade, Tariffs and Transport in India," by K. T. Shah (P. S. King); Indian Texts Series: "Hatim's Tales," by Sir Aurel Stein and Sir George Grierson, 30s. net (John Murray); "The Origin of Biblical Traditions," by Albert T. Clay, 13s. 6d. net (Yale); "Epigraphica Birmanica," edited by C. Duroiselle, Vol. III, Part I, Rs. 3; "Umar Khayyam and His Age," by Otto Rothfeld, Rs. 7-8 (Taraporevala); "The English Factory in India, 1661-1664," by W. Foster, 18s. (Oxford); "Les theories diplomatiques de l'Inde ancienne," by Kalidas Nag (Maisonneuve); "New Light upon the Philosophy of India," by D. Gopaul Chetty, 3s. 6d. (Dent).

* Should be *Pien*.

INDIAN TRADE, MERCHANDISE AND BULLION

(COMPILED FROM MATERIAL SUPPLIED BY THE INDIAN
TRADE COMMISSIONER)

THE most important event of the year in Indian Commerce and Finance is the arrival of the monsoon. The rainy season commences early in June and closes late in September, but variations in the opening and closing date and distribution of monsoon account for alterations in the sowing areas and ultimate harvests. The monsoon of 1922 was excellent both in duration, volume, and distribution; the result was very favourable crops and a reduction in the prices of India's staple produce.

The monsoon of 1923 opened distinctly late. Distribution and volume have so far been fairly good on the whole, and the general result has been so far normal—*i.e.*, not quite so good as in 1922. It should be remembered that while the early rains are important in bringing forward the jute and rice crops, the close of the monsoon is essential for the wheat crop in non-irrigated areas. Wheat in India is sown in October in soil thoroughly moistened by September rains. Although rainfall during Christmas is necessary for a first-class crop, it is not essential for the harvest, provided the monsoon was sufficiently strong towards the end of September to see the crop through to its final harvesting in March and April. So far the monsoon

obtained during 1923 has been satisfactory, and the general crop prospects are good.

The effect of the monsoon on exports can be seen in the following statistics as far as they relate to grain, pulse, and flour, oil-seeds, raw jute, and raw cotton. The exports of cotton have fallen off during the last month or two owing to the slump in textiles, but grain and oil-seeds are well maintained. The market for hides and skins has been affected by the conditions in Central Europe. Tea has done exceptionally well.

On the imports side India's orders for iron and steel show some signs of falling off, and also machinery. Cotton piece-goods have also been affected by the slump. Stocks, however, are bare. As soon as the American crops are assured, and prices become more or less stable, cotton piece-goods will revive.

An important factor in India's foreign trade are the imports of gold and silver. Her demand for gold and silver on private account was naturally checked as a result of the war, and the trade boom that followed the war encouraged her to export. A vacuum was thus created, which is being filled up as the price of silver returns to normal. Net imports of gold reached the very high total of nearly 12 millions. Since January, 1923, imports of gold have fallen, but silver remains about the same level. The proportions are roughly $2\frac{1}{2} : 1$.

STATEMENT SHOWING MONTHLY VARIATIONS IN THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF EXPORT
AND IMPORT DURING THE FIRST SEVEN MONTHS OF 1923.

EXPORTS (EXPRESSED IN LAKHS OF RUPEES).

	Grain, Pulse, and Flour.	Tea.	Hides (raw).*	Skins (raw).*	Tanned Hides and Skins.*	Jute (raw).	Jute Goods.	Seeds.	Shellac.	Cotton (raw).*	Total Exports (Merchandise, including Re-exports).
January, 1923	...	199	14	40	48	187	338	206	89	927	2,947
February "	...	165	23	47	53	157	294	255	139	1,123	3,168
March "	...	584	20	43	48	96	406	283	94	1,029	3,268
April "	...	586	40	43	53	102	293	288	82	953	3,068
May "	...	478	35	58	52	62	360	445	78	783	3,005
June "	...	556	26	66	55	78	336	327	88	748	2,989
July "	...	477	17	25	51	80	300	265	51	636	2,612

* Include re-exports.

IMPORTS (EXPRESSED IN LAKHS OF RUPEES).

	Sugar.	Iron and Steel.	Machinery and Mill-Work.	Cotton Piece-Goods.	Total Imports (Merchandise).
January, 1923	164	174	205	574	2,139
February	222	149	180	543	1,940
March	190	150	176	441	1,856
April	92	198	204	535	2,109
May	48	148	212	467	1,928
June	34	128	195	438	1,798
July	101	86	155	387	1,638

NET TRADE IN GOLD AND SILVER DURING THE FIRST SEVEN MONTHS OF 1923.
PRIVATE AND GOVERNMENT (EXPRESSED IN LAKHS OF RUPEES).

	GOLD (- equals imports ; + equals exports).	SILVER (- equals imports ; + equals exports).
January, 1923	- 342	- 268
February	- 684	- 375
March	- 616	- 128
April	- 696	- 92
May	- 303	- 150
June	- 205	- 175
July	- 243	- 140

A CHINESE PHILOSOPHER ON "FATE"

BY E. H. PARKER

AT the end of a paper on "Ancient Chinese Spiritualism," published in the January number of this year, I intimated my readiness to continue the subject in its variety of "Fatalism," should the readers of the *Asiatic Review* express their willingness to tolerate the further discussion; the Editor now vouches for a favourable "listening-in." The philosopher Meccius (Mêh-tsz, about 300 B.C.) treats of this subject in Chapters 35, 36, and 37 of Book IX., and he condemns as strongly the Confucianists' view upon the efficacy of Fate as a guide to or corrective of worthy human conduct, as he on the other hand upholds the view, contrary to that of the Confucianists, that Heaven has a real insight into and Ghosts have a real spiritual power over humanity. The ancients, he says, as recorded by history and tradition, assuredly all equally desired wealth, populousness, and order; but they often failed and were disappointed in this respect, and rulers or instructors were thus led to the conclusion that these disappointing or unfavourable conditions were not really created by individuals, but were foreordained by a sort of predestination from Heaven: this teaching naturally had a vicious effect upon the common people, who were in consequence led to abandon persistent and industrious effort and to give way easily to lazy counsels of despair. But, really, you must in all argument have a fixed rule or system of logic before your mind, like a dial, otherwise you might as well endeavour to fix the time of day by means of a potter's wheel or a moving 'plane.' The achievements of T'ang and Wu, founders of the second (1766 B.C.) and third (1122 B.C.) hereditary dynasties, were the result of their zealous efforts

to restore that order which had been disturbed by the scandalous vices of Kieh and Djou, the last emperors of the first and second dynasties respectively: it is absurd to argue that Fate had preordained all this, irrespective of human persistence and endeavour. Is it to be supposed that an army's success cannot be humbly prayed for or stimulated by eloquent addresses; that its failure cannot be checked by prudence and care; but that mere automats must go blindly through the fighting, just as predestined by Fate? The wise and good rulers of ancient times, by means of judiciously published rewards and punishments, created inclination to virtue: hence pious, kind, and deferential social feelings were engendered or stimulated by suitably thought-out prescriptions and regulations. Officials had no encouragement to steal or peculate; they had every inducement faithfully to defend the posts entrusted to them, and loyally to protect the person of their ruler when he found himself in danger. The Fatalist teaching, however, ignores all human effort, and consigns all these happenings to a mysterious predestination, belief in which undoubtedly caused the above-mentioned tyrants to persist with callous indifference in their evil ways.

At present it is difficult to ascertain what is true and what is false in the world; and the acutest thinker, like the acutest artisan, cannot possibly come to any definite conclusion, whether it be as to ethics or as to time of day, if he depend upon an ever shifting basis of thought. Hence three methods are indispensable—that is to say, origin, principle, and effect. For origin we must look to the will of Heaven and the Spirits as appearing in the doings of our sacred monarchs: for principle we must consult the records of our former kings: for practical effect we must examine how they administered the government and developed the laws. The present-time leaders of thought differ in opinion as to whether there really be such a thing as Fate; but, after all, this is a matter which can

be decided by the immediate evidence of our own eyes and ears : for instance, has any one from ancient times till now ever *seen* Fate with his eyes or *heard* it with his ears ? No ! If it be argued that the negative experience of ignorant people proves nothing, then do we ever hear, from any source, of the vassal ruler classes having done so ? No ! On the other hand, we read abundantly of the sacred monarchs' success in creating obedient sons and brave parents ; their administrative methods were effective, both as to rewards and punishments, so that order reigned everywhere. Should this be doubted, look at the disorders prevalent under Kieh and Djou which were suppressed and restored to order after the above-mentioned punitive steps had been taken by T'ang and Wu respectively. It was no Fate that accomplished this, but genuine human effort. The fatalists may perhaps argue that they are not the creators or transmitters of a new doctrine which, in fact they say, dates from remote antiquity. Yes, I answer, but who knows whether these alleged fatalists of ancient times were good men or were scoundrels ? The officials of the good old times were men of their word and knew well what they were doing ; they submitted worthy advice to their rulers above, just as they exhorted to good their dependents below ; and in such wise it was that they earned rewards from the one and gratitude from the other : their high repute is not extinguished in men's memories to this day, and the whole world still speaks admiringly of their statecraft. But so soon as ever the state, the family, and the common people are ignored, useless taxes collected and the multitude oppressed, then the subject ceases to love and respect his ruler ; the land becomes unproductive and deserted ; and the wretched debtor finds no comfort in the reflection that Fate has ordained all this. The wicked kings of old placed no rein upon their passions, giving up their whole time to hunting, sport, and drunken orgies : far from confessing these shortcomings, they justified or excused themselves with the plea that they were only

following, the dictates of Fate, even when their ruin actually came: the ignorant people under such wicked rulers imitated their superiors' example: they neglected their duties to state and family: courtesy and economy were foreign to their thoughts, and they loved a go-as-you-please sort of life, lazy for work, indulging every appetite; in consequence of which food and clothes fell short, and misery supervened: they were the last to think of blaming themselves for this: no! said they, Fate has decreed it so. The wise kings of old felt aggrieved at the thought of this possibility, as they have recorded for us on bamboo slips, silken scrolls, on bronzes and on stones, and they accordingly took punitive steps as above mentioned. Indeed, one [now lost] book on the Three Dynasties and their vassals actually says: "Do not lay store on the Behest or Fate of Heaven;" which means evidently that there is really no such thing as Fate.

[There is a great deal of bewildering repetition, in Chapter 37, of the above general sense set forth in Chapters 35, 36: there are manifest misprints, use of wrong words (*i.e.* "characters") possessing the same or approximate sounds: in fact, though the main thread of thought is plain, yet the style is rough and ungainly—certainly not to be recommended to unpractised students of Chinese.] Yü, the founder of the first of the three hereditary dynasties, and Wên the father of Wu, here appear to reinforce the T'ang and Wu who founded new, and put an end to the old wicked dynasties. These four men are stated to have said in turn: "We must so manage that the hungry all have food and raiment to comfort their bodies," and their glory lies in this fact; it thus cannot be a question of Fate. On the other hand, the wicked emperors or kings who believed in Fate were the Kieh and Djou above mentioned and the monarchs Yu and Li (ninth and eighth century B.C.) of the third dynasty: [it was after the flight of the latter in 843 that the old system of imperial government collapsed: exact chronology begins in 841, and for a few years a kind of republic or triumvirate

was established, pending the return of a suitable Chou emperor; a generation or two latter this "papal" capital of Chou was moved east from modern Shen Si to the modern Ho-nan Fu. Confucius' laconic history treats of the period 722-481 when the vassal "Fighting States," holding all the effective power, and treating the Chou emperors with patronizing indifference, entered upon an ambitious struggle, first for turn by turn hegemony as *primus inter pares*, and finally for unblushing imperial power over all vassals. It was when the half-Tartar westernmost state of Ts'in was on the point of succeeding in this great endeavour, that the rival philosophers Mencius (Mêng-tsz), Cincius (Sün-tsz) and Meccius (Mêh-tsz) took up the Confucian question, defining might and right]. The bracketed part above is of course in each case explanatory, and in no way translates Meccius' wordy chapters. He goes on to say, however, that the above-mentioned four criminal emperors, notwithstanding their exalted position and vast domain, proved totally incapable of restraining their passions and appetites, besides neglecting their state duties, the education and improvement of the people, and all precautions, reasonable economies, and so on: thus it was that in the end they lost their ancestral shrine—i.e., their dynastic rights. This disaster they each of them stupidly put down to Fate, never for a moment realizing that their own criminality was the true cause; and the silly people of their day naturally followed the example of their rulers. Meccius goes on to quote certain lost passages of what was probably part of the Book of History, in order to illustrate how the virtuous kings inculcated the doctrine of good works as contrasted with the absurd reliance upon Fate. Why (he goes on to say) do our kings, ministers, and nobles grant audiences from morning to night, and spend the intervals of time in administering justice, drawing up rules for development of tolls, markets, woods, ponds, and dykes, all without intermission or rest? Why, because they know well that a display of energy will

bring them good repute, and the lack of energy will cover them with contempt. For the same reason do the women bestir themselves busily about household work and cares. There is no Fate about the results, which are purely the consequence of human endeavour. In a word, idleness and failure are the infallible consequences of the absurd belief in Fate, whilst on the other hand hearty endeavour always has its infallible reward in productiveness and happiness.

It will be seen from the above that Meccius, in spite of his denunciations and discursiveness, really says nothing more to the point than this: Human endeavour, economy, industry, courtesy, unselfishness—these produce as infallible results content, order, and happiness; just as the absence of these entirely human qualities must necessarily end in failure, poverty, discontent, and revolt. "Heaven's Command" or "Fate" is a myth, and has really nothing to do with human affairs.

* * * * *

Just as I had finished extracting the above scanty results from Meccius' three imperfect chapters on Fate, the literary style of which is in every way painfully inferior to his rival Cincius' celebrated chapter on the "Natural Badness of Humanity" (translated word for word in the *Dublin Review* of October, 1922), I received from Professor Alfred Forke, of the Frederick-William University, Berlin, a volume of over 600 pages giving in German a complete word for word translation of all Meccius' 71 Chapters in 15 Books, plus a 16th Book according to the arrangement of the modern scholar Pih Yüan (1783 A.D.) Of the nominal 71 chapters, however, 18 are irrecoverably lost, and consequently only 53 are really available for translation; this has now been done, as Herr Forke justly claims, *vollständig, zum ersten Male*. He gives in addition a full translation of the introduction, being a full account in 5 Books of the various old texts; their genuineness; the various commentators, dynasty by dynasty; the various critics, Chinese and Japanese; the probable authorship of

each particular chapter of the surviving 53, some only of which were actually written by Meccius himself; and a synoptic grouping based for clearness' sake on a comparison in principle with our synoptic Gospels; the actual life of Meccius; his general philosophy; judgment of Chinese, Japanese, and European *savants*; and the various "schools" of Meccius' doctrine. Finally comes a good index of Chinese proper names.

This might be fairly described as a "life-work" in its completeness, every detail of which is set forth with a minuteness and patience thoroughly German. Professor Forke had already published and sent to me in 1907 and 1911 two volumes of Wang Ch'ung's Miscellaneous Essays, each volume as bulky as the present volume on Meccius; but these earlier translations were done into English, not German. Wang Ch'ung was a bold critic of the first century A.D. who made and published a close examination into all the chief Chinese philosophers' writings, including those of Confucius himself. The Chinese literary men themselves do not and perhaps never did seem to value Wang Ch'ung's somewhat pert criticisms so highly as Herr Forke seems to do, nor did the latter do his English translations of Wang Ch'ung with anything like the minuteness and care he has lavished upon Meccius. In making these remarks, the present writer fears that the sands of life have already run out too far for him to study minutely afresh the whole of the last admirable work of Professor Forke, but at least he feels it a duty to call public attention to this great work, which may be purchased at the Berlin Seminary for Eastern Languages.

CORRESPONDENCE

CHINESE RAILWAYS

To the Editor of the "ASIATIC REVIEW."

SIR,

Having experienced the honour and pleasure of being employed in China's first railway service many years ago, thereby becoming aware of the fundamental truths concerning industrial activity as applied to that country, so clearly enunciated in the admirable and welcome article "China Waiting for Development," may I be permitted to say that the thanks of the thinking world are due to Mr. Chao Hsin Chu for the same, as also for the information he has so kindly made public therein.

Watching, with a Permanent Way Engineer newly from India, the congested boat-traffic surging one sultry August afternoon through the narrow tributaries of the Grand Canal close to Soochow, and marvelling at the unseen control that achieved successful flow solely through the individualities of the various Lowdahs,* "yulohing"† their way certainly with shouting but emphatically with safety, without "official" interference of any sort, my colleague, hitherto prejudiced in favour of Anglo-Indian officialdom, remarked to me :

"You are right, I take back what I have said about this country ; this is a great people ; they have every adjunct of civilization that we of the West possess except railways, they ARE civilized, and it is a shame to attempt to FORCE railways upon them."

That veteran, Mr. Claude Kinder, the George Stephenson of China, once said to me in his vigorous way : "China will begin to begin where we are leaving off ; when we are trying to fly she will be organizing her railway systems and initiating her trunk lines, and a thundering good job she will make of them."

* Lowdah, head boatman, bos'n.

† Yulohing, yuloh, a sort of large "sweep" used at the stern of the boat with lateral motion, somewhat as a fisherman sculls, a dinghy with one oar.

Now, as Mr. Chao Hsin Chu so rightly says, is her opportunity, as of those who would in all sincerity help her; who better able, if they stick to their honourable tradition, than British engineers and manufacturers who understand the meaning of the term SERVICE?

With a vast fund of experience on which to draw it is to be hoped that she will not—nay, she MUST NOT—permit her industrial outlook to be soiled and cramped by horrible conditions similar to those the West has tolerated in its so-called development; Occidental experiment thus leading to Oriental comfort.

One of China's greatest achievements will be (while we are talking about doing so) to prick the industrial bubble as blown by the "Manchester School" of all countries; in so doing she will earn the perennial gratitude of the world; honest manipulation of engineering effort for the social benefit of, and by industry being the true function of politics.

The attitude of mind evinced by a remark recently made by one of our politicians that, "If all China could be persuaded to wear cotton nightcaps, then there would be no need for short time in Lancashire," may suit the ledgers of a clique of narrow views, but is no assistance to China or world trade, such argument being bred from gloomy climatic conditions, creating artificial employment in badly-ventilated, villainously-crowded circumstances for an inflated population hugging its chains of willingness to endure the same, and lack of will effectually to protest thereat, as very virtue.

The world should be grateful for a nation with the characteristics of the Chinese, ready to carry on, to develop and to use truthfully industrial procedure; the Chinese have a special "flair" for railway working (and particularly railway locomotive engineering, the backbone of it all). Was it not their Ministry of Communications who issued recently an order that all goods must be carried at railway risk? Think what this means carried to its logical issue—simply the fulfilment of the purpose for which railways originally were designed by Britain's engineers; the fathers of them all—namely, as common carriers unashamed

thereat, serving the public reliably and safely ; here the way is clear for China to avoid the amateurish redundancy of experiment prevalent in India, and the over-clericalized departmentalism eating into Western systems to-day.

It was the writer's good fortune to be enabled, during a recent visit, to observe what progress, that could so be termed, had been made during an absence of nearly a quarter of a century.

The Peking-Mukden (the old imperial railways of North China and the genesis of China's railway systems) compares most favourably in management, equipment, and results with the main lines of India ; considering that (excepting the Shanghai and Nanking railway) their percentage of British employees is lower than that of the parent concern, China's few other lines bear similar favourable comparison.

The country appeared practically unaltered internally, but the treaty ports tend to become a hectic fringe of attempted hustle ; "Yep!" for "Yes" being a common expression among the younger and transpacifically inclined Chinese ; this appeared significant, and it would seem that China does run some risk of slipping into the get-rich-quick morass.

It is to her countrymen of Mr. Chao Hsin Chu's train of thought, and let us hope to the best of ours, that she must look to aid her in making haste slowly, or, as he observes, "to encourage industrial life by slow and normal evolution."

Granted the necessary finance or will to finance, what China needs is railway engineers bred in the best traditions of locomotive working ; not academic £10,000 a year "supermen," but of the "company's man" type devoting themselves ungrudgingly to her ; living in and working from converted goods waggons if and when necessary, and spending money in the country of their adoption.

Her own young future railway engineers could (as I am aware that some are already doing) study with advantage the lives, and, where possible, correspondence concerning the personal experiences of the Stephensons, Brunells, Dennys, Maudslays ; the David Joys, Webbs, Ramsbottoms, Stroudleys ; and the Churchwards and Gresleys

of a later era, thus avoiding the tendency to repeat imperfections justified by the lack of data incidental to early locomotive superintendence.

Turning to one of my diaries of railway work in North China, I find the following, written during 1897-98, which bears out from practical experience Mr. Chao Hsin Chu's remarks on p. 394 of his article, "Railways in China are Profitable Enterprises from the very Start"; also corroborating his enunciation as to there being no uncertainty concerning the fruition of railway enterprise in that country:

FENGTAI, NEAR PEKING,

NORTH CHINA,

May 15th, 1898.

"... The Chinese expects an immediate return for his money, and has a keen eye to the line paying for itself as construction proceeds; trains are run on unballasted road, rails being laid, he argues, 'Have got rail, can run train, can run train, can catch dollar. . . .'"

"... When things do start properly in China there is a great future for locomotive engineering adapted to Chinese ideas; whether the climate will make the British who go there into Chinese or make the Chinese adopt British ideas is an open question. . . ."

"... Great Britain should endeavour to be allowed to have the building of the Peking-Hankow line—a line obviously more important than a round-the-corner concern like the Newchuang line in the north. . . ."

"... Being a grand trunk line it (the Peking-Hankow Railway) will exert enormous influence on the country—*e.g.*, branch traffic; and as our American cousins are beginning an extension to Canton, there is magnificent opportunity for the Anglo-American alliance to show to advantage. . . ."

"... A great artery branching out in its progress down the country, and leading to we cannot tell what local development in the way of branch traffic and manufactures. . . ."

"... Railways in China are in their absolute infancy. . . ."

"... What is to be expected on a railway where everything is madly subordinated to the laying of rails at the ruinous expense of locomotives, expected to be turned over to traffic and to safely work passenger trains immediately from ballasting; the locomotive superintendent must be listened to, a rail more or less at railhead at the end of a day's work does not matter, but a split pin missing out of the small end of an eccentric rod may cause disastrous result. . . ."

"... It is in the details absolutely necessary to the efficient daily working of the line that the Chinese need instruction, and I can unhesitatingly affirm that any personal trouble taken with the Chinese in such matters will be amply rewarded as they are most excellent workmen; I do not only mean the ordinary coolie, but full-blown workmen such as fitters, moulders, coppersmiths, boilermakers, blacksmiths, carpenters, etc. They can be imbued thoroughly with a spirit of pride in their work and loyalty to their chiefs. . . ."

"... Railway influence is THE civilizing influence of the future; those accustomed to the same (railways) know what is required in order to carry them on successfully; those who get the work done must perforce educate those doing the work to some extent in their own manners and customs. . . ."

"... It is much the custom to lay the blame of slovenliness and lack of success upon the Chinese. . . ."

"... Great Britain will have to work *with* the Chinese . . . the men who go to China must be prepared to assimilate the best principles of English practice with whatever is good in Chinese, and above all to take sound trouble with the Chinese workmen, who are among the best in the world, thoroughly appreciating and quickly catching on to the essentially good parts of any new thing. The Chinese are certainly and rightly conservative regarding the political working of their own country; but that country is virgin regarding Western 'improvements.' . . ."

" . . . She finds the foreigner a necessary evil ; it is for the present supposed necessary evil to show himself to be an essential good ; the Chinese are not ' niggers,' their mandarins are courtly polished gentlemen " . . . " the railway history of China is as yet in its absolute infancy, no definite type of departmental administration has been considered, the same stumbling-blocks are being daily overcome that opposed the development of railways in England." . . . " We must construct, and more important still, carry on with the same *esprit de corps* and excellence that characterizes the great and successful British systems before mentioned. . . . "

" . . . Railway enterprise will have to be suited to the climate as regards engineering and discipline, but those about to start railway working there will not go far wrong if they lay down as foundation the sound departmental principles of the leading home railways."

That finance will willingly play its proper part as instrument of, rather than absolute dictator to, the engineer, and the latter be prepared to work elastically, will be of no avail unless sincere attention be paid to Sir Robert Hart's remarks in his book, " These from the Land of Sinim."

" Friendliness rather than progress is what is wanted, and the means adopted should have this end in view. If friendliness is secured there will assuredly follow an appropriate material progress, whereas the attempt to force progress may not only fail in itself, but what is more, be at the expense of friendliness."

May I venture to add that the spirit of the old Latin grammar tag " *Congruenter naturæ vivendum est* " be borne in mind by those aspiring to take up duty in the land of Confucius.

I am, sir,

Your obedient servant,

CECIL GASCOYNE HOWSIN.

(Late Assistant Locomotive, Carriage, and Waggon Superintendent,
Imperial Railways of North China.)

NEAR EASTERN NOTES

By F. R. SCATCHERD

I.—THE NEAR EAST—A DANGER ZONE TO EUROPE.

RECENT events in the Near East and their repercussion in Europe have once more proved to demonstration that there can be no lasting world-peace without a veritable change of heart on the part of all concerned.

To deal with the political details in an attempt to apportion praise or blame is mere waste of time; the question is too far-reaching to be viewed in the light of current political theories, expedients, and ambitions, legitimate or the reverse. It was in this frame of mind, shared by many besides myself, that I attended the ninety-first annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, which was held this year at Liverpool.

In his "straight talk to Europe" Professor John Sebelien, a Norwegian member of the British Association, had said that it was usual to regard Southern Europe as the birthplace of civilization. Not only was it a long time since the Balkan peoples had contributed anything of real importance to human progress, but at the present moment tendencies of doubtful value to the future of the world still seethed and boiled in those troubled lands.

"It is a question if the Vikings were any less gentle than the Greeks of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, but to-day the peoples of the north certainly provide an example in civilized habits to the people of the south. . . . As recently as 1905 a situation arose which necessitated these nations facing each other armed to the teeth. Though it was a question of national welfare and—that word beloved of the Latin races—'honour,' Norway and Sweden agreed in peace without the loss of one life."

Professor Sebelien brought forward this episode in order to demonstrate to Southern peoples the possibility of settling vital differences without resorting to "the mailed fist" and similar forms of antiquated brutality. It was, he maintained, a strange phenomenon that enabled the nations of the wild North to boast in this fashion to peoples who prided themselves on occupying the very cradle of civilization.

II. WHERE TO LOOK FOR LIGHT?

In view of the fact that religion, science, art, philosophy are the truly international forces, transcending all human limitations of race and nationality, standing even the test of the Great War, when allowed free and full expression, it was natural to look in their direction for some guidance as to the fundamental principles which should replace the political "Will o' the wisps" once again threatening to engulf humanity in the horrors of a fresh conflict.

Speaking at Liverpool on September 9 I had said that the present state

of Europe is a challenge to those heroic survivors still true to the ideals for which men have died, and in their inmost hearts are willing to die, all the world over, when they see even a fighting chance of securing their triumph. As an example, take one of the greatest of these ideals, the League of Nations. Why does one of our great London papers* always submit it to the "acid test of reality"? Why does it oppose with all its might those "fanatical British ideologues who are eager to burn down their own house to roast a polyglot pig"?

It is not because it despises "the lofty ideal embalmed in the decaying corpse of the League." It finds that ideal as noble as when ex-President Wilson first preached it to a war-distracted Europe.

It is because it sees that, five years after the war,

"Europe is still governed by might, not by right; by force, not by law; by violence, not by parchment; by fears, not by treaties."

"By fears, not by treaties." Therein lies the root and substance of the whole matter. It is because of fears for their peoples that Poincaré and Mussolini have become "apostles of might," and that the countrymen of Dante and Mazzini have made "scraps of paper" of the treaty of 1863, as well as of the League Covenant by seizing Corfu even for a few days.

"Pacifist lunatics" were ready to propose the loan of the British fleet in order to "postpone the public funeral of a League which expired when its true and only begetter, the American people, disowned and deserted it. . . . *The United States have saved themselves. Let us save ourselves.*" [The italics are ours.]

What if it should prove a sociological, a scientific as well as moral truth, that we cannot save ourselves in any true sense of the word except by saving others?

It is only half the truth to say that America has disowned and deserted the League. The best thought in America is as anxious for the success of the League as are any of the "fanatical British ideologues." It was at the invitation of Americans that Lord Robert Cecil visited Canada and the United States last spring, and on his return expressed it as his belief that it was doubt as to the sincerity of Europe's desire for peace that was the main obstacle to America's entry into the League.†

If the League has to go, it must only be to give place to a more perfect embodiment of the ideals for which it stands. The pre-eminently practical mind of America, combined with British idealism, may be trusted to find the way out.

III. CO-OPERATION—A FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE.

Sir Ernest Rutherford, in his presidential address, said that the unknown appeared as a dense mist before men's eyes. In order to penetrate this obscurity we could not secure the help of supermen, but must rely upon the united efforts of "adequately trained, ordinary men of scientific imagination." Not only must universities and laboratories be endowed,

* *The Daily Express*, September 7, 1923.

† Cp. *Near Eastern Notes*, *ASIATIC REVIEW*, July, 1923.

and young men come forward as workers, in order to secure the best results. It was also essential to realize that peace throughout the civilized world was as important for rapid scientific progress as for general commercial prosperity.

Sir Henry Fowler, in his presidential address to the Engineering Section, referred to the part of the British Association in bringing together those whose work is purely scientific and those who are applying that knowledge to the service of mankind.

Dr. Cyril Burt, President of the newly-formed Psychological Section, said that man was something more than "a carcase, loosely coupled with a ghost," and that the application of scientific methods to such a being demanded "the tact, the temperament, and the sympathetic insight of the genuine lover of strange souls."

In short, the keynote of this year's meeting appeared to be the stress laid on spiritual and moral principles as conducive to the attainment of the highest and most enduring scientific and material values.

But the principles for which I was vaguely groping were found in what would appear to be the least likely section, that of Physiology. Professor George Nuttall had chosen for his presidential address "Symbiosis in Animals and Plants."

What is Symbiosis?—Co-operation in Nature; a great biological theory that tends to show that the "fittest" in Nature is not the most ruthless and the most brutal, but the organism that is the most adaptable, that can best co-operate.

Professor Nuttall, unlike the other presidents, rigidly limited himself to the narrow, specialist aspect of his subject, and it was clear that the wider issues must be sought elsewhere. These were speedily found in a recent volume,* characterized by Mr. Julian S. Huxley as giving a clear idea of biological progress. But it had done even more than that, wrote Mr. Huxley, having stressed in a very

"original and suggestive manner, the value of biological co-operation, of symbiotic modes of existence, for achieving progress."

I found the literature on the subject far more voluminous than I had been led to expect, that the theory, especially in its sociological bearings, was well known to sociologists like Mr. Victor Branford, Professor Patrick Geddes, and Dr. Gilbert Slater, to thinkers and humanitarians like Dr. Platon Drakoules and Miss Lind-ap-Hageby, and that, in addition to some half-dozen volumes on Symbiosis and Evolution, Mr. Reinheimer and others had published numerous articles in the leading newspapers and reviews.

The following hasty summary of an interesting interview I was able to secure with the author of "Symbiosis" just as we were going to press may prove of interest, especially to our Eastern readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW:

* "Symbiosis." By H. Reinheimer. Headley Brothers, 18, Devonshire Street, E.C. 2. 15s. net.

"There is no subject better calculated to provide a new synthesis than that of Symbiosis. The real 'missing link' has hitherto been the enormous hiatus due to what Darwin called 'our profound ignorance of the mutual relations of the inhabitants of our globe.'"

"Symbiosis bids fair to fill this yawning gap which has been the despair of biologists ever since the days of Darwin. The picture of Nature painted by the great Victorian naturalist was a warring, hostile Nature, 'red in tooth and claw.' Its merciless struggle for existence, its wanton destruction and tragic incidents, as depicted by their disciples, deeply moved both scientist and layman, and greatly influenced the conduct of human life.

"But these great Victorian naturalists failed to portray the slow and benevolent processes of construction, the peaceful co-operations, the careful conservations, and the successful sacrifices of self to higher service.

"There is nothing essentially new, or unlike Nature's methods, as is sometimes thought, in the 'humanity' of man. 'Humanitarian methods' of making progress through sympathetic, or harmonious, action, through benevolent union, through reciprocity and service, are as old as the hills; and it is on these methods alone, and with them alone, that the universe is built. . . .

"It is increasingly seen that symbiosis—i.e., systematic co-operation, or partnership between organisms belonging to a different species, is a phenomenon of the utmost importance. . . .

"No organism lives by itself or for itself. Each needs the help of others, and hence stands to gain by furthering the interests of others.

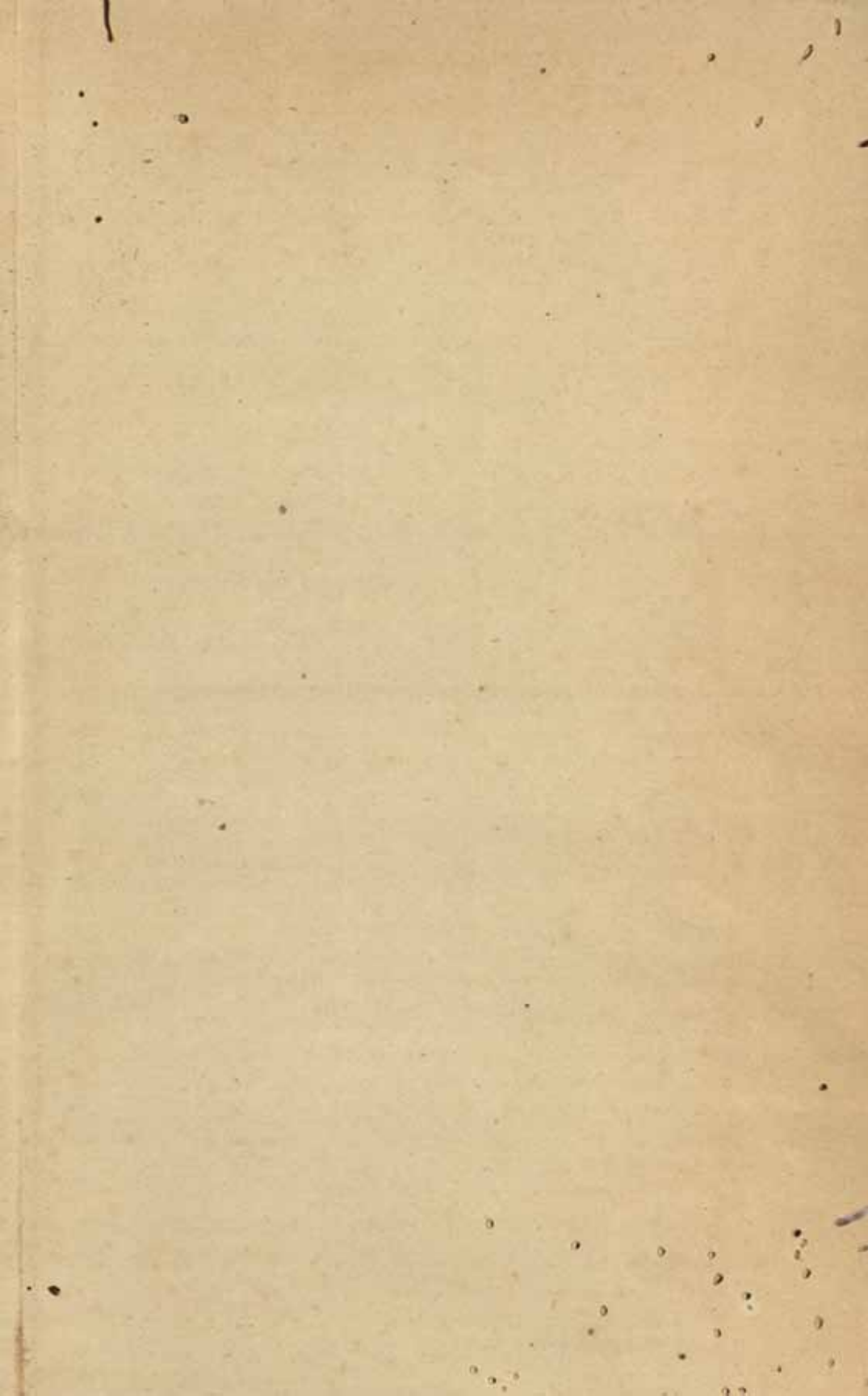
"All along the evolutionary path we meet with the symbiotic relation as the indispensable norm of life. Solidarity is the fundamental principle of life to which all else is subordinate."

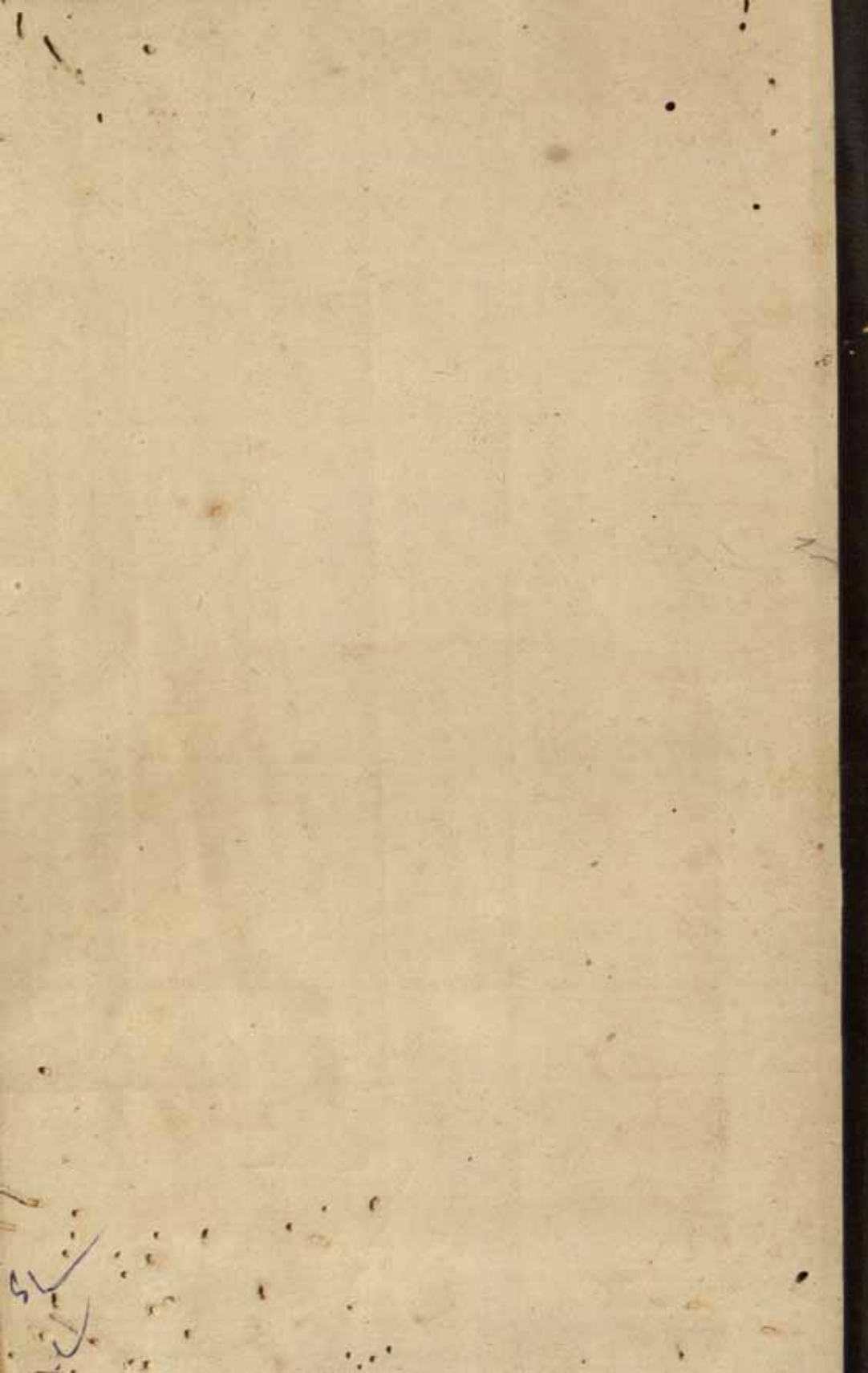
Writing in the *Journal des Débats*, M. Henry de Varigny, reviewing "Symbiosis," said:

"The moral teaching of Nature would therefore be that mutual understanding, harmony, association, co-operation are physiologically preferable to antagonism and predacity. Kropotkin has developed this point of view so far as the relations between individuals of the same species are concerned; Mr. Reinheimer does the same in the biological domain. His book is very interesting. Sociologists and biologists will read it. And, to be sure, it will give little pleasure to the adepts of anarchy and of complete emancipation. For Nature here appears as essentially a friend of order, of discipline, of duty."

As the *Manchester Guardian* has observed, we have in symbiosis and symbiogenesis so illuminating a conception covering so large an area of the evolutionary field that, once pointed out, one wonders how past thinkers could have failed to perceive it.







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